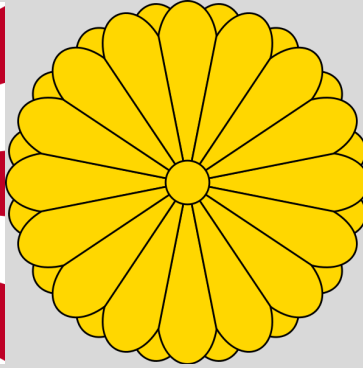


# IMPERIAL JAPAN



Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War,  
& Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

By William P. Litynski

# Military-Industrial Complex in Imperial Japan, Part 2: The Japanese Colonization of Korea, Manchuria, China, & East Asia

## From the Grassy Knoll in Harbin, China: Lone Gunman or Patsy?

The Assassination of Ito Hirobumi, Former Prime Minister of Japan,  
by Korean Patriot Ahn Jung-geun (October 26, 1909)



A painting depicting the assassination of Ito Hirobumi by Ahn Jong-kun at Harbin station Manchuria in October 1909

*A Handbook of Korea-1993, KOIS.*

**“I’m just a patsy!”:** Korean patriot Ahn Jung-geun assassinates and kills Japanese diplomat Ito Hirobumi, who served as Resident General of Korea from December 21, 1905 to June 14, 1909, at the Harbin Railway Station in Harbin, China [Manchuria] on October 26, 1909. (Painting: <http://www.pennfamily.org/KSS-USA/korean-on-stamp-5.html>)





Japanese diplomat Ito Hirobumi, Prime Minister of Japan during the First Sino-Japanese War, leaves the train at the Harbin Railway Station in Harbin, China on October 26, 1909.



Left photo: Sunjong, the last Emperor of Korea (reign, July 20, 1907–August 29, 1910) never signed the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty.



Right photo: Korean diplomat Lee Wan-yong (1858-1926) signed the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty, an unequal treaty in which Japan formally annexed Korea, in 1910.

# Political Assassinations in Imperial Japan: Organized Crime?

## From the Grassy Knoll in Tokyo, Japan: Lone Gunman or Patsy?

The Attempted Assassination of Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan  
by a Japanese Communist (December 27, 1923)



Emperor Hirohito of Japan, who survived two assassination attempts, visits the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, Japan in 1935. A Japanese Communist named Daisuke Namba attempted to assassinate then-Crown Prince Hirohito with a pistol at the Toranomon intersection near the Diet (Parliament) in Tokyo on December 27, 1923; the assassination attempt on December 27, 1923 would later be known as Toranomon Incident (虎ノ門事件).

Emperor Hirohito [stopped visiting the Yasukuni Shrine in 1978](http://www.japanfocus.org/images/UserFiles/Image/2871.selden.yasukuni/hiro.yasu.1935n.jpg) after the Yasukuni Shrine custodians enshrined several Class-A Japanese war criminals, including Imperial Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka (served from 1940-1941) and former Imperial Japanese Ambassador to Fascist Italy Toshio Shiratori (served from 1938-1940). Emperor Akihito, the son of the late Emperor Hirohito, has not visited Yasukuni Shrine since assuming the throne in January 1989.

[http://www.japanfocus.org/\\_Mark\\_Selden-](http://www.japanfocus.org/_Mark_Selden-)

[Japan\\_the\\_United\\_States\\_and\\_Yasukuni\\_Nationalism\\_War\\_Historical\\_Memory\\_and\\_the\\_Future\\_of\\_the\\_Asia\\_Pacific/](http://www.japanfocus.org/_Mark_Selden-)



(Source: The Asia-Pacific Journal)



Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan visits Tainan, Taiwan in April 1923.

(Photo: [http://ww2db.com/image.php?image\\_id=20222](http://ww2db.com/image.php?image_id=20222))



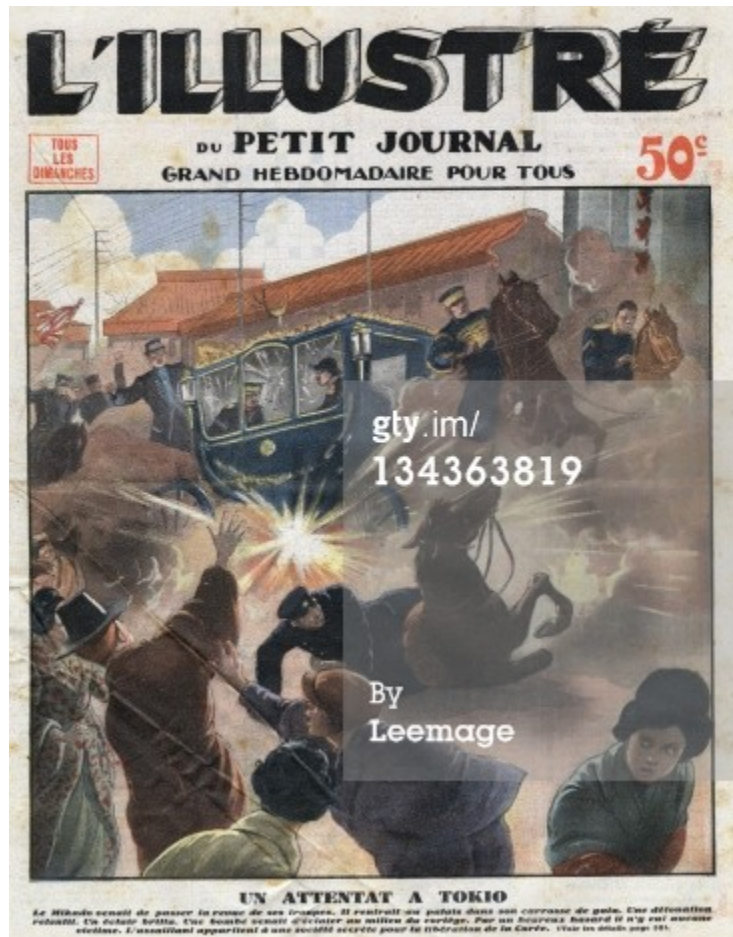
Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan visits the Taiwan Grand Shrine in Taihoku (Taipei), Taiwan in April 1923.

(Photo: [http://ww2db.com/image.php?image\\_id=20231](http://ww2db.com/image.php?image_id=20231))





# The Attempted Assassination of Emperor Hirohito of Japan by Korean Patriot Lee Bong-chang (January 9, 1932)



An assassination attempt on Emperor Hirohito of Japan by Korean independence activist Lee Bong-chang occurred in Tokyo, Japan on January 9, 1932. **Emperor Hirohito's son Akihito, the reigning Emperor of Japan, was born in Tokyo on December 23, 1933.** (Frontpage of French newspaper Lillustre du petit Journal, 1932)



Korean patriot Lee Bong-chang (center, 1900-1932) is arrested by the Japanese police in Tokyo, Japan on January 9, 1932 after Lee attempted to assassinate Emperor Hirohito with hand grenades. Lee Bong-chang was sentenced to death and hanged in prison on October 10, 1932. Lee Bong-chang met with exiled Korean leader Kim Ku in Shanghai in 1931. (Source: Japanese book "Showa History Vol.6: Manchurian Incident" published by Mainichi Newspapers Company.)

## Assassinations of the Prime Minister of Japan



Left: Takashi Hara, Prime Minister of Japan (1918-1921) and a Roman Catholic, was assassinated (stabbed) by Kon'ichi Nakaoka, right-wing railroad switchman, at Tokyo Train Station in Tokyo, Japan on November 4, 1921.



Right: Tsuyoshi Inukai, Prime Minister of Japan (1931-1932), was assassinated by a group of disgruntled Imperial Japanese Navy officers inside the Prime Minister's Residence in Tokyo, Japan on May 15, 1932.



Kon'ichi Nakaoka, seated at right inside a prisoner's box, who assassinated Prime Minister of Japan Takashi Hara, was photographed in a court in Tokyo, Japan on April 30, 1922 where he is being tried for assassinating the Prime Minister. With him in the box is Y. Hashimoto, a government railway employee who is charged with instigating the crime. The courtroom in Tokyo, where the trial opened on March 6, was heavily guarded by the police. Kon'ichi Nakaoka was convicted, sentenced to prison, and later pardoned by Emperor Hirohito. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)

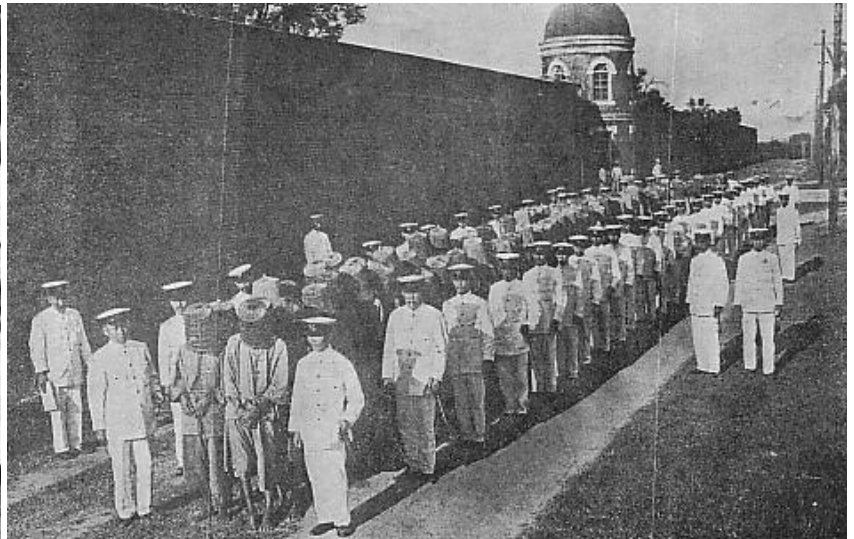




Japanese statesmen pose for a group portrait during the 1920s. From left to right: Tsuyoshi Inukai (1855-1932, later Prime Minister), former Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi (1854-1936), Prime Minister of Japan Takaaki Kato (1860-1926, died in office), and Japanese Member of Parliament Yukio Ozaki (1858-1954). Inukai and Takahashi were assassinated by military officers.



Left photo: The newly appointed War Minister of Japan General Seishiro Itagaki (center) appears with Vice War Minister of Japan General Hideki Tojo (second from right) and pro-British, pro-American Navy Minister of Japan Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai (second from left, in black military uniform) in 1938.



Right photo: Japanese police officers escort a group of defendants during the Ta-pa-ni Incident in Taiwan in 1915. (Source: Japanese book *Brief History of Bandit Disturbance in Taiwan* published by Government-General of Taiwan)



## The February 26 Incident (February 26, 1936): Organized Crime?



The 'February 26 Incident' occurred in Tokyo, Japan from February 26-29, 1936. The 'February 26 Incident' was an attempted coup d'état conducted by radical, ultranationalist officers of the Imperial Japanese Army. Emperor Hirohito suppressed the rebellion by February 29.



Left photo: Soldiers setting up martial law headquarters in the Akasaka district during the 'February 26 Incident' in Tokyo, Japan. Right photo: Keisuke Okada, a former Japanese Navy admiral, was the Prime Minister of Japan during the 'February 26 Incident' and was targeted for assassination. Okada escaped assassination; however, he resigned as Prime Minister of Japan on March 9, 1936.



歴史写真昭和十一年四月号 帝都不祥事件特集号



二月二十日の朝、齋藤内府が、高橋蔵相をその官邸に訪問。会談の後辞去せんとする光景で、両氏の並んで写せる是が最後の写真である。

Japan's Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Makoto Saitō (内大臣・齋藤實, 1858-1936), visits his close friend, Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi (高橋是清, 1854-1936) at his official residence on February 20, 1936. Less than a week after this photograph was taken, both men were assassinated by ultranationalistic Army officers in the February 26 Incident (二・二六事件). (Source: *Rekishi Shashin* April 1936 "February 26 Incident" special issue)

Source: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Korekiyo\\_Takahashi\\_and\\_Makoto\\_Saito\\_last\\_pic\\_together\\_cropped.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Korekiyo_Takahashi_and_Makoto_Saito_last_pic_together_cropped.jpg)

Source: <http://syasinsyuu.cool.ne.jp/seiji/28.jpg>



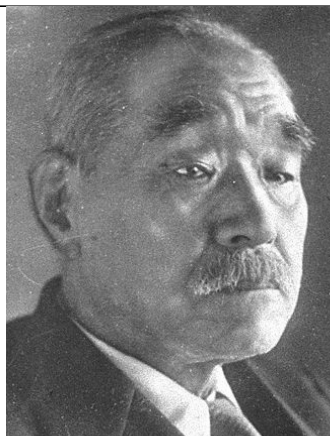
Soldiers occupy the Nagata-cho and Akasaka area in Tokyo during the February 26 Incident (26-29 February 1936). Nobuaki Makino, Japanese envoy who attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, escaped assassination attempt during the 'February 26 Incident.' Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi and General Jotaro Watanabe were killed in the 'February 26 Incident'.



廣田氏を奉薦、宮内省を退下して麻布の住友別邸に入らんとする西園寺公。 (Hirota was recommended, leaving the Imperial Household Agency and returning to the Sumitomo Villa in Nishi-Azabu.)

Kinmochi Saionji (seated in the back of an automobile) returns from the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan on May 4, 1936 after having recommended Koki Hirota as the new Prime Minister of Japan. Kinmochi Saionji was the last surviving *genrō*, or elder statesman; Saionji was appointed *genrō* in 1913. Saionji was the Prime Minister of Japan on two separate occasions (1906-1908, 1911-1912). Saionji led the Japanese delegation at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Saionji was targeted for assassination by ultranationalist Imperial Japanese Army officers during the “February 26 Incident” in February 1936; Saionji managed to escape assassination by fleeing his home. Saionji died at the age of 91 on November 24, 1940.

### Victims of the ‘February 26 Incident’



Kantaro Suzuki (survived)  
Prime Minister of Japan  
(April 7, 1945-August 17, 1945)  
Grand Chamberlain of Japan  
(1929-1936)



Kinmochi Saionji (survived)  
Prime Minister of Japan  
(Jan. 7, 1906- July 14, 1908,  
August 30, 1911-Dec. 21, 1912);  
Genro (Elder Statesman)  
(1913-1940)



Makoto Saito  
Prime Minister of Japan  
(1932-1934);  
Governor-General of Korea  
(1919-1927, 1929-1931);  
Navy Minister of Japan  
(1906-1914);  
Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal  
(1935-1936)



Korekiyo Takahashi  
Prime Minister of Japan  
(1921-1922);  
Finance Minister of Japan  
(1913-1914, 1918-1922, 1927,  
1931-1934, 1934-1936);  
Governor of the Bank of Japan  
(June 1, 1911-Feb. 20, 1913)

Note: Kantaro Suzuki, a former Imperial Japanese Navy admiral, was severely wounded during the ‘February 26 Incident’ yet survived the assassination attempt. Kantaro Suzuki was the Prime Minister of Japan from April 7, 1945 until his resignation on August 17, 1945. Kantaro Suzuki opposed Japan’s war with the United States of America before and throughout World War II. Korekiyo Takahashi was the second Japanese Christian to serve as the Prime Minister of Japan.





Imperial Japanese Army soldiers march toward the Diet (Japanese Parliament, background left) in Tokyo during the attempted military coup in February 1936. This photograph shows an incident of the military coup of February 26 and 27, during a few hours halt of the revolt. It shows the third regiment - part of the insurgent group - marching out of police headquarters in Tokyo to return to their barracks. They are pictured passing the staff military college and the new Diet building looms in the background. It is recorded that when they arrived at their quarters they found them occupied by loyal troops so they marched back and took the headquarters building of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department which they held for several more days. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Prince Fumimaro Konoe (right, rear) watches Prime Minister of Japan Koki Hirota delivers a speech on administrative policy before the House of Peers in Tokyo, Japan on May 23, 1936. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



## American Ambassador Joseph C. Grew's Description of the February 26 Incident: In His Own words

"In the early morning of February 26 there occurred one of the most dramatic and tragic events in Japanese history, permanently known as "The February 26 Incident." The writer, having been personally and intimately in touch with the incident, its leading figures and its aftermath, here narrates the story in some detail. On the night of the 25th, Mrs. Grew and I had given at the Embassy a dinner for some 36 guests in honor of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, former Prime Minister Viscount Admiral Saito and Viscountess Saito, and among our other guests were Admiral Kantaro Suzuki, Grand Chamberlain to the Emperor, as well as Viscount and Viscountess Ishii. Viscount Saito had told me that he had never seen a modern sound-film and in order to interest the old gentleman, for whom we had great affection, I had chosen Victor Herbert's film *Naughty Marietta* which was shown, with the playing of its romantic music, in our salon after dinner. Viscount Saito was clearly delighted, and instead of retiring at his usual early hour he remained through the film and even for supper afterwards. I saw him off at about half past eleven with every indication on his part of having thoroughly enjoyed the evening. In the light of afterevents it has always been a source of gratification that we had been able to afford Viscount Saito those last few hours of pleasure. **Some five hours later he was assassinated at his home**, and Admiral Suzuki was shot through the chest, a wound from which fortunately he recovered. On the following morning I went to the Viscount's house to pay my respects, kneeling beside the body and burning incense according to Buddhist rites. His widow was there, kneeling at his head, with her arm in a sling because she also had been machine gunned in attempting to defend him. She lifted the sheet, showing a single bullet hole through the forehead, and said: "My husband would wish me to thank you for having given him such a happy last evening on earth." Such are the tragic moments of life which are ineffaceable from memory. In the light of afterevents it is interesting to look back on our first telegram to the Department which was sent on February 26 at 10 A.M.:

The military took partial possession of the Government and city early this morning and it is reported have assassinated several prominent men. It is impossible as yet to confirm anything. The news correspondents are not permitted to send telegrams or to telephone abroad. This telegram is being sent primarily as a test message, to ascertain if our code telegrams will be transmitted. Code room please acknowledge immediately upon receipt.

**The February 26 Incident was carried out by a small group of extremist military officers, none higher than the rank of captain, who were dissatisfied with the restraining influence of the statesmen about the Emperor.** They had rehearsed their plans with soldiers who, when called out on the morning of the 26th, supposed that the usual routine practice was to be undertaken; surrounding each of the marked houses, the officers entered and shot Viscount Saito, stabbed Finance Minister Takahashi to death, and shot Director of Military Education, General Jotaro Watanabe, and Admiral Suzuki. The first three were killed outright; Admiral Suzuki recovered. Entering the official residence of the Prime Minister the assassins mistook Admiral Okada's brother-in-law [Colonel Matsuo] for the Premier and shot him while the Admiral hid and escaped. Efforts to kill Prince Saionji and Count Shinken Makino [former Keeper of the Privy Seal] failed; both were in the country at the time; the former was apparently forewarned; the hotel in which the latter was staying was set on fire, Count Makino escaping by a rear exit and climbing a cliff where his heroic granddaughter, Kasuko, and his trained nurse spread their kimonos about him for concealment. The officers assigned to the assassination of Count Makino were either killed or wounded by his guard, and it is believed that the soldiers, although recognizing Count Makino on the cliff, refused to shoot. Following the assassinations, the insurgents took refuge in the official residence of the Prime Minister and the Sanno Hotel, having failed in their intentions to capture strategic government buildings; martial law was declared and loyal troops with tanks took up positions in the vicinity of the British and German Embassies with the intention of attacking the insurgents to whom an ultimatum to surrender had been sent. As the American Embassy was in direct line with the projected line of fire, a General Staff officer called on me and asked us to evacuate to a place of safety which had been arranged, but I declined the offer with thanks, while warning all members of the staff and their families not to expose themselves needlessly. This decision was based on the belief that our evacuation would cause undue alarm among the American community in Tokyo. We felt that the Embassy cellars offered adequate protection in case of necessity and several families in adjacent houses came to our residence for the ensuing critical days and nights when we scarcely slept. During that entire period the flag of the insurgents continued to fly from the Prime Minister's residence. The atmosphere throughout the night of the 28th and the morning of the 29th was tense and every indication pointed to the imminence of combat, but during the course of the morning of the 29th a relaxation of this tense atmosphere became noticeable. The Government was exerting patience and making every effort, through radio broadcasts and by dropping leaflets from airplanes, to persuade the revolutionaries to disband without resorting to armed attack, and it is significant that the leaflets were addressed only to insurgent soldiers and not to the insurgent officers, the soldiers being asked to reconsider their position and ordered to obey the Emperor's command to return to their barracks; otherwise they would be treated as revolutionists and shot. From the windows of the chancery we could see small groups of soldiers continually emerging, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th it was announced that all of the revolting troops had surrendered and that normal conditions would be restored at 4.10. During the whole period of the revolt it was difficult to sort out the wheat from the chaff in the great volume of reports and

rumors that reached us. Indeed, it was not until the evening of the 29th that Baron Gonsuke Hayashi, former Grand Master of Ceremonies, returned from the Palace and told me that Prime Minister Okada, whom everyone believed dead, was alive and uninjured. It appeared that his brother-in-law, who somewhat resembled him, had been killed by mistake and that the Premier had escaped and had remained undercover since the night of the 25th. He suddenly announced himself to the Emperor, whereupon Home Minister Fumio Goto, appointed Acting Premier, withdrew from the premiership which was resumed by Okada. Few more dramatic incidents have ever occurred in history, and during the crisis there were outstanding cases of heroism which need not be recorded here but which deserve their place among the great examples of heroic behavior of all time. On March 1 official announcement was made that one of the insurgent officers had committed hara-kiri (although the public had rather expected all to do so) and that the others had been dismissed in disgrace from the army. Their dismissal without trial was believed to indicate a more drastic policy than had hitherto been followed in dealing with incidents of that character. Indeed, several of the insurgent officers were later condemned and shot, perhaps the first occasion in recent times of the execution of military officers. Our first reaction to the circumstances of the four days of the revolt was that it might well cause a revulsion of feeling against the military and that the final results might be salutary."

—*Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years, 1904-1945*, Volume II by Joseph C. Grew (1952), Chapter XXXI, p. 987-991

"Indeed our Government has time and time again, and only recently, expressed its full appreciation of Japan's legitimate interests and aspirations, realizing that Japan, restricted as she is in her islands, must have access to raw materials, markets for the products of her industries and a free flow of trade and commerce. Nevertheless, unless Japan is willing to abandon aggression by force there can be no hope for an improvement in our relations. **We know by sad and bitter practical experience that Japan's so-called "New Order in East Asia" and "Co-Prosperity Sphere" visualize no neighborly relations on the basis of reciprocity and a free give-and-take but rather an order in which Japanese interests, or what one conceives to be her interests, are to be predominant and to be exercised to the exclusion of the legitimate interests of other countries.** We have watched the gradual but inexorable elimination of our own legitimate interests over these past several years, our long-standing and patiently-established business, commercial, industrial, banking and cultural interests, all legitimate and co-operative activities, progressively ousted first from Manchuria, and then, in turn, from North China, the ports, the Yangtze, and now they are in process of being excluded from Indochina, in spite of the most categorical assurances and promises that the Open Door and equal opportunity would be scrupulously observed everywhere. Every Foreign Minister – especially Hirota, Arita, Nomura – has given us such promises but not one of those promises has been carried out. Why? Those promises were unquestionably given in good faith. But the military would not permit their implementation. Japanese armed force has prevented their implementation."

—*Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years, 1904-1945*, Volume II by Joseph C. Grew (1952), Chapter XXXIII, p. 1235

"One of these fallacies is that the American approach to affairs in East Asia is bound by a purely "legalistic" attitude, a conception which widely prevails in this country today. What is meant by a "legalistic" attitude? If we mean respect for treaties, official commitments, international law, yes; that respect is and always will be one of the cardinal principles of American policy. But the very term "a legalistic attitude," as it has often been used in my hearing in Japan, seems to imply a position where one cannot see the woods for the trees, where one's vision of higher and broader concepts is stultified. Let me therefore touch briefly on a few of the cardinal principles of American policy and objectives, molded to meet the requirements of modern life, which, it is true, are fundamentally based upon but which seem to me far to transcend any purely "legalistic" approach to world affairs. The American people aspire to relations of peace with every country and between all countries. We have no monopoly on this desire for peace, but we have a very definite conviction that the sort of peace which, throughout history, has been merely an interlude between wars is not an environment in which world civilization can be stably developed or, perhaps, can even be preserved. We believe that international peace is dependent on what our Secretary of State has characterized as "orderly processes" in international dealing. The American people desire to respect the sovereign rights of other people and to have their own sovereign rights equally respected. We have found by experience that the successful approach to the resolving of international disputes lies not so much in merely abstaining from the use of force as in abstaining from any thought of the use, immediately or eventually, of the methods of force. Let cynics look about them and contemplate the consequences of resort to menacing demands as a process in the conduct of international relations! Is it being purely "legalistic" to put to wise and practical use the finer instincts common to all mankind? **The American people believe that the day is past when wars can be confined in their effects to the combatant nations. When national economies were based upon agriculture and handicraft, nations were to a large extent self-sufficient; they lived primarily on the things which they themselves grew or produced. That is not the case today. Nations are now increasingly dependent on others both for commodities which they do not produce themselves and for the disposal of the things which they produce in excess. The highly complex system of exchange of goods has been evolved by reason of each nation's being able to extract from the ground or to manufacture certain commodities more efficiently or economically than others. Each contributes to the common good the fruits of its handiwork and the bounties of nature. It is this system of exchange which has not only raised the standard of living everywhere but has made it possible for two or even three persons to live in comfort where but one had lived in discomfort under a simple self-contained economy. Not only the benefits of our advanced civilization but the very existence of most of us depends on maintaining in equilibrium a delicately balanced and complex world economy. Wars are not only destructive of the wealth, both human and material, of combatants, but they disturb the fine adjustments of world economy. Conflict between nations is therefore a matter of concern to all the other nations.** Is there then any stultification through "legalistic" concepts when we practice ourselves and urge upon others the resolving of international disputes by orderly processes, even if it were

only in the interests of world economy? How, except on the basis of law and order, can these various concepts in international dealing be secured? The American people believe in equality of commercial opportunity. There is probably no nation which has not at one time or other invoked it. Even Japan, where American insistence on the Open Door is cited as the supreme manifestation of what is characterized as a "legalistic" American attitude even Japan, I say – has insisted upon and has received the benefits of the Open Door in areas other than China, where, we are told, the principle is inapplicable except in a truncated and emasculated form. That highly complicated system of world economy of which I have just spoken is postulated upon the ability of nations to buy and sell where they please under conditions of free competition – conditions which cannot exist in areas where pre-emptive rights are claimed and asserted on behalf of nationals of one particular country. I need hardly say that the thoughts which I have just expressed are of universal applicability. Another common fallacy which I am constrained to mention is the charge that the American Government and people do not understand "the new order in East Asia." **Forgive me if I very respectfully take issue with that conception. The American Government and people understand what is meant by the "new order in East Asia" precisely as clearly as it is understood in Japan. The "new order in East Asia" has been officially defined in Japan as an order of security, stability and progress. The American Government and people earnestly desire security, stability and progress not only for themselves but for all other nations in every quarter of the world. But the new order in East Asia has appeared to include, among other things, depriving Americans of their long-established rights in China, and to this the American people are opposed.** There's the story. It is probable that many of you are not aware of the increasing extent to which the people of the United States resent the methods which the Japanese armed forces are employing in China today and what appear to be their objectives. In saying this, I do not wish for one moment to imply that the American people have forgotten the longtime friendship which has existed between the people of my country and the people of Japan. But the American people have been profoundly shocked over the widespread use of bombing in China, not only on grounds of humanity but also on grounds of the direct menace to American lives and property accompanied by the loss of American life and the crippling of American citizens; they regard with growing seriousness the violation of and interference with American rights by the Japanese armed forces in China in disregard of treaties and agreements entered into by the United States and Japan and treaties and agreements entered into by several nations, including Japan. The American people know that those treaties and agreements were entered into voluntarily by Japan and that the provisions of those treaties and agreements constituted a practical arrangement for safeguarding- for the benefit of all the correlated principles of national sovereignty and of equality of economic opportunity. The principle of equality of economic opportunity is one to which over a long period and on many occasions Japan has given definite approval and upon which Japan has frequently insisted. Not only are the American people perturbed over their being arbitrarily deprived of long-established rights, including those of equal opportunity and fair treatment, but they feel that the present trend in the Far East if continued will be destructive of the hopes which they sincerely cherish of the development of an orderly world. American rights and interests in China are being impaired or destroyed by the policies and actions of the Japanese authorities in China. American property is being damaged or destroyed; American nationals are being endangered and subjected to indignities. If I felt in a position to set forth all the facts in detail today, you would, without any question, appreciate the soundness and full justification of the American attitude. Perhaps you will also understand why I wish today to exercise restraint. In short, the American people, from all the thoroughly reliable evidence that comes to them, have good reason to believe that an effort is being made to establish control, in Japan's own interest, of large areas on the continent of Asia and to impose upon those areas a system of closed economy. It is this thought, added to the effect of the bombings, the indignities, the manifold interference with American rights, that accounts for the attitude of the American people toward Japan today. For my part I will say this. It is my belief, and the belief of the American Government and people, that the many things injurious to the United States which have been done and are being done by Japanese agencies are *wholly needless*. We believe that real security and stability in the Far East could be attained without running counter to any American rights whatsoever. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have tried to give an accurate interpretation of American public opinion, most carefully studied and analyzed by me while at home. The traditional friendship between our two nations is far too precious a thing to be either inadvertently or deliberately impaired. It seems to me logical that from every point of view – economic, financial, commercial, in the interests of business, travel, science, culture and sentiment-Japan and the United States forever should be mutually considerate friends. In the family of nations, as between and among brothers, there arise inevitable controversies, but again and again the United States has demonstrated its practical sympathy and desire to be helpful toward Japan in difficult times and moments, its admiration of Japan's achievements, its earnest desire for mutually helpful relations. Please do not misconstrue or misinterpret the attitude which has prompted me to speak in the utmost frankness today. I am moved first of all by love of my own country and my devotion to its interest; but I am also moved by very deep affection for Japan and by sincere conviction that the real interests, the fundamental and abiding interests of both countries, call for harmony of thought and action in our relationships. Those who know my sentiments for Japan, developed in happy contacts during the seven years in which I have lived here among you, will realize, I am sure, that my words and my actions are those of a true friend. One Japanese newspaper queried, on my return from America whether I had concealed in my bosom a dagger or a dove. Let me answer that query. I have nothing concealed in my bosom except the desire to work with all my mind, with all my heart and with all my strength for Japanese-American friendship. Today I have stated certain facts, straightforwardly and objectively. But I am also making a plea for sympathetic understanding in the interests of the old, enduring friendship between our two great nations. In a world of chaos I plead for stability, now and in the long future, in a relationship which, *if it can be preserved*, can bring only good to Japan and to the United States of America."

–*Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years, 1904-1945*, Volume II by Joseph C. Grew (1952), Chapter XXXIII, p. 1216-1221



# Sino-Japanese War & Boxer Rebellion: Organized Crime?



Imperial Japanese Army soldiers (right) and the British Army soldiers (left) attack the Chinese army in Peking during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))



# From the Grassy Knoll in Shanghai, China: Lone Gunman or Patsy?

The Assassination of Korean community organizer Kim Ok-kyun on March 28, 1894



A portrait of Korean community organizer **Kim Ok-kyun (left)** while he was living in Nagasaki, Japan as a refugee. Kim Ok-kyun participated in a failed coup d'état, formally known as the Gapsin Coup, in December 1884. Kim Ok-kyun fled Korea and lived in Japan as a refugee from 1884 until 1894. Korean patriot **Hong Chong-u (right)** shot and killed Kim Ok-kyun in Shanghai, China on March 28, 1894. British police officers in Shanghai arrested Korean patriot **Hong Chong-u** shortly after the assassination and transferred **Hong Chong-u** to Chinese authorities for trial. However, the Chinese government decided to release Korean patriot **Hong Chong-u** from prison. **Hong Chong-u** and the corpse of **Kim Ok-kyun** arrived in Korea on April 12, 1894.

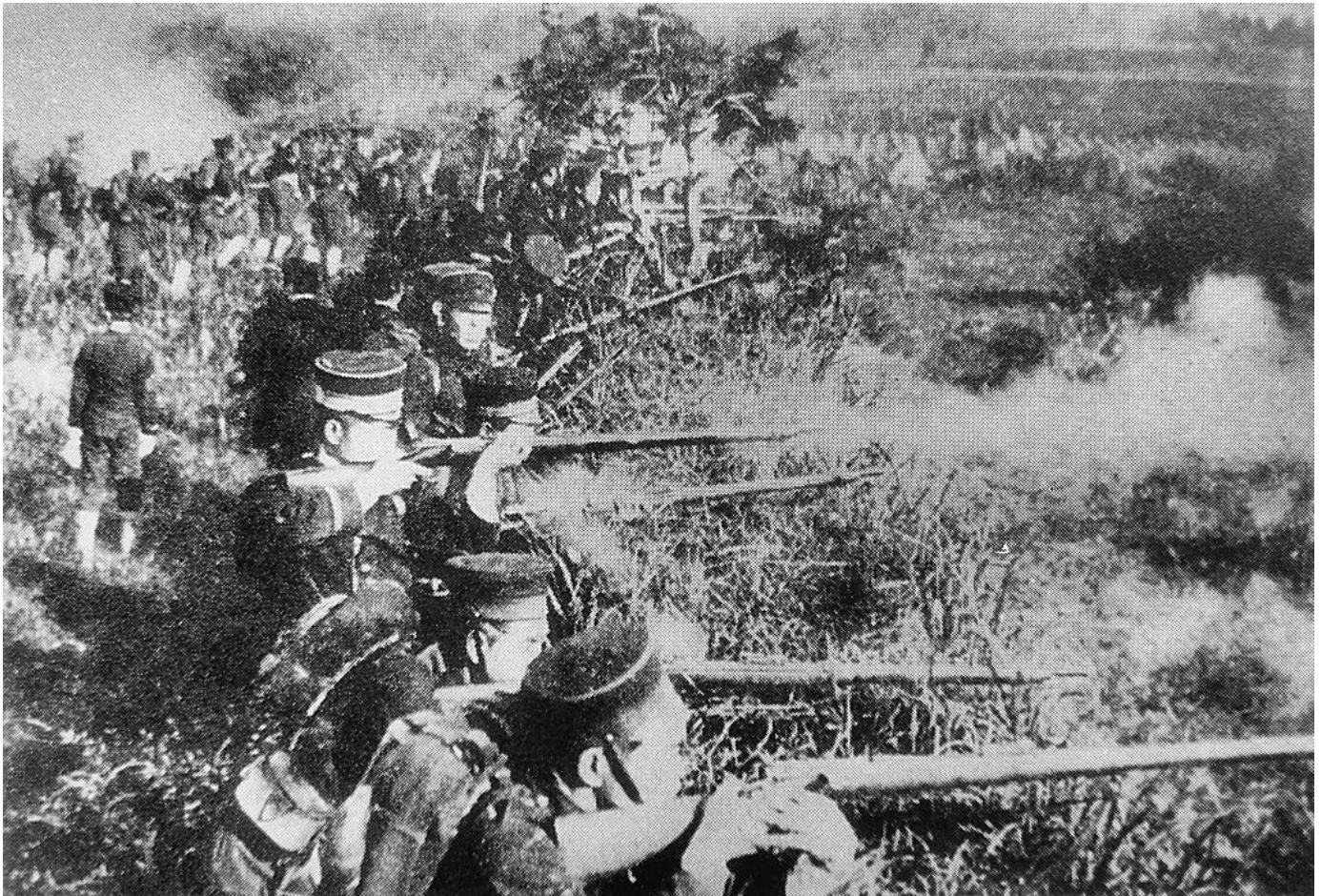


Japanese diplomats and Chinese diplomats sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki at Shimonoseki, Japan on April 17, 1895, ending the First Sino-Japanese War. Japan acquired the island of Taiwan from China and required China to recognize the independence of Korea. Japan also obtained additional diplomatic and economic privileges, including the opening of several Chinese ports to Japanese trade.





Japanese woodblock painting depicting the Naval Battle of the Yellow Sea (Yalu River) in Korea in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Japan acquired the island of Taiwan from China following the First Sino-Japanese War and forced China to recognize the independence of Korea.



Japanese soldiers fire their guns during the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894. The First Sino-Japanese War lasted from August 1, 1894 until April 17, 1895. (Source: "Bakumatsu Meiji no Shashin" by Ozawa Kenshin, p.340)





The Eight-Nation Alliance, a group of armies from United States of America, Great Britain, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary, make their presence in the Forbidden City in Peking (北京) during the Boxer Rebellion (also known as the Boxer Uprising, 義和團運動) in 1900. The Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists (義和團), better known as the Boxers, was a secret society founded in Shandong, China; the Boxers protested against opium trade, foreign intervention, unequal treaties, and involuntary servitude at the hands of foreign merchants, diplomats, and Christian missionaries. The governments of the Eight-Nation Alliance sent their armies into Peking to suppress the Boxer Rebellion and liberate foreign diplomats and civilians who were held hostage at Legation Quarter in Peking after the Boxers and Chinese soldiers killed Christian missionaries and Chinese Christian converts and attacked the Legation Quarter in Peking in early 1900. (National Archives)




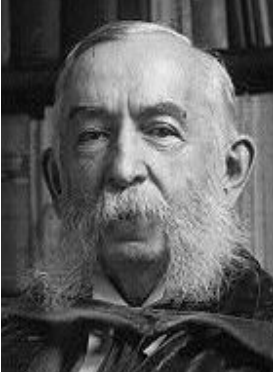
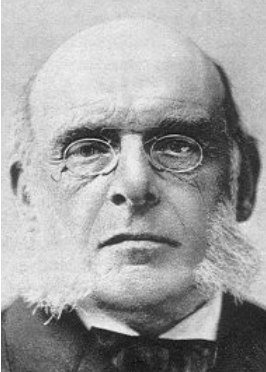
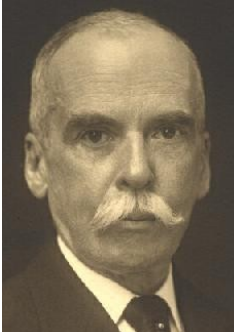

Imperial Japanese Army soldiers pose for the camera after executing four Chinese Boxer rebels in the Chinese countryside in 1900. (Source: American Museum of Natural History)

## Prominent Imperial Japanese Government Officials and Businessmen and Their Occupation during the First Sino-Japanese War

 <p><b>Shūzō Aoki</b> 青木 周藏 Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain (1894); Foreign Minister of Japan (1889-1891, 1898-1900)</p>	 <p><b>Kaoru Inoue</b> 井上 馨 Japanese Minister to Korea (1894-1895); Foreign Minister of Japan (1885-1887)</p>	 <p><b>Hirobumi Itō</b> 伊藤 博文 Prime Minister of Japan (1885-1888, 1892-1896, 1898, 1900-1901)</p>	 <p><b>Munemitsu Mutsu</b> 陸奥 宗光 Foreign Minister of Japan (1892-1895)</p>	 <p><b>Kinmochi Saionji</b> 西園寺 公望 Education Minister of Japan (Oct. 3, 1894- Sept. 18, 1896); Japanese Minister to Germany (1887-1891)</p>
 <p><b>Tsugumichi Saigō</b> 西郷 従道 Minister of the Navy of Imperial Japan (1885-1890, 1893-1898) Brother of Japanese rebel Saigō Takamori</p>	 <p><b>Field Marshal Prince Iwao Ōyama</b> 大山 巖 Minister of War of Imperial Japan (1885-1891, 1892-1896)</p>	 <p><b>Prince Taruhito Arisugawa</b> 有栖川宮熾仁親王 Chief of the Army General Staff (1885- 1888; 1889-1895); Died in office on January 15, 1895</p>	 <p><b>Koichiro Kawada</b> 川田 小一郎 Governor of the Bank of Japan (September 3, 1889- November 7, 1896); died in office</p>	 <p><b>Hisaya Iwasaki</b> 岩崎 久弥 President of Mitsubishi (1893-1916) <b>B.S. University of Pennsylvania</b></p>

Note: Watanabe Kuniaki served as Finance Minister of Japan (1892-1895, 1895-1896)

## Prominent Members of Skull & Bones and Their Occupation during the First Sino-Japanese War

 <p><b>Wilson Shannon Bissell</b> B.A. Yale 1869 Postmaster General of the United States (1893-1895)</p>	 <p><b>Daniel C. Gilman</b> B.A. Yale 1852 President of Johns Hopkins University (1875-1901)</p>	 <p><b>Timothy Dwight</b> B.A. Yale 1849 President of Yale University (1886-1899)</p>	 <p><b>John William Sterling</b> B.A. Yale 1864 Co-Founder of Shearman &amp; Sterling [law firm in New York City] (1873-1918)</p>	 <p><b>John Patton Jr.</b> B.A. Yale 1875 U.S. Senator (Republican Party- Michigan, 1894-1895)</p>
--	---	--	--	---



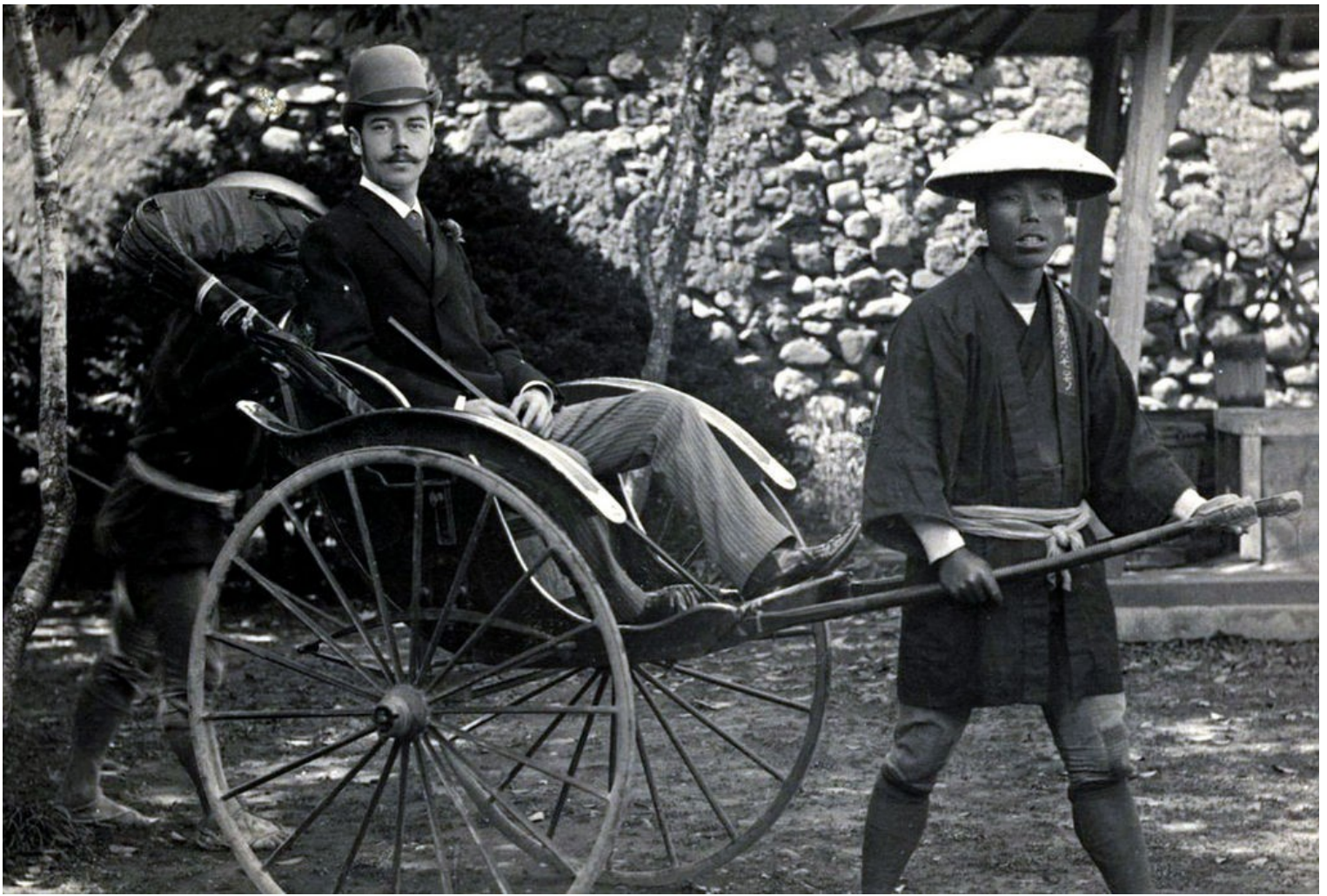
# Russo-Japanese War: Organized Crime?



**Battle of Port Arthur:** Print shows, in the foreground, a Russian battleship exploding under bombardment from Japanese battleships; a line of Japanese battleships, positioned on the right, fire on a line of Russian battleships on the left, in a surprise naval assault on the Russian fleet at the Battle of Port Arthur (Lüshun) in the Russo-Japanese War (日露戦争, *Nichi-Ro Sensō*) on February 8-9, 1904. (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))

Japan issued a declaration of war on February 8, 1904; however, three hours before Japan's declaration of war was received by the Russian government in St. Petersburg, the Imperial Japanese Navy attacked the Russian Far East Fleet at Port Arthur during a daring night raid conducted by Admiral Heihachiro Togo. The Imperial Japanese Navy engaged in another surprise attack on nearly 38 years later at Pearl Harbor. Japan acquired the southern half of the Sakhalin Island from Russia and the Chinese port of Port Arthur from Russia at the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War. **The Russo-Japanese War began on February 8, 1904 and ended on September 5, 1905.**



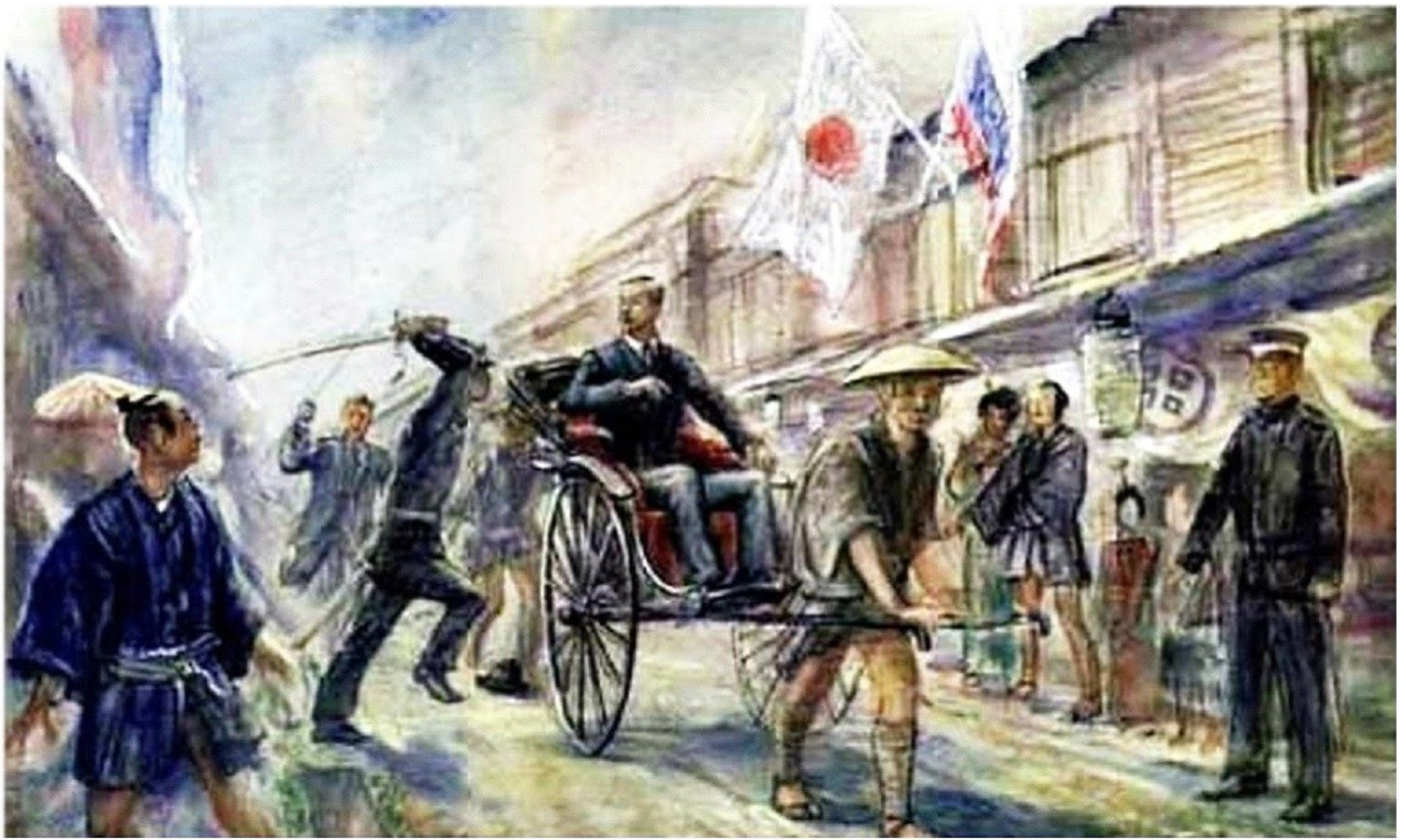


Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia (the future Czar Nicholas II of Russia) rides in a rickshaw during his visit to Nagasaki, Japan in 1891. Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia visited Kyoto, Japan in May 1891. **Japanese policeman Tsuda Sanzō (1855-1891) attempted to assassinate Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia with a sword on May 11, 1891; the assassination attempt, known as the Otsu Incident, occurred near Kyoto. Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia was left with a scar on the right side of his forehead.** Emperor Meiji of Japan visited Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia aboard a Russian warship in Kobe harbor shortly after the failed assassination attempt. Czar Nicholas II of Russia assumed the throne on November 1, 1894. (Source: Nagasaki City Library Archives)



Japanese policeman Tsuda Sanzo, perpetrator of the Otsu Incident





Tsuda Sanzo attacks Tsarevich Nicholas Alexandrovich during his visit to Japan in 1891.  
NEWS @ [www.royalrussia.org](http://www.royalrussia.org)

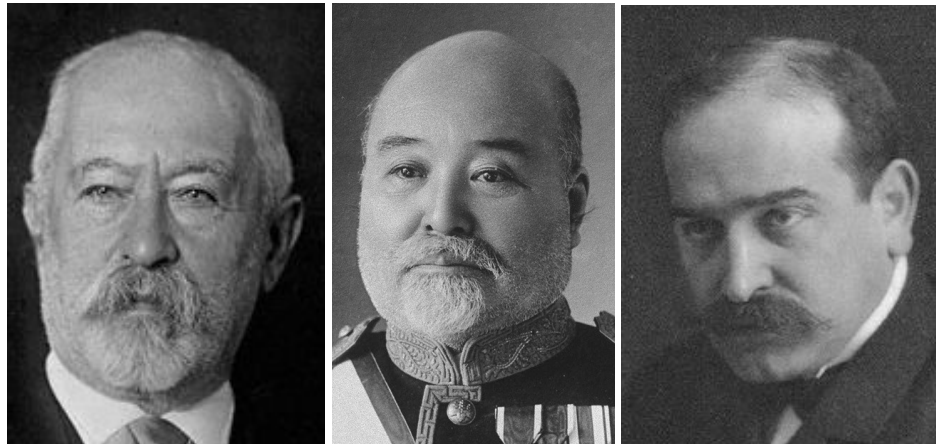
Japanese policeman Tsuda Sanzō (1855-1891) attempted to assassinate Tsarevich Nicholas of Russia with a sword on May 11, 1891; the assassination attempt, known as the Otsu Incident, occurred near Kyoto. Tsarevich Nicholas of Russia was left with a scar on the right side of his forehead.



Prince George of Greece and Tsarevich Nicholas Alexandrovich of Russia ride in their jinrikishas in 1891.

## Russo-Japanese War: A Jewish Political Intrigue?

Jacob Schiff, Max Warburg, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.,  
& Their Role in Sponsoring Imperial Japan during the Russo-Japanese War



Left to right: Jacob H. Schiff, Korekiyo Takahashi, and Max Warburg

“The byzantine financial intrigues of the early 1900s bound Jewish bankers tightly to the state. The diatribes against Jewish bankers actually stood reality on its head, for they didn’t exploit Germany so much as serve its imperial escapades to a fault. This very intimacy with the government would make it hard for them to react later on when persecution and terror came from the state itself. The Kuhn, Loeb connection also implicated M.M. Warburg in more political work. **Outraged by the pogroms against Russian Jews, [Jacob] Schiff made it a point of honor to finance Japan in its 1904-05 war against Russia and even paid for distribution of anti-czarist propaganda to Russian prisoners. In spring 1904, he shocked Japan’s financial commissioner, Baron Korekiyo Takahashi, by volunteering to underwrite half the ten-million-pound loan sought by the Imperial Japanese Government in London and New York.** This first of five major Kuhn, Loeb loans to Japan was approved by King Edward VII at a luncheon with Schiff and Sir Ernest Cassel. When Japan was ready for a third loan in 1905, Schiff thought New York was saturated with Japanese bonds and asked Max [Warburg] to open a German market. To ensure that such a step conformed to German policy, Max remembered, “I did what every upstanding banker has to do in such case, I went to the Foreign Ministry in Berlin.” The Krupp firm had warned the Foreign Office that Germany would lose munitions contracts if the third Japanese loan were placed entirely in New York and London. So Under-Secretary of State Arthur Zimmermann endorsed the move and authorized Max to negotiate with Japan. Before proceeding with his second Japanese loan, Max met the Kaiser aboard his yacht to get his official imprimatur. This second issue was ten times oversubscribed, strengthening Japan’s hand at the Portsmouth peace conference. That Max suddenly managed a major strategic transaction was a stunning achievement for a firm that just a few years earlier had been a provincial power. Max owed this breakthrough to his brothers’ presence at Kuhn, Loeb, but he had ably exploited the opportunity. He negotiated the first loan in London with Korekiyo Takahashi, later Japanese finance minister and prime minister. **Takahashi never forgot the favor, later telling Max, if “I have distinguished myself in any way in my life, it is, to my great appreciation, due to your goodwill and friendship which you were kind enough to extend to me in old times.” After the war with Russia, Takahashi visited Hamburg, and in 1906 [Jacob] Schiff visited Japan. Schiff had a rare private lunch with the Mikado at the Imperial Palace, where he was decorated with the Order of the Rising Sun.** At one dinner, he sat beside Takahashi’s teenage daughter, Wakiko, and casually invited her to New York, but Takahashi took the invitation quite literally. To Schiff’s astonishment, Wakiko ended up going back with him and living with the Schiffs for three years.” – *The Warburgs* by Ron Chernow, p. 110-111

“Because the House of Mitsui, an ancient Japanese dynasty, had opened a Hamburg branch, family members periodically dropped in on the Warburgs. Once Baron Mitsui came to dinner and, as he rambled on about labor relations in Japanese, Max mischievously learned over and whispered to Charlotte that the baron wanted to know if Max’s son, Eric, would marry his daughter. On another visit, Baron Mitsui and his partner, Takuma Dan, asked how the Warburgs kept peace in the family. They told Max and Carl Melchior about battles inside the Mitsui clan and asked how to stop them. Max replied that the Warburgs quarreled as much as any family. He and Melchior suggested that Mitsui divide its operations into separate banking, shipping, insurance, and export companies, each supervised by a different family member who then reported to a central firm. In this way, Max took credit for suggesting to the Japanese the *zaibatsu* or conglomerate structure that would dominate their economy. In gratitude, Mitsui sent Max a wax Japanese general in a casket.” – *The Warburgs* by Ron Chernow, p. 111





Battle of Mukden: The Imperial Japanese Army attack the Russian Army during the Battle of Mukden that lasted from February 20, 1905 to March 10, 1905. The Imperial Japanese Army routed the Russian Army at the Battle of Mukden and occupied the city of Mukden on March 10, 1905.

Timeline of the Russo-Japanese War (February 8, 1904 –September 5, 1905):

February 8-9, 1904: Battle of Port Arthur (naval)

April 30, 1904-May 1, 1904: Battle of Yalu River

August 10, 1904: Battle of the Yellow Sea

August 24, 1904–September 4, 1904: Battle of Liaoyang (near Mukden–Port Arthur Railway)

October 5-17, 1904: Battle of Shaho

July 30, 1904–January 2, 1905: Siege of Port Arthur

January 25-29, 1905: Battle of Sandepu (Battle of Heikoutai)

**February 20, 1905–March 10, 1905: Battle of Mukden; Decisive Japanese victory**

**May 27-28, 1905: Battle of Tsushima; Decisive Japanese victory**

Notes: An estimated 47,000 Japanese soldiers were killed in action; an estimated 52,000 Russian soldiers were killed in action.

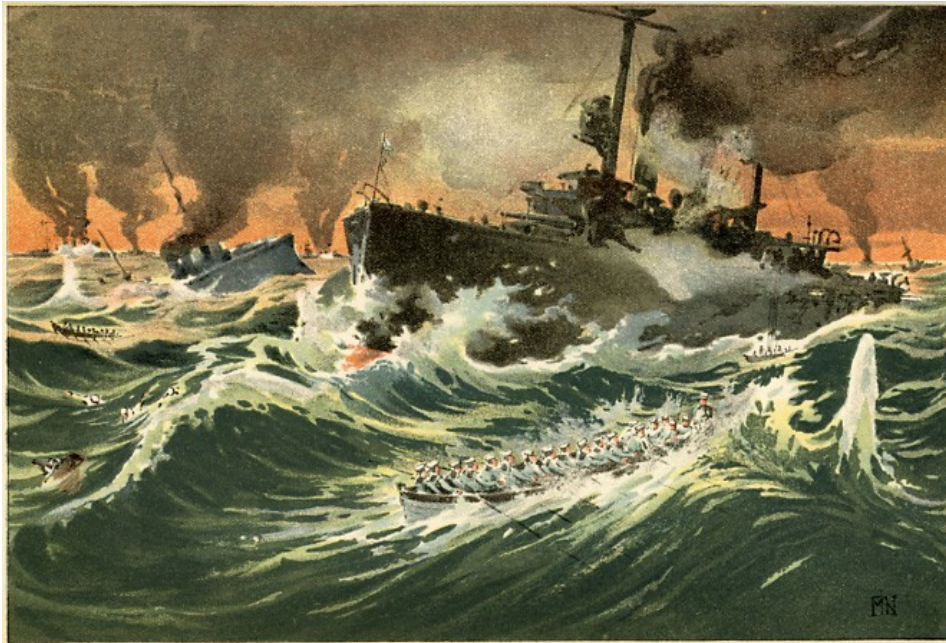


Imperial Japanese Army General Maresuke Nogori (second row, second from left) and the Russian Army General Anatoly Mikhailovich Stoessel (second row, second from right) pose for a group portrait after the surrender of the Russian forces in Port Arthur (Japanese: Ryojun; Chinese: Lushun) on January 2, 1905. The Siege of Port Arthur lasted from August 1, 1904 to January 2, 1905. The Imperial Japanese military suffered 94,000-110,000 casualties while the Russian military suffered 15,000 casualties. Russian Army General Anatoly Mikhailovich Stoessel was court-martialed and sentenced to death in 1908 for surrendering Port Arthur; however, Czar Nicholas II of Russia pardoned him in 1909 and allowed the general to continue his military service.



Imperial Japanese Army soldiers cross the Yalu River into Manchuria (China) in April 1904. The Imperial Japanese Army defeated the Russian Army at the Battle of Yalu River in April 1904.





The Naval Battle at the Sea of Japan on the 27th May.



Left: The Imperial Japanese Navy (大日本帝国海軍) defeats the Russian Navy in the Battle of Tsushima (対馬海戦) on May 27–28, 1905.

Right: Admiral Heihachiro Togo (東郷 平八郎), who was the commander of the Japanese naval fleet during the Battle of Tsushima, appears on the front cover of the November 8, 1926 edition of *Time* magazine.





"Illustration of a Fierce Russo-Japanese War Battle" by Kyōkatsu, May 1904 (Sharf Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) was modeled after the Prussian (German) army.



General Maresuke Nogi, Commander of the Japanese Third Army, stands in the center facing a captured Russian gun crew outside Port Arthur on January 2, 1905.





Kwantung (関東) Prefectural Office in Dairen (Dalian)



Dairen City Hall in Dairen (Dalian, 大連), Kwantung Leased Territory



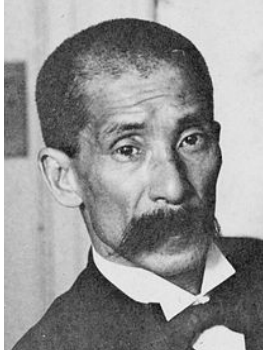
A view of the harbor and town at Lushun (旅順), formerly Port Arthur and Ryojun, from an old Japanese fortification.



## Prominent Imperial Japanese Government Officials and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War



**Admiral Gonnohyōe Yamamoto**  
山本 権兵衛  
Minister of the Navy of Imperial Japan  
(Nov 1898 – Jan 1906)



**Jutarō Komura**  
小村 壽太郎  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan  
(1901-1906, 1908-1911)  
**LL.B. Harvard 1878**



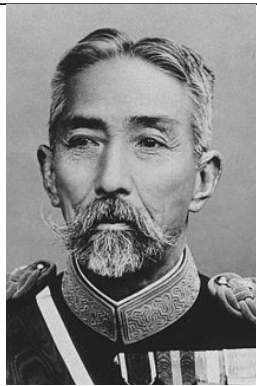
**Taro Katsura**  
桂 太郎  
Prime Minister of Japan  
(1901-1906, 1908-1911, 1912-1913)



**Shigeyoshi Matsuo**  
松尾臣善  
Governor of the Bank of Japan (October 20, 1903-June 1, 1911)



**Hisaya Iwasaki**  
岩崎久弥  
President of Mitsubishi (1893-1916)  
**B.S. University of Pennsylvania**



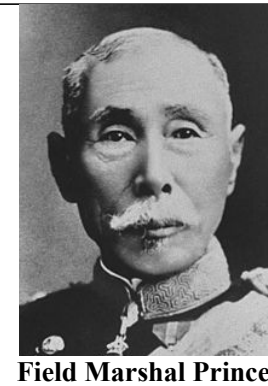
**Field Marshal Michitsura Nozu**  
野津 道貫  
Commander of the Japanese Fourth Army  
(30 June 1904-12 January 1906)



**Field Marshal Yoshimichi Hasegawa**  
長谷川 好道  
Commander of the Korea Garrison Army  
(Sept. 1904-Dec. 1908)



**Field Marshal Masatake Terauchi**  
寺内 正毅  
Minister of the Army of Imperial Japan  
(March 27, 1902-August 30, 1911)



**Field Marshal Prince Aritomo Yamagata**  
山縣 有朋  
Chief of the Army General Staff  
(24 Dec. 1878 – 4 Sept. 1882, 13 February 1884 – 22 December 1885, **June 20, 1904–December 20, 1905**)



**Field Marshal Prince Iwao Ōyama**  
大山 巖  
Chief of the Army General Staff  
(4 September 1882 – 13 February 1884, **16 May 1899 – 20 June 1904**, 20 December 1905 – 11 April 1906)

## Russian Statesmen during the Russo-Japanese War



**Count Vladimir Nikolayevich Lamsdorf**  
Foreign Minister of Russia  
(1900-1906)



**Count Vladimir Kokovtsov**  
Prime Minister of Russia  
(Sept. 18, 1911-Feb. 12, 1914); Finance Minister of Russia (1904-1905; 1906-1914)



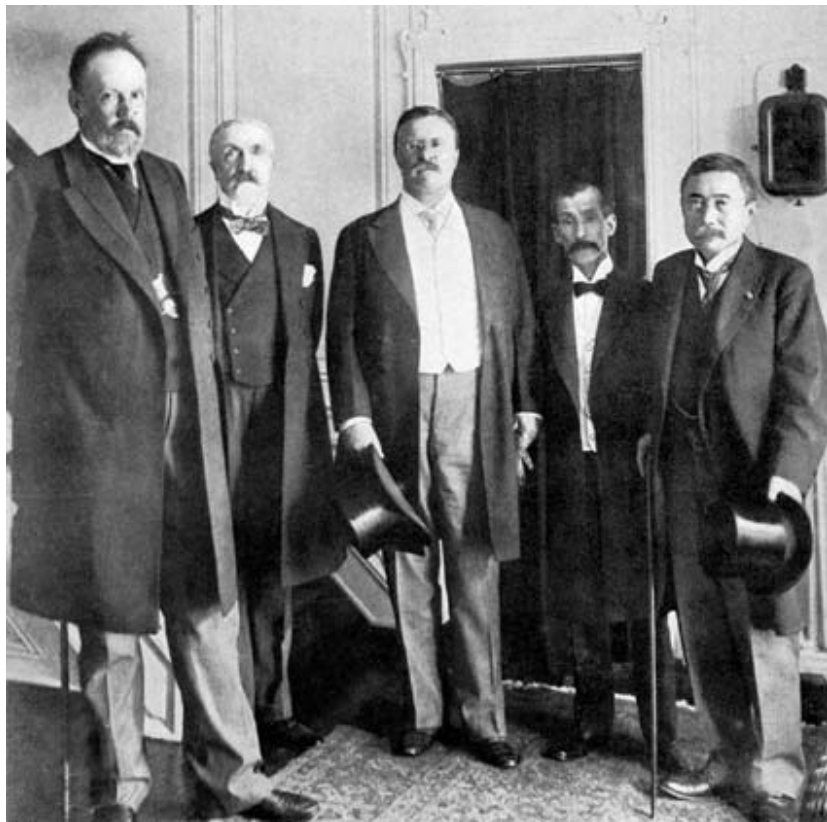
**Count Sergei Witte**  
Prime Minister of Russia  
(1905-1906); Finance Minister of Russia (1892-1903); Russian envoy to the Portsmouth Conference (1905)



**Baron Roman Rosen**  
Russian Minister to Japan (1897-1898, 1903-1904); Russian Ambassador to the United States (1904-1911)



**Nikolay Muraviev**  
Minister of Justice of Russia (1894-1905)



U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt (center) meets with Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Jutarō Komura (LL.B. Harvard 1878, second from right), Japanese Minister to the U.S. Kogoro Takahira (right), Russian envoy M. Sergius Witte, and Russian Ambassador to the U.S. Baron Rosen at the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth in Portsmouth, New Hampshire on September 5, 1905. Japan acquired Port Arthur (later renamed Kwantung) and southern portion of Sakhalin Island from Russia in a peace treaty.



American, Russian, and Japanese envoys pose for a group portrait at the Portsmouth Treaty Reception in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, U.S.A. in September 1905. Dartmouth College is located in Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A.





## KEY TO RECEPTION GROUP OF JAPAN-RUSSIA ENVOYS.

### RUSSIANS.

8. M. Sergius Witte, Senior Plenipotentiary; President of the Committee of Ministers.
7. Baron Rosen, Junior Plenipotentiary; Russian Ambassador at Washington.
6. Prof. Theodore de Martens, Delegate from Russian Foreign Office.
4. Gen. Nicholas Ermoloff, Delegate from Russian War Office.
5. M. Ivan Chipoff, Delegate from the Russian Ministry of Finance; Director of the Treasury Department.
19. M. George Plancon
21. M. Ivan Korostovitz
18. M. Constantine Nabokoff
2. Prince Nicholas Kudasheff
3. Col. Vladimir Samoiloff, Former Military Attaché at Tokio.
20. M. Gregory Vilenkin, Financial Agent of the Russian Embassy at Washington.
17. M. Constantine Berg
1. M. Michael Batcheff

of the Russian  
Foreign Office  
of the Russo-Chinese Bank; attaches to M. Chipoff

### AMERICANS.

10. Hon. John McLane, Governor of New Hampshire.
9. Hon. Herbert H. D. Peirce, Assistant Secretary of State.
56. Col. Charles S. Bromwell, U. S. A., Aide to President Roosevelt.
55. Adj.-Gen. A. D. Ayling.
53. Insp.-Gen. George D. Waldron.
47. Judge-Advocate Gen. Daniel C. Remich.
48. Quartermaster-Gen. William F. Thayer.
52. Commissary-Gen. Frank E. Kaley.
45. Col. Frederick J. Shepard, Senior Aide-de-Camp.
51. Col. Clement J. Woodward, Aide-de-Camp.
50. Col. William P. Straw, Aide-de-Camp.
46. Col. A. Melvin Foss, Aide-de-Camp.
42. Col. George E. Danforth, Aide-de-Camp.
43. Col. John H. Bartlett, Aide-de-Camp.
40. Col. Edwin O. Bean, Aide-de-Camp.
41. Col. Henry W. Anderson, Aide-de-Camp.
49. Col. William E. Storer, Aide-de-Camp.
30. Hon. Edward N. Pearson, Secretary of State.
39. Councillor Fred S. Towle.
22. Councillor Charles M. Floyd.
37. Councillor J. Woodbury Howard.
33. Councillor Edward G. Leach.
32. Councillor Charles H. Greenleaf.
38. U. S. Senator Jacob H. Gallinger.
36. U. S. Senator Henry E. Burnham.
35. Congressman Cyrus A. Sulloway.
34. Congressman Frank D. Currier.
16. Judge Calvin Page.
31. Hon. William E. Marvin, Mayor of Portsmouth.
54. Mr. George H. Moses, Secretary to Governor McLane.
44. Frank H. Godfrey, Governor's Color-bearer.

### JAPANESE.

11. Baron Jutaro Komura, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Plenipotentiary.
12. Mr. Kogoro Takahira, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington and Special Plenipotentiary.
13. Mr. Henry Willard Denison, Legal Adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs.
14. Mr. Ainaro Sato, Minister Resident.
15. Mr. Enjiro Yamaza, Director of Political Bureau of the Department of Foreign Affairs.
28. Mr. Mineichiro Adatci, First Secretary of Legation and Councillor to the Department of Foreign Affairs.
26. Col. Kōchiro Tachibana, Military Attaché to Japanese Legation in Washington.
24. Mr. Kentaro Ochiai, Second Secretary of Japanese Legation at Paris.
25. Commander Isamu Takeshita, Naval Attaché to Japanese Legation in Washington.
23. Mr. Kumataru Honda, Secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Private Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.
27. Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Third Secretary of Japanese Legation in Washington.
29. Mr. Kotaro Konishi, Attaché to Legation.

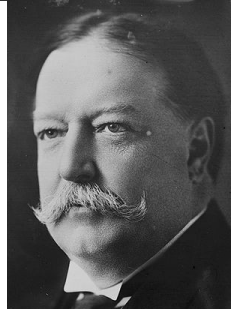
# Yale University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War



Ellis Henry Roberts  
B.A. Yale 1850  
Treasurer of the United States (1897-1905)



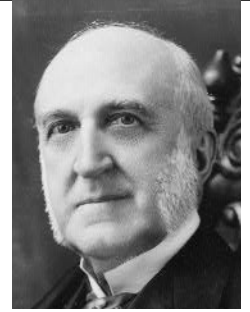
Henry Waters Taft  
B.A. Yale 1880  
Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [law firm in New York City] (1899-1945)



William Howard Taft  
B.A. Yale 1878  
U.S. Secretary of War (February 1, 1904-June 30, 1908)



George P. Wetmore  
B.A. Yale 1867  
U.S. Senator (R-Rhode Island, 1895-1907, 1908-1913)



Chauncey M. Depew  
B.A. Yale 1856  
U.S. Senator (R-New York, 1899-1911)



David Josiah Brewer  
B.A. Yale 1856  
Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1889-1910)



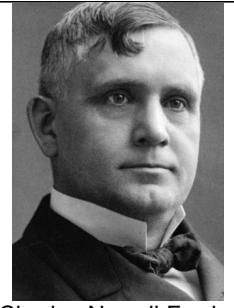
Frank B. Brandegee  
B.A. Yale 1885  
U.S. Congressman R-Conn., 1902-1905)



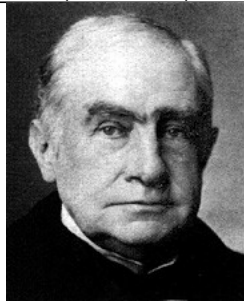
Francis Burton Harrison  
(B.A. Yale 1895  
U.S. Congressman (D-New York, 1903-1905, 1907-1913)



John Dalzell  
B.A. Yale 1865  
U.S. Congressman (R-Penn., 1887-1913)



Charles Newell Fowler  
B.A. Yale 1876  
U.S. Congressman (R-New Jersey, 1895-1911)



Henry Billings Brown  
B.A. Yale 1856  
Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1891-1906)



LeBaron Bradford Colt  
B.A. Yale 1868  
Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit [Boston] (1884-1913)



William K. Townsend  
B.A. Yale 1871  
Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit [New York City] (1902-1907)



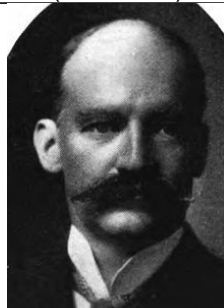
Otto T. Bannard  
B.A. Yale 1876  
President of New York Trust Co. (1904-1916)



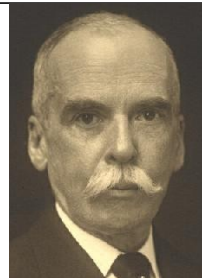
Robert Weeks de Forest  
B.A. Yale 1870  
General Counsel of Central Railroad of New Jersey (1874-1924)



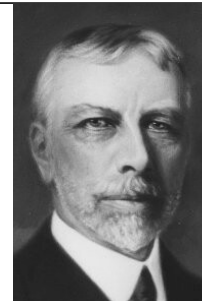
Lloyd Wheaton Bowers  
B.A. Yale 1879  
General Counsel of Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. (1893-1909)



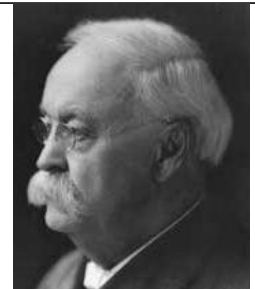
James Mulford Townsend  
B.A. Yale 1874  
General Counsel of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. (1903-1913)



John William Sterling  
B.A. Yale 1864  
Co-Founder of Shearman & Sterling [law firm in New York City] (1873-1918)



Arthur Twining Hadley  
B.A. Yale 1876  
President of Yale University (1899-1921)



Cyrus Northrop  
B.A. Yale 1857  
President of University of Minnesota (1884-1911)



## Yale University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

### Government Officials:

William Howard Taft (B.A. 1878, S&B 1878) – U.S. Secretary of War (February 1, 1904-June 30, 1908)  
Henry M. Hoyt, Jr. (B.A. 1878, S&K 1878) – Solicitor General of the United States (1903-1909)  
Ellis Henry Roberts (B.A. 1850, S&B 1850) – Treasurer of the United States (1897-1905)  
William Torrey Harris (B.A. 1858) – U.S. Commissioner of Education (1889-1906)  
Herbert Knox Smith (B.A. 1891) – U.S. Deputy Commissioner of Corporations, U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor (1903-1907)  
John Green Brady (B.A. 1874) – Governor of the Territory of Alaska (1897-1906)  
Victor H. Metcalf (LL.B. 1876) – U.S. Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1904-1906); U.S. Congressman (R-California, 1899-1904)  
Irwin B. Laughlin (B.A. 1893, S&K 1893) – Second Secretary of the American Legation at Tokyo, Japan (1905-1906); Private Secretary to the U.S. Minister to Japan (1903-1905)  
Herbert Wolcott Bowen (B.A. 1878) – U.S. Minister to Venezuela (1901-1905)  
William Harrison Bradley (B.A. 1872, S&K 1872) – U.S. Consul in Manchester, England (1903-1905)  
William Williams (B.A. 1884) – U.S. Commissioner of Immigration for the Port of New York at Ellis Island (1902-1905, 1909-1913)  
Morgan Hawley Beach (B.A. 1882, S&K 1882) – U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia (1903-1905)

Fred Thomas Dubois (B.A. 1872, S&K 1872) – U.S. Senator (R, D-Idaho, 1891-1897, 1901-1907)  
George Peabody Wetmore (B.A. 1867, S&B 1867) – U.S. Senator (R-Rhode Island, 1895-1907, 1908-1913)  
Chauncey M. Depew (B.A. 1856, S&B 1856) – U.S. Senator (R-New York, 1899-1911)  
Alfred B. Kittredge (B.A. 1882, LL.B. 1885) – U.S. Senator (R-South Dakota, 1901-1909)  
Francis Newlands (B.A. 1859) – U.S. Senator (D-Nevada, 1903-1917)  
John Dalzell (B.A. 1865, S&K 1865) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Pennsylvania, 1887-1913)  
Thomas Hedge (B.A. 1867, S&B 1867) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Iowa, 1899-1907)  
Charles Newell Fowler (B.A. 1876, S&B 1876) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-New Jersey, 1895-1911)  
John R. Thayer (B.A. 1869) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Massachusetts, 1899-1905)  
Frank Bosworth Brandegee (B.A. 1885, S&B 1885) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Connecticut, 1902-1905)  
Francis Burton Harrison (B.A. 1895, S&B 1895) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-New York, 1903-1905, 1907-1913)

David Josiah Brewer (B.A. 1856) – Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1889-1910)  
Henry Billings Brown (B.A. 1856) – Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1891-1906)  
LeBaron Bradford Colt (B.A. 1868, S&B 1868) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit [Boston] (1884-1913)  
William Kneeland Townsend (B.A. 1871, S&B 1871) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit [New York City] (1902-1907)  
George Chandler Holt (B.A. 1866, S&B 1866) – Judge of U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York [New York City] (1903-1914)  
James Perry Platt (B.A. 1873, S&K 1873) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Connecticut (1902-1913)  
Elmer Bragg Adams (B.A. 1865) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri (1895-1905)  
Edward G. Bradford II (B.A. 1868) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Delaware (1897-1918)  
Edward Beers Thomas (B.A. 1870) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York (1898-1906)  
Robert W. Archbald (B.A. 1871, S&K 1871) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania (1901-1911)  
Henry Clay McDowell (B.A. 1884, S&K 1884) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Virginia (1901-1931)

Charles Fraser MacLean (B.A. 1864, S&B 1864) – Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1896-1909)  
Almet Francis Jenks (B.A. 1875, S&B 1875) – Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1898-1924)  
John Proctor Clarke (B.A. 1878) – Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1901-1926)  
Joseph Arthur Burr (B.A. 1871) – Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1904-1915)  
John Albert Matthewman (B.A. 1894) – Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Hawaii (1904-1919)  
Leonard Mayhew Daggett (B.A. 1884, LL.B. 1887) – Corporation Counsel of New Haven, Connecticut (1901-1908)  
Arthur Leffingwell Shipman (B.A. 1886, LL.B. 1888, S&B 1886) – Corporation Counsel of Hartford, Connecticut (1904-1908, 1910-1912)  
John Prescott Kellogg (B.A. 1882, S&K 1882) – Corporation Counsel of City of Waterbury, Connecticut (1896-1909, 1911-1912)  
Montgomery Hare (B.A. 1893) – Assistant Corporation Counsel for New York City (1901-1906)  
John William Beckwith (B.A. 1889) – Assistant Corporation Counsel for Chicago (1903-1911)  
Robert Rutherford McCormick (B.A. 1903, S&K 1903) – Member of Chicago City Council (1904-1906); President of Sanitary District of Chicago (1905-1910); Editor and Publisher of *The Chicago Tribune*  
James Everett Wheeler (B.A. 1892, LL.B. 1894) – Member of City Council of New Haven, Connecticut (1900-1904)  
John Payne Studley (LL.B. 1875) – Mayor of New Haven, Connecticut (1901-1908)  
Homer S. Cummings (Ph.B. 1891, LL.B. 1893) – Mayor of Stamford, Connecticut (1900-1902, 1904-1906)  
Edwin F. Sweet (B.A. 1871, S&B 1871) – Mayor of Grand Rapids, Michigan (1904-1906)  
Morihiro Ichihara (Ph.D. 1892) – Mayor of Yokohama, Japan (1903-1906); President of the Bank of Chosen at Seoul, Korea (1909-1915)

### Lawyers:

James Mulford Townsend (B.A. 1874, S&B 1874) – General Counsel of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Company (1903-1913)  
Robert Weeks de Forest (B.A. 1870, S&K 1870) – General Counsel of Central Railroad of New Jersey (1874-1924)  
Lloyd Wheaton Bowers (B.A. 1879, S&B 1879) – General Counsel of Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company (1893-1909)  
Thomas Thacher (B.A. 1871, S&B 1871) – Co-Founder and Member of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett [law firm in New York City] (1875-1919)  
Philip G. Bartlett (B.A. 1881, S&B 1881) – Partner of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett (1890-1931)  
Thomas Mills Day (B.A. 1886, LL.B. 1888, S&B 1886) – Member of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett (1898-1917)  
Henry Waters Taft (B.A. 1880, S&B 1880) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [law firm in New York City] (1899-1945)  
John William Sterling (B.A. 1864, S&B 1864) – Co-Founder and Member of Shearman & Sterling [law firm in New York City] (1873-1918)  
John Anson Garver (B.A. 1875, S&K 1875) – Partner (1884-1918) and Senior Partner (1918-1936) of Shearman & Sterling  
Henry DeForest Baldwin (B.A. 1885, S&B 1885) – Member of Lord, Day & Lord [law firm in New York City] (1900-1947)  
Charles Wheeler Pierson (B.A. 1886, S&B 1886) – Member of Alexander & Green [law firm in New York City] (1900-1929)  
Frederick Kingsbury Curtis (B.A. 1884) – Member of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle [law firm in New York City] (1889-1926)

Herbert Parsons (B.A. 1890, S&K 1890) – Member of Parsons, Closson & McIlvaine [law firm in New York City] (1895-1925)  
Charles P. Howland (B.A. 1891) – Member of Murray, Prentice & Howland [law firm in New York City] (1900-1921)  
Henry Fletcher (B.A. 1898) – Member of Fletcher, Sillicocks & Leahy [law firm in New York City] (1902-1920)  
Allen Wardner Evarts (B.A. 1869) – Member of Evarts, Choate & Sherman [and predecessor firms] [New York City] (1874-1939)  
Thomas Townsend Sherman (B.A. 1874, LL.B. Columbia 1876) – Member of Evarts, Choate & Sherman [and predecessor firms] (1875-1931); great-grandson of Roger Sherman

#### Businessmen and Journalists:

Otto T. Bannard (B.A. 1876, S&B 1876) – President of New York Trust Company (1904-1916)  
Elbridge Clinton Cooke (B.A. 1877; S&B 1877) – President of Minneapolis Trust Company (1903-1920)  
Robert Macy Galloway (B.A. 1858) – President of Merchants National Bank [New York City] (1892-1917)  
Robert W. Huntington Jr. (B.A. 1889, S&K 1889) – President of Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. (1901-1936)  
Harry Payne Whitney (B.A. 1894, S&B 1894) – Member of the board of directors of Guaranty Trust Co. of New York (1899-1930)  
Charles Marshall Brown (B.A. 1891) – Secretary and Treasurer of Colonial Steel Company [Pittsburgh] (1901-1917)  
Charles Hopkins Clark (B.A. 1871, S&B 1871) – President and Editor-in-Chief of *Hartford Courant* (1890-1926)  
William H. Cowles (B.A. 1887, S&B 1887) – Publisher of *Spokane Spokesman-Review* (1893-1946)  
Edward Anthony Bradford (B.A. 1873, S&K 1873) – Member of the staff of *The New York Times* (1874-1928)

#### College Administrators and Professors:

Arthur Twining Hadley (B.A. 1876, S&B 1876) – President of Yale University (1899-1921)  
Kenjiro Yamagawa (Ph.B. 1875) – President of Tokyo Imperial University (1901-1905, 1913-1920); Member of House of Peers (1904-1923)  
William Rainey Harper (Ph.D. 1875) – President of the University of Chicago (1891-1906)  
Cyrus Northrop (B.A. 1857, LL.B. 1859, S&B 1857) – President of University of Minnesota (1884-1911)  
Austin Scott (B.A. 1869) – President of Rutgers College (1891-1906)  
Horace Bumstead (B.A. 1863) – President of Atlanta University (1888-1907)  
Webster Merrifield (B.A. 1877) – President of University of North Dakota (1891-1909)  
Frank Strong (B.A. 1884) – Chancellor of University of Kansas (1902-1920)  
George W. Kirchwey (B.A. 1879) – Dean of Columbia Law School (1901-1910)  
George Chase (B.A. 1870, valedictorian) – Dean of New York Law School (1891-1924)  
Nathan Davis Abbott (B.A. 1877, S&K 1877) – Dean of Stanford University Law School (1894-1907)  
William Thayer Smith (B.A. 1860, S&B 1860) – Dean of Dartmouth Medical School (1896-1909)

George Dutton Watrous (B.A. 1879, LL.B. 1883) – Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1895-1920)  
Henry Walcott Farnam (B.A. 1874, S&B 1874) – Professor of Political Economy at Yale University (1880-1912)  
Irving Fisher (B.A. 1888, Ph.D. 1891, S&B 1888) – Professor of Political Economy at Yale University (1893-1935)  
Gustav Gruener (B.A. 1884, S&B 1884) – Professor of German at Yale University (1892-1928)  
Robert Nelson Corwin (B.A. 1887, S&B 1887) – Professor of German at Yale University (1899-1933)  
Horatio McLeod Reynolds (B.A. 1880) – Talcott Professor of the Greek Language and Literature at Yale University (1893-1922)  
Charlton M. Lewis (B.A. 1886, S&B 1886) – Emily Sanford Professor of English at Yale University (1899-1923)  
James W. Ingersoll (B.A. 1892, S&B 1892) – Professor of Latin at Yale University (1897-1921)  
Charles Foster Kent (B.A. 1889, Ph.D. 1891) – Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature at Yale University (1901-1925)  
Edward Salisbury Dana (B.A. 1870, S&K 1870) – Professor of Physics at Yale University (1890-1917)

Dwight Whitney Learned (B.A. 1870, Ph.D. 1873, S&B 1870) – Professor of Chinese History, Biblical Theology, and Greek at Doshisha College in Kyoto, Japan (1876-1928)  
Henry Taylor Terry (B.A. 1869) – Professor of English Law at University of Tokyo (1894-1912)  
John Trumbull Swift (B.A. 1884) – Lecturer on the English language in Tokyo Imperial University (1900-1927)  
William Stewart Halsted (B.A. 1874) – Surgeon-in-Chief of Johns Hopkins Hospital at Baltimore (1890-1922)  
John Louis Ewell (B.A. 1865, S&B 1865) – Professor of Church History and Hebrew Exegesis at Howard University [Wash., D.C.] (1891-1910)  
Warren Austin Adams (B.A. 1886, Ph.D. 1895) – Professor of German at Dartmouth College (1904-1944)  
John Seymour Thacher (B.A. 1877, S&B 1877) – Professor of Clinical Medicine at Columbia University (1903-1918)  
George E. Vincent (B.A. 1885, S&K 1885) – Professor of Sociology at University of Chicago (1904-1911)  
Henry Herbert Donaldson (B.A. 1879, S&K 1879) – Professor of Neurology at University of Chicago (1892-1906)

#### Organization Executives:

Franklin Augustus Gaylord (B.A. 1876) – General Secretary of the Russian YMCA in St. Petersburg, Russia (1899-1917)  
Thomas F. Davies (B.A. 1853, S&B 1853) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan (1889-1905)  
Boyd Vincent (B.A. 1867, S&K 1867) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio (1904-1929)  
Chauncey B. Brewster (B.A. 1868, S&B 1868) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut (1899-1928)  
Edwin Stevens Lines (B.A. 1872, S&K 1872) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, New Jersey (1903-1927)  
Frederic W. Keator (B.A. 1880, LL.B. 1882, S&K 1880) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Olympia, Wa. (1902-1924)  
Cortlandt Whitehead (B.A. 1863) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1882-1922); Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania Free and Accepted Masons (1883-1921)  
Serenio Dwight Nickerson (B.A. 1845, S&B 1845) – Recording Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts (1881-1908)  
William H. Welch (B.A. 1870, S&B 1870) – President of the board of directors of Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (1901-1934)  
Daniel Coit Gilman (B.A. 1852, S&B 1852) – President of Carnegie Institution of Washington (1902-1905); President of the National Civil Service Reform League (1901-1907)  
David James Burrell (B.A. 1867, S&K 1867) – Pastor of Marble Collegiate Church in New York City (1891-1926)  
Henry Albert Stimson (B.A. 1865, S&B 1865) – Pastor of Manhattan Church in New York City (1896-1917)  
Joseph D. Burrell (B.A. 1881, S&B 1881) – Pastor of Classon Avenue Church in Brooklyn [New York City] (1892-1919)

Note: Abbreviations for Yale University graduates: S&B = Skull & Bones; S&K = Scroll & Key



## Harvard University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

### Federal Government Officials:

Theodore Roosevelt (B.A. 1880) – President of the United States (1901-1909)  
William Henry Moody (B.A. 1876) – Secretary of the Navy (1902-1904); U.S. Attorney General (1904-1906)  
Charles Hallam Keep (A.B. 1882, LL.B. 1885) – Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (1903-1907)  
Edwin V. Morgan (A.B. 1890) – U.S. Minister to Korea (June 26, 1905-November 17, 1905)  
Richard Theodore Greener (A.B. 1870) – U.S. Consul to Vladivostok, Russia (1898-1905); first African-American Harvard graduate  
Roger Sherman Greene (A.B. 1901) – U.S. Vice Consul to Nagasaki, Japan (1904-1905); U.S. Consul at Harbin, China (1909-1911)  
Joseph Hodges Choate (B.A. 1852, LL.B. 1854) – U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain (March 6, 1899-May 23, 1905)  
Charlemagne Tower (B.A. 1872) – U.S. Ambassador to Russia (1899-1902); U.S. Ambassador to Germany (1902-1908)  
Bellamy Storer (B.A. 1867) – U.S. Ambassador to Austria-Hungary (1902-1906)  
George von L. Meyer (B.A. 1879) – U.S. Ambassador to Italy (February 4, 1901-April 1, 1905); U.S. Ambassador to Russia (1905-1907)  
John W. Riddle (B.A. 1887) – U.S. Consul General in Egypt (March 28, 1904-June 9, 1905); U.S. Ambassador to Russia (1907-1909)

Henry Cabot Lodge Sr. (B.A. 1871, LL.B. 1874, Ph.D. 1876) – U.S. Senator (R-Massachusetts, 1893-1924)  
Boies Penrose (B.A. 1881) – U.S. Senator (R-Pennsylvania, 1897-1921)  
George Edmund Foss (B.A. 1885) – U.S. Congressman (R-Illinois, 1895-1913, 1915-1919)  
Henry Sherman Boutell (B.A. 1876) – U.S. Congressman (R-Illinois, 1897-1911)  
Lucius N. Littauer (B.A. 1878) – U.S. Congressman (R-New York, 1897-1907)  
Augustus Peabody Gardner (B.A. 1886) – U.S. Congressman (R-Massachusetts, 1902-1917)  
Nicholas Longworth (B.A. 1891) – U.S. Congressman (R-Ohio, 1903-1913, 1915-1931)

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. (B.A. 1861, LL.B. 1866) – Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1902-1932)  
John Kelvey Richards (B.A. 1877) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (1903-1909)  
Francis Cabot Lowell (B.A. 1876, LL.B. 1879) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts (1898-1905)  
Herbert Putnam (B.A. 1883) – Librarian of Congress (1899-1939)  
Beekman Winthrop (B.A. 1897) – Governor of Puerto Rico (1904-1907)  
John Percy Nields (A.B. 1889, LL.B. 1892) – U.S. Attorney for the District of Delaware (1903-1916)

### State and Local Government Officials:

Alfred Stedman Hartwell (B.A. 1858, LL.B. 1867) – Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii (1904-1911)  
James Tyndale Mitchell (B.A. 1855) – Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (1903-1909)  
William Caleb Loring (B.A. 1872, LL.B. 1874) – Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts (1899-1919)  
Henry Newton Sheldon (A.B. 1863) – Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts (1894-1905)  
Herbert Parker (A.B. 1896) – Attorney General of Massachusetts (1901-1905)  
Marcus Cauffman Sloss (A.B. 1890, LL.B. 1893) – Judge of the Superior Court of the City and County of San Francisco (1901-1906)  
Abbot Low Mills (A.B. 1881) – Member, Oregon State House of Rep. (1904-05); President, First National Bank of Portland [Oregon] (1903-27)  
Louis Adams Frothingham (A.B. 1893, LL.B. 1896) – Member (1901-05) and Speaker (1904-1905) of Mass. State House of Representatives  
Robert Luce (A.B. 1882) – Member of the Massachusetts State House of Representatives (1899, 1901-1908)  
James Arnold Lowell (A.B. 1891, LL.B. 1894) – Member of the Massachusetts State House of Representatives (1904-1906)  
George Dickson Markham (A.B. 1881) – Member of City Council of St. Louis, Missouri (1901-1905)  
Robert Grant (A.B. 1873, Ph.D. 1876, LL.B. 1879) – Judge of the Probate Court and Court of Insolvency for Suffolk County [Boston], Massachusetts (1893-1923)

### Bankers:

August Belmont Jr. (A.B. 1874) – Head of August Belmont & Co., bankers, New York City (1890-1924)  
John Pierpont “Jack” Morgan Jr. (A.B. 1889) – Member of J.P. Morgan & Co. (1901-1913)  
Paul J. Sachs (A.B. 1900) – Partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co. (1904-1914)  
George Cabot Lee (A.B. 1894) – Member of Lee Higginson & Co. (1900-c.1938)  
Thomas W. Lamont (A.B. 1892) – Secretary, Treasurer, and Vice President of Bankers Trust Company (1903-1909)  
Edward Percival Merritt (A.B. 1882) – Member of Blodget, Merritt & Co. [banking firm in Boston] (1893-1910)  
Russell Green Fessenden (A.B. 1890) – President and Chairman of American Trust Company [banking firm in Boston] (1907-1927)

### Businessmen:

Frederick Perry Fish (A.B. 1875) – President of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. [AT&T] (1901-1907)  
Robert Todd Lincoln (B.A. 1864) – President of The Pullman Co. (1897-1911)  
Howard Elliott (C.E. 1881) – President of Northern Pacific Railway Co. (1903-1913)  
Frederic A. Delano (A.B. 1885) – General Manager at Chicago office, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co. (July 1, 1901-Jan. 10, 1905)  
Charles Norman Fay (B.A. 1869) – President of Remington-Sholes Company [manufacturers of typewriters in Chicago] (1896-1909)  
Adolphus Williamson Green (A.B. 1863) – Co-Founder and President of National Biscuit Company [Nabisco] (1905)  
Hammond Lamont (A.B. 1886) – Managing Editor of *New York Evening Post* (1900-1906)  
Samuel Dennis Warren (A.B. 1875, LL.B. 1877) – Partner of S.D. Warren & Co. [paper manufacturers in Boston] (1889-1910)  
Fiske Warren (B.A. 1884) – Partner of S.D. Warren & Co. [paper manufacturers in Boston] (1889-1918)  
Frederic Cromwell (B.A. 1863) – Treasurer and Trustee of Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York  
Alfred Dwight Foster (A.B. 1873) – Vice President of New England Mutual Life Insurance Company (1893-1908)

### College Administrators and Professors:

Charles William Eliot (A.B. 1853) – President of Harvard University (1869-1909)  
William DeWitt Hyde (B.A. 1879) – President of Bowdoin College (1885-1917)  
Bartholomew Francis Griffin (A.B. 1899) – President of Oahu College [Honolulu] (1902-1922)  
George Edmands Merrill (B.A. 1869) – President of Colgate University (1899-1908)

Charles Franklin Thwing (B.A. 1876) – President of Western Reserve University (1890-1921)  
Prince Lucien Campbell (A.B. 1886) – President of University of Oregon (1902-1925)  
James Barr Ames (B.A. 1868, LL.B. 1872) – Dean of Harvard Law School (1895-1910)  
Francis Greenwood Peabody (A.B. 1869) – Dean of Harvard Divinity School (1901-1905)  
William Lambert Richardson (A.B. 1864, M.D. 1867) – Dean of Faculty of Medicine at Harvard University (1899-1907)  
Joseph French Johnson (A.B. 1878) – Dean of School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance at New York University (1903-1925)  
Marshall Solomon Snow (A.B. 1865) – Dean of Washington University in St. Louis [Missouri] (1876-1912)

Horatio Stevens White (A.B. 1873) – Professor of German at Harvard University (1902-1919)  
Eugene Wambaugh (A.B. 1876, LL.B. 1880) – Professor of Law at Harvard University (1892-1925)  
John Eliot Wolff (A.B. 1879, Ph.D. 1889) – Professor of Petrography and Mineralogy at Harvard University (1895-1923)  
Samuel Williston (A.B. 1882, LL.B. 1888) – Weld Professor of Law at Harvard University (1903-1919)  
Theodore William Richards (A.B. 1886, Ph.D. 1888) – Professor of Chemistry at Harvard University (1901-1928)

George Folger Canfield (A.B. 1875; LL.B. 1880) – Professor of Law at Columbia University (1894-c.1919)  
James Harvey Robinson (A.B. 1887) – Professor of History at Columbia University (1895-1919)  
Charles Augustus Strong (A.B. 1885) – Professor of Psychology at Columbia University (1903-1910); married Bessie Rockefeller, daughter of John D. Rockefeller Sr.  
James Laurence Laughlin (A.B. 1873; Ph.D. 1876) – Professor of Political Economy at University of Chicago (1892-1916)  
James Richard Jewett (A.B. 1884) – Professor of Arabic Language and Literature at University of Chicago (1902-1911)  
Robert Herrick (A.B. 1890) – Associate Professor of English at University of Chicago (1901-1905)  
Henry Schofield (A.B. 1887, LL.B. 1890) – Professor of Law at Northwestern University [Illinois] (1902-1918)  
Frederick Green (A.B. 1889, LL.B. 1893) – Professor of Law at University of Illinois (1904-c.1928)  
Evarts Boutell Greene (A.B. 1890, A.M. 1891, Ph.D. 1893) – Professor of History at Univ. of Illinois (1897-1923); brother of Jerome D. Greene

Wilder Dwight Bancroft (A.B. 1888) – Professor of Physical Chemistry at Cornell University (1903-1937)  
William Julian Albert Bliss (A.B. 1888) – Professor of Physics at Johns Hopkins University (1901-1928)  
Reynolds Driver Brown (A.B. 1890) – Professor of Law at University of Pennsylvania (1897-1936)  
William MacDonald (A.B. 1892) – Professor of History at Brown University (1901-1917)  
Edward Everett Hale (A.B. 1883) – Professor of English at Union College (1895-1932)

Lawyers:  
Charles Howland Russell (A.B. 1872, LL.B. Columbia 1874) – Member of Stetson, Jennings & Russell [law firm in New York City] (1894-1921)  
Edmund Lincoln Baylies (A.B. 1879, LL.B. 1882) – Member of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn [law firm in New York City] (1904-1926)  
William Thomas (A.B. 1873, LL.B. 1876) – Member of Thomas, Beedy, Presley & Paramore [law firm in San Francisco]  
Edgar Judson Rich (A.B. 1887, LL.B. 1891) – General Solicitor of Boston & Maine Railroad (1903-1915)  
Hollis Russell Bailey (A.B. 1877; LL.B. 1878) – Chairman of Massachusetts Board of Bar Examiners (1903-1931); Democrat

Church Leaders:  
Edward Everett Hale (B.A. 1839) – Chaplain of the United States Senate (1903-1909)  
William Lawrence (A.B. 1871) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts (1893-1926)  
George Angier Gordon (A.B. 1881) – Minister of Old South Church in Boston (1884-1927)  
Edward Cummings (A.B. 1883) – Minister of South Congregational Church in Boston (1900-1925)  
Augustus Mendon Lord (A.B. 1883) – Minister of First Congregational (Unitarian) Church in Providence, Rhode Island (1890-1931)  
Charles Elliott St. John (A.B. 1879) – Secretary of American Unitarian Association in Boston (1900-1907)

Miscellaneous:  
Augustine Heard (B.A. 1847) – U.S. Minister to Korea (1890-1893)  
Jutarō Komura (LL.B. 1878) – Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs (1901-1906, 1908-1911)  
Edward H. Strobel (B.A. 1877) – General Adviser to the Government of Siam [Thailand] (1903-1907)  
Edward B. Drew (B.A. 1863) – Commissioner of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs (1869-1908)  
Henry Ferdinand Merrill (B.A. 1874) – Commissioner of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs (1887-1916)  
Benjamin Morgan Harrod (B.A. 1856) – Member of Panama Canal Commission (1904-1907); City Engineer of New Orleans (1888-1892); Chief State Engineer of Louisiana (1877-1880); Member of U.S. Mississippi River Commission (1879-1904)

Note: Frederic A. Delano was Franklin Delano Roosevelt's uncle; Franklin Delano Roosevelt's mother was Sara Delano, the sister of Frederic A. Delano. Frederic A. Delano was born in Hong Kong on September 10, 1863.



## Princeton University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

### Government Officials:

Richard Wayne Parker (A.B. 1867) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-New Jersey, 1895-1911, 1914-1919, 1921-1923)  
Ira Wells Wood (A.B. 1877) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-New Jersey, 1904-1913)  
Joseph Holt Gaines (A.B. 1886) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-West Virginia, 1901-1911)  
Richmond Pearson (A.B. 1872) – U.S. Minister to Persia (1903-1907)  
Samuel R. Gummere (A.B. 1870) – U.S. Consul General at Tangier [Morocco] (1898-1905)  
George Gray (A.B. 1859) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit [Philadelphia] (1899-1914)  
John Bayard McPherson (A.B. 1866) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (1899-1912)  
John Jay Jackson, Jr. (A.B. 1845) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of West Virginia (1901-1905)  
Joseph Cross (A.B. 1865) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of New Jersey (March 17, 1905-October 29, 1913); Member of New Jersey State Senate (1899-1905)  
George B. McClellan Jr. (A.B. 1886) – Mayor of New York City (January 1, 1904-December 31, 1909)  
Frank S. Katzenbach Jr. (A.B. 1889) – Mayor of Trenton, New Jersey (1901-1907)  
William Franklin Henney (A.B. 1874) – Mayor of Hartford, Connecticut (1904-1908)  
Charles Andrew Talcott (A.B. 1879) – Mayor of Utica, New York (1902-1906)  
William S. Gummere (A.B. 1870) – Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey (1901-1933)  
Mahlon Pitney (A.B. 1879) – Judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey (1901-1908)  
Robert H. McCarter (A.B. 1879) – Attorney General of New Jersey (1903-1908)

### Others:

Woodrow Wilson (A.B. 1879) – President of Princeton University (1902-1910)  
Winthrop More Daniels (A.B. 1888) – Professor of Political Economy at Princeton University (1892-1911); Professor of Transportation at Yale University (1923-1940)  
William McKibbin (A.B. 1869) – President of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio (1904-1925)  
Franklin Spencer Spalding (A.B. 1887) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Utah (1904-1914)  
William James McKittrick (A.B. 1876) – Pastor of First Church in St. Louis, Missouri (1899-1916)  
William James Reid Jr. (A.B. 1893) – Pastor of First Church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1902-1943)  
Wilton Merle-Smith (A.B. 1877) – Pastor of Central Church in New York City (1889-1920)  
Graham Lee (A.B. 1889) – Christian Missionary in Pyongyang, Korea (1892-1912)

## Dartmouth College Graduates and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Charles Daniel Tenney (A.B. 1878) – President of Imperial Chinese University at Tientsin, China (1895-1906); Chinese Secretary at American Legation in Peking (March 11, 1908-March 31, 1912)  
William Jewett Tucker (A.B. 1861) – President of Dartmouth College (1893-1909)  
George Augustus Gates (A.B. 1873) – President of Pomona College [Claremont, California] (1902-1909)  
Albert Ellis Frost (A.B. 1872) – Treasurer of University of Pittsburgh (1892-1909)  
Henry Eben Burnham (A.B. 1865) – U.S. Senator (Republican-New Hampshire, 1901-1913)  
Redfield Proctor (A.B. 1851) – U.S. Senator (Republican-Vermont, 1891-1908)  
David Johnson Foster (A.B. 1880) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Vermont, 1901-1912)  
Samuel Walker McCall (A.B. 1874) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Massachusetts, 1893-1913)  
Samuel Leland Powers (A.B. 1874) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Massachusetts, 1901-1905)  
Charles Quincy Tirrell (A.B. 1866) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Massachusetts, 1901-1910)  
Walter Henry Sanborn (A.B. 1867) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit [St. Louis] (1892-1928)  
Charles Andrew Willard (A.B. 1877) – U.S. Territorial Judge of the Philippine Islands (1901-1909)  
Frank Naismith Parsons (A.B. 1874) – Chief Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court (1902-1924)  
George Hutchins Bingham (A.B. 1887) – Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court (1902-1913)  
Harry B. Thayer (A.B. 1879) – Vice President of Western Electric Company (1902-1908)  
Charles Henry Treat (A.B. 1863) – Collector of Internal Revenue for the Wall Street District (1896-1905); Treasurer of the U.S. (1905-1909)  
Samuel Henry Hudson (A.B. 1885) – First Assistant Corporation Counsel of Boston (1904-1906)

#### Columbia University Graduates & Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Nicholas Murray Butler (B.A. 1882; M.A. 1883; Ph.D. 1884) – President of Columbia University (1902-1945)  
Frederic R. Coudert (B.A. 1890; A.M. 1891; Ph.D. 1894) – Member of Coudert Brothers [law firm in New York City] (1895-1955)  
E.R.A. Seligman (B.A. 1879; LL.B. 1884; Ph.D. 1885) – McKim Professor of Political Economy and Finance at Columbia Univ. (1904-1931)  
William T. Sabine (B.A. 1859) – Pastor of the First Reformed Episcopal Church in New York City (1874-1907)  
Emile Henry Lacombe (B.A. 1863; LL.B. 1865) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1891-1916)  
George Lockhart Rives (B.A. 1868, LL.B. 1873) – Corporation Counsel of New York City (1902-1904)  
Bernard Drachman (B.A. 1882, Ph.D. Heidelberg 1884) – Rabbi of Congregation Zichron Ephraim in New York City (1889-1945); Professor of Bible and Rabbinical Codes at Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1902-1908)

#### Brown University Graduates and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

John Hay (A.B. 1858) – U.S. Secretary of State (1898-1905)  
Augustus Miller (A.B. 1871) – Mayor of Providence, Rhode Island (1903-1905)  
Arthur Lewis Brown (A.B. 1876) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Rhode Island (1896-1927)  
Franklin E. Brooks (A.B. 1883) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Colorado, 1903-1907)  
James Burrill Angell (A.B. 1849) – President of University of Michigan (1871-1909)  
William H.P. Faunce (A.B. 1880) – President of Brown University (1899-1929)  
John D. Rockefeller Jr. (A.B. 1897) – Trustee of Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (1901-1954)

#### Amherst College Graduates and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Frederick Huntington Gillett (A.B. 1874) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Republican-Massachusetts, 1893-1925)  
George Pelton Lawrence (A.B. 1880) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Republican-Massachusetts, 1897-1913)  
Henry Thomas Rainey (A.B. 1883) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Democrat-Illinois, 1903-1921, 1923-1934)  
Edward Murray Bassett (A.B. 1884) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Democrat- New York, 1903-1905)  
Lucius Fayette Clark Garvin (A.B. 1862) – Governor of Rhode Island (1903-1905)  
George Herbert Utter (A.B. 1877) – Governor of Rhode Island (1905-1907); Lieutenant Governor of Rhode Island (1904-1905)  
Charles F. Stearns (A.B. 1889) – Attorney General of Rhode Island (1901-1905)  
William A. King (A.B. 1878) – Attorney General of Connecticut (1903-1907)  
Caleb R. Layton Jr. (A.B. 1873) – Secretary of State of Delaware (1901-1905)  
Walter Wyman (A.B. 1870) – Surgeon General of the United States (1891-1911)  
George Harris (A.B. 1866) – President of Amherst College (1899-1912)  
Rush Rhees (A.B. 1883) – President of University of Rochester (1900-1935)  
William Foster Peirce (A.B. 1888) – President of Kenyon College [Ohio] (1896-1937)  
James Griswold Merrill (A.B. 1863) – President of Fisk University [black college in Nashville, Tennessee] (1899-1908)  
Herbert Gardiner Lord (A.B. 1871) – Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University (1900-1921)  
Charles Henry Parkhurst (A.B. 1866) – Pastor of Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York City (1880-1918)

#### Williams College Graduates and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

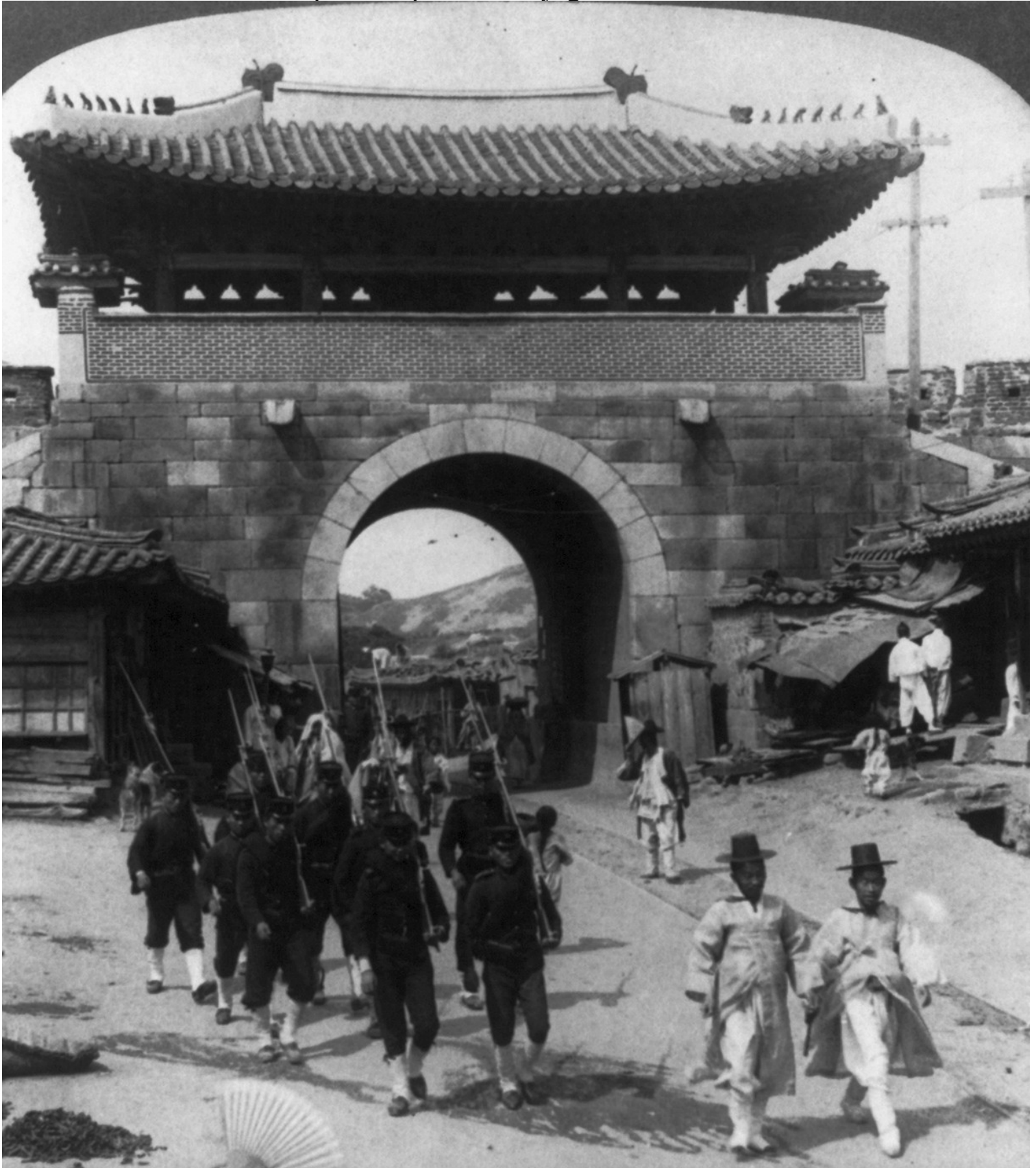
Henry Hopkins (B.A. 1858) – President of Williams College (1902-1908)  
Granville Stanley Hall (B.A. 1867) – President of Clark University (1888-1920)  
William Ball Gilbert (B.A. 1868) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (1892-1931)  
Michael Edward Driscoll (B.A. 1877) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-New York, 1899-1913)  
George Newell Southwick (B.A. 1884) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-New York, 1895-1899, 1901-1911)  
Richard Achilles Ballinger (B.A. 1884) – Mayor of Seattle, Washington (1904-1906)

Note: Prominent newspaper publisher **William Randolph Hearst** was a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Democrat-New York) from March 4, 1903 to March 3, 1907.

Note: John M.B. Sill, the U.S. Minister to Korea from April 30, 1894 until September 13, 1897 (major events include the First Sino-Japanese War and Assassination of Queen Min), served as the inaugural Superintendent of the Detroit public schools.

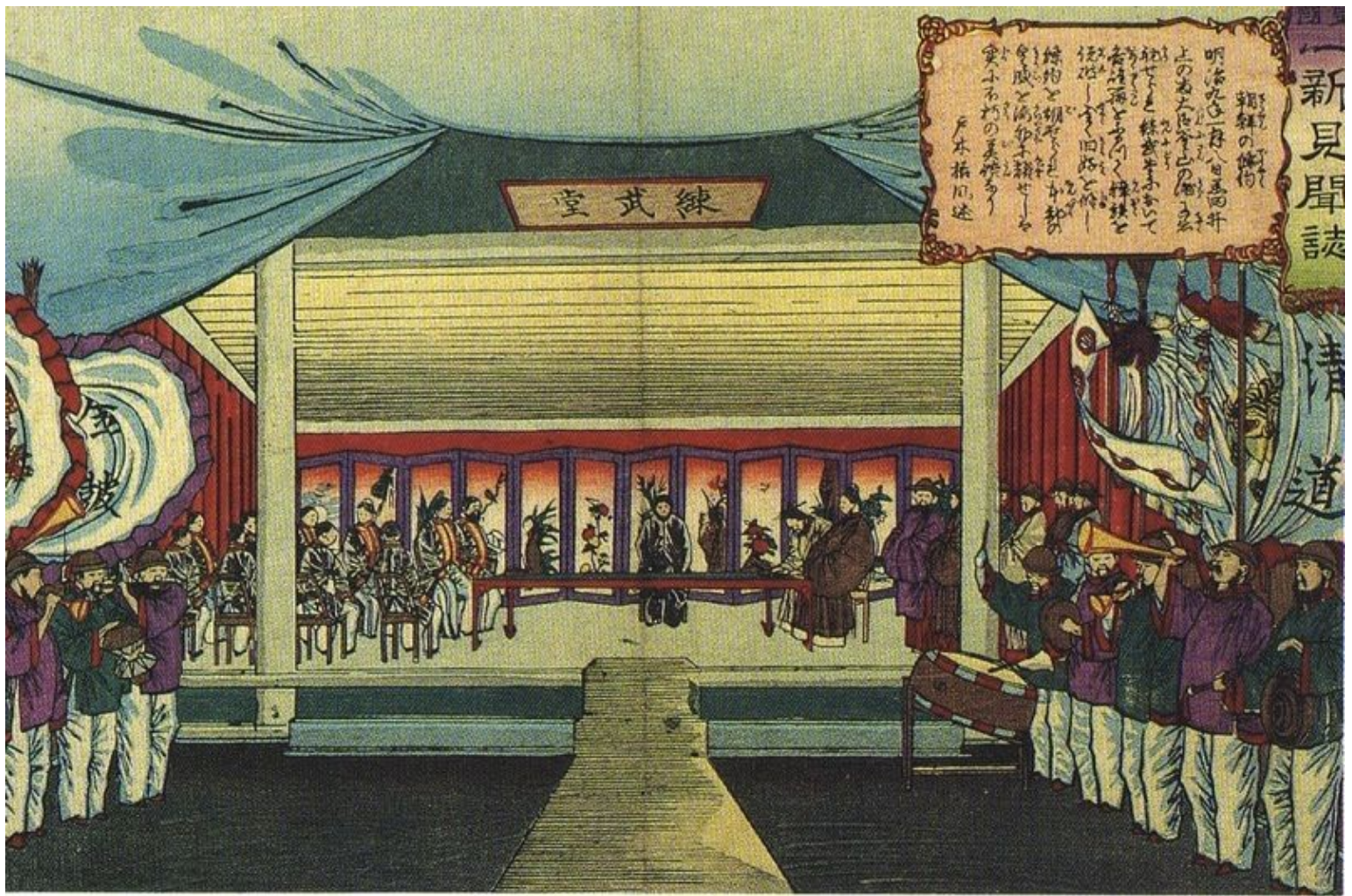


## Imperial Japanese Subjugation of Korea



Imperial Japanese Army (大日本帝國陸軍) troops march through the West Gate in Seoul, Korea in 1904. The city of Seoul was the capital city of the Korean Empire (大韓帝國, 1897-1910) and the former Joseon Dynasty, or Kingdom of Joseon (朝鮮國, 1392-1897). (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))





Japanese envoy Kuroda Kiyotaka, who later served as Prime Minister of Japan from 1888 to 1889, signs the Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity of 1876, also known as the Treaty of Ganghwa, opening Korea to Japanese trade, in 1876. The unequal treaty required Korea open the ports of Busan [Pusan], Inchon and Wuson to Japanese trade. The unequal treaty also granted Japanese people residing in Korea extraterritoriality and other privileges.



Imperial Japanese Army troops pose for a group portrait alongside four Gatling guns they set up at a temple in Ganghwa, Korea in 1876 during the Kuroda Mission. The Kuroda Mission, led by Kuroda Kiyotaka, negotiated an unequal “free” trade agreement with Korea.





Left photo: Emperor Gwangmu (Gojong) of the Korean Empire ruled Korea from 1863 to 1907.

Right photo: A photo of Koreans who died in fighting in Gwanseong Garrison during the Korean Expedition of 1871. The United States Navy engaged in a military campaign, also known as the Korean Expedition of 1871 or Shinmiyangyo, on and around the Korean island of Ganghwa near present-day Seoul in 1871. Ulysses S. Grant, a former U.S. Army general during the American Civil War, was the President of the United States in 1871. (Source of photograph: Ulysses S. Grant III Photographic Collection Relating to the Korean Punitive Expedition)



Left photo: Members of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, including Dr. Syngman Rhee, pose for a group photo on October 11, 1919. (Photo: [http://www.ahnchangho.or.kr/site/bbs/board.php?bo\\_table=group\\_01\\_a01\\_04&wr\\_id=5](http://www.ahnchangho.or.kr/site/bbs/board.php?bo_table=group_01_a01_04&wr_id=5))

Right photo: A portrait of Ahn Jung-geun, the Korean nationalist and Christian soldier who assassinated Hirobumi Itō at the Harbin Railway Station in Harbin, China [Manchuria] on October 26, 1909. Ahn Jung-geun was executed by hanging at Port Arthur, China [Japan] on March 26, 1910.

#### **American Consuls to the Japanese Empire:**

Ransford Stevens Miller (B.A. Cornell University 1888) – U.S. Consul General in Seoul, Korea [Japan] (1913-1917, 1919-1930)

Edwin Lowe Neville (B.A. University of Michigan 1907) – U.S. Consul General in Tokyo, Japan (1925-1927)

George H. Scidmore – U.S. Consul General in Seoul, Korea [Japan] (1909-1911); U.S. Consul General in Yokohama, Japan (1913-1922)

John Ker Davis – U.S. Consul General in London (1928-1930); U.S. Consul General in Seoul, Korea [Japan] (1930-1934); U.S. Consul General in Vancouver, Canada (1934-1938)

Gordon Paddock – U.S. Consul General in Seoul, Korea (1902-1905)





Willard Straight, Edwin Morgan, and Gordon Paddock pose for a portrait in Seoul, Korea in circa 1904.  
(Collection: Willard Dickerman Straight and Early U.S.-Korea Diplomatic Relations, Cornell University Library)  
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/cornelluniversitylibrary/4095361425/>)

**Description:** Gordon Paddock (1865-1932) was appointed Secretary of the American Legation in Seoul in 1901, as well as Vice and Deputy Consul General; he became Consul General in 1902. When the Legation closed in November 1905, his duties as Secretary ceased, and the following year he was appointed Vice Consul General. In 1909 he went to Manchuria as Vice and Deputy Consul, first in Harbin and then in Mukden (now Shenyang). In 1910 he began diplomatic service in Persia, as Consul in Tabriz, and then in Teheran. Paddock received commendations for his efforts to protect foreign nationals in Tabriz from a succession of invading troops during WWI and its aftermath. He was assigned to Belgrade in 1922, and to Copenhagen as First Secretary of the American Legation. His final post was as First Secretary of the American Embassy in Paris in 1930, from which he retired later that year.



# The Assassination of Queen Min of Korea: Organized Crime?



A portrait of Queen Min of Korea (Empress Myeongseong) (October 19, 1851–October 8, 1895)



Funeral of Queen Min of Korea (Empress Myeongseong) in Seoul, Korea in October 1895. Queen Min of Korea had been assassinated by a group of Japanese thugs in Seoul, Korea on October 8, 1895 due to her pro-Russian stance and her desire to establish an alliance with the Russian Empire.

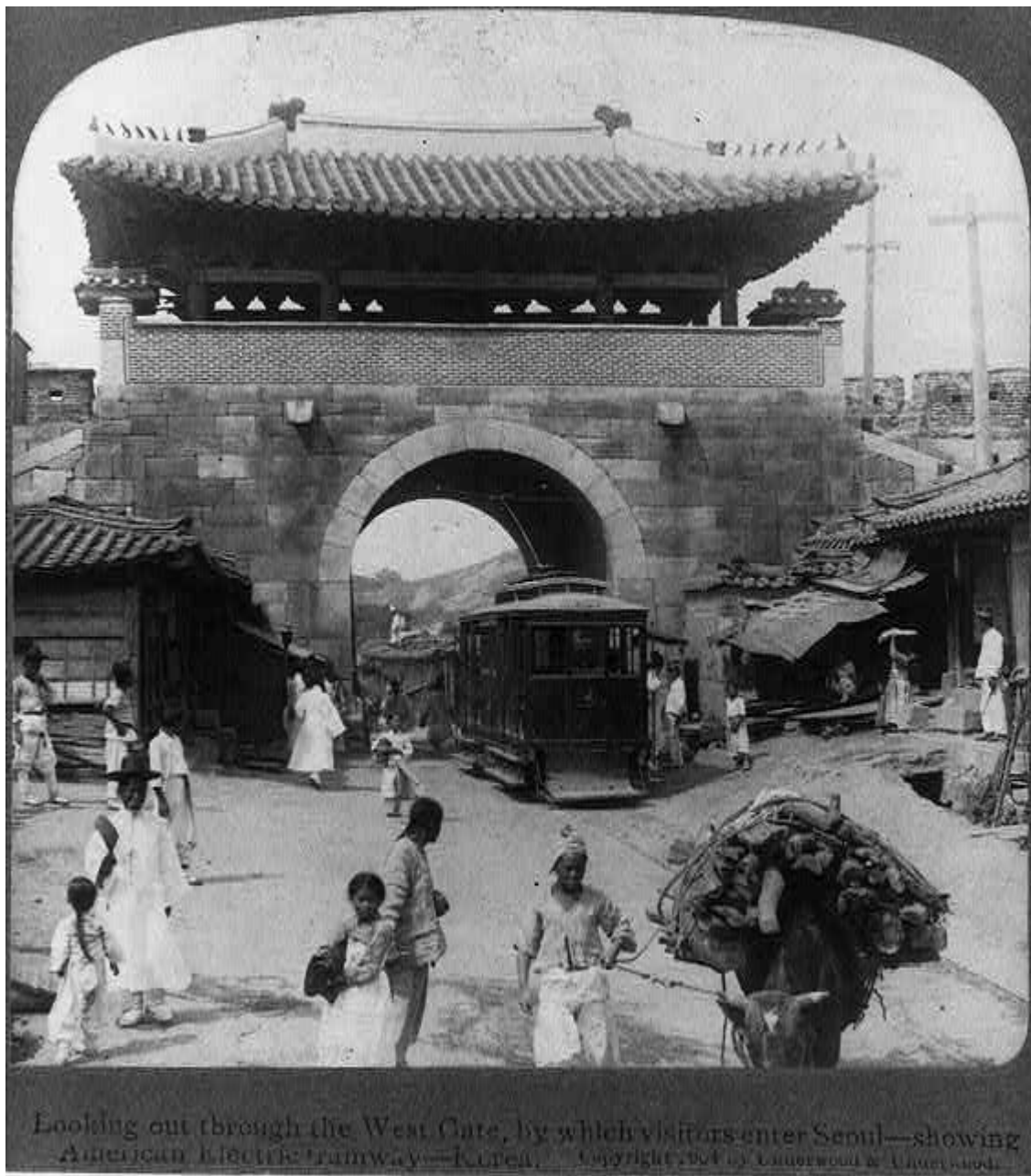


The alleged Japanese murderers of Empress Myeongseong (Queen Min) pose for a group portrait in front of Hanseong Shinbo (Hanseong Newspaper) building in Seoul, Korea in 1895. Among the perpetrators include the Japanese Minister to Korea Viscount Miura Gorō. The Japanese murderers were tried for their crime inside a district court in Hiroshima; however, the Japanese murderers were acquitted by the court due to insufficient evidence.



Viscount Miura Gorō, Japanese Minister to Korea in 1895



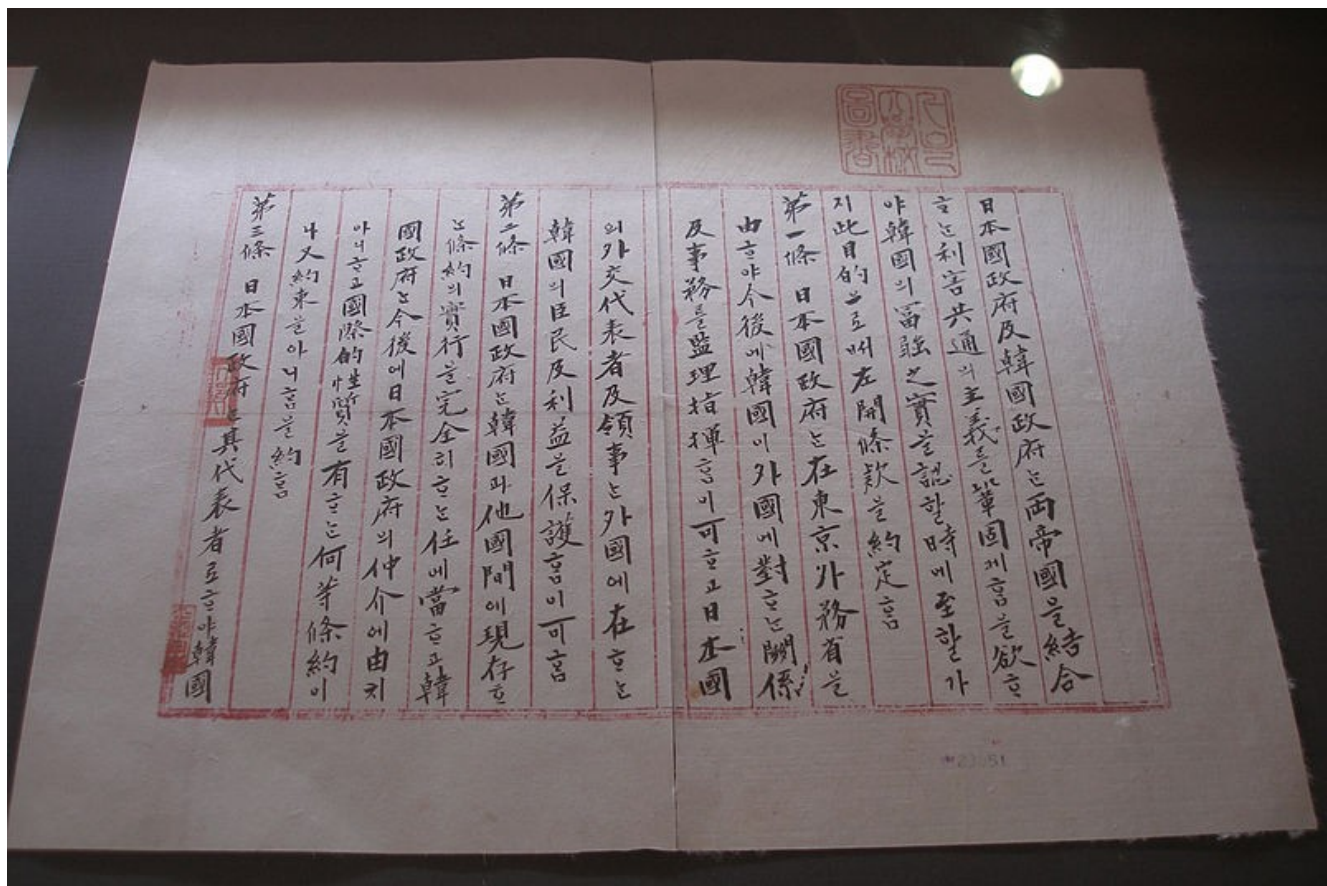


Looking out through the West Gate, by which visitors enter Seoul—showing American electric tramway—Korea. Copyright 1904 by Underwood & Underwood.

An American electric tramway (streetcar) appears outside the West Gate in Seoul, Korea in circa 1904.  
(Photo: [Library of Congress](#))



The Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 (also known as the Eulsa Protective Treaty or Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty) was established under duress in Seoul, Korea on November 17, 1905. Japanese diplomat Ito Hirobumi entered Jungmyeongjeon Hall (above) in Seoul, Korea in November 1905 and coerced Korean Cabinet ministers to sign the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905. The unequal treaty deprived Korea of its diplomatic sovereignty and made Korea a protectorate (and later a colony) of Japan.



A copy of the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905



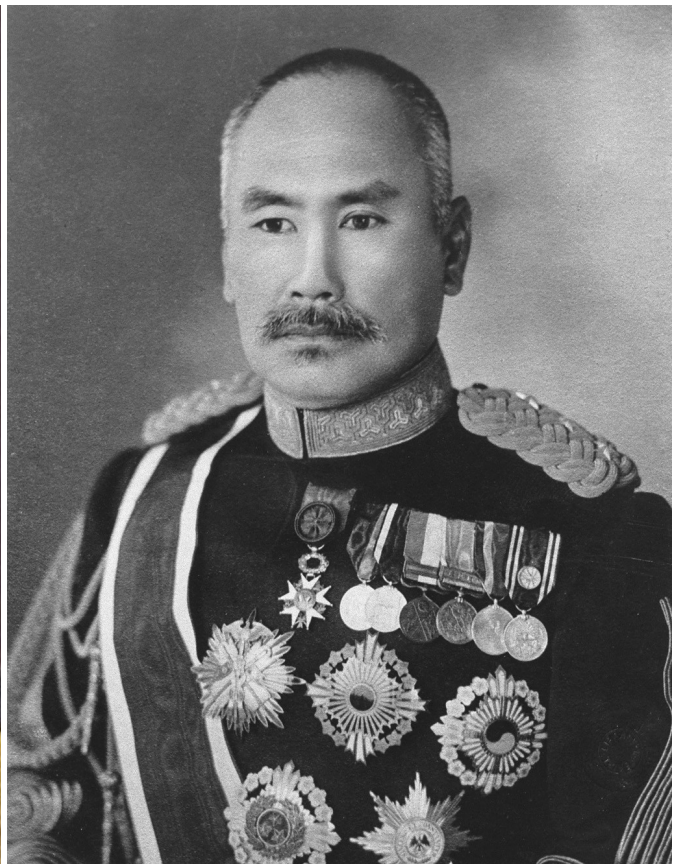


A statue of Philip Jaisohn (formerly Seo Jae Pil) (1864-1951), a Korean independence activist, medical doctor, and newspaper publisher, and the first Korean man to become a naturalized American citizen, appears in front of the Embassy of South Korea in Washington, D.C.

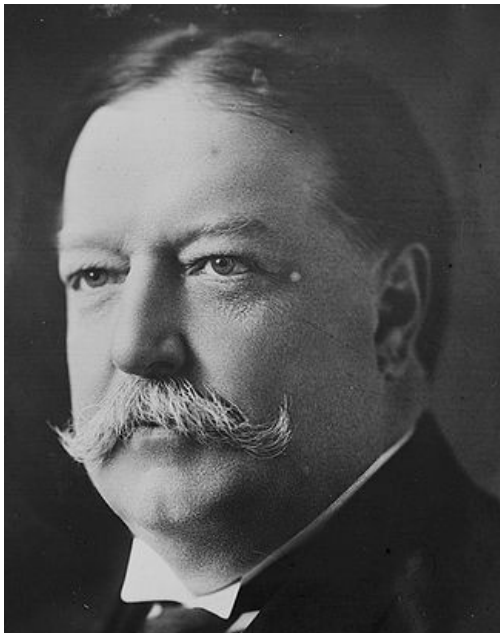




Left: Field Marshal Masatake Terauchi (寺内 正毅) served as the first Governor General of Korea (October 1, 1910-October 9, 1916) and served as the Prime Minister of Japan (October 9, 1916-September 29, 1918). Masatake Terauchi adopted a policy of “assimilation” towards the Koreans and required Koreans to learn and speak the Japanese language. Japan governed Korea as a protectorate from 1905 until 1910 and as a colony from 1910 until the end of World War II in 1945.



Right: Field Marshal Yoshimichi Hasegawa (長谷川 好道) served as the Governor General of Korea from October 1916 until August 1919. Yoshimichi Hasegawa served as the Commander of the Korea Garrison Army from September 1904 until December 1908. Yoshimichi Hasegawa brutally suppressed Samil Independence Movement (March 1st Movement) that developed in Korea during and after World War I.



William Howard Taft (left), the U.S. Secretary of War (and later President of the United States), and Taro Katsura (桂 太郎) (right), the Prime Minister of Japan. The Taft-Katsura Memorandum (commonly called the Taft-Katsura Agreement) consists of notes containing portions of a long, confidential conversation between Japanese Prime Minister Taro Katsura and U.S. Secretary of War William Howard Taft held in Tokyo, Japan on July 27, 1905. Taft and Katsura discussed America’s presence in the Philippines, Japan’s eventual colonization of Korea, and the balance of power in eastern Asia during their meeting. Taro Katsura was the Prime Minister of Japan on three separate occasions (1901-1906, 1908-1911, and 1912-1913); **Taro Katsura was the Prime Minister of Japan during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and during the Annexation of Korea in 1910.** William Howard Taft was the President of the United States when Japan annexed Korea in 1910.



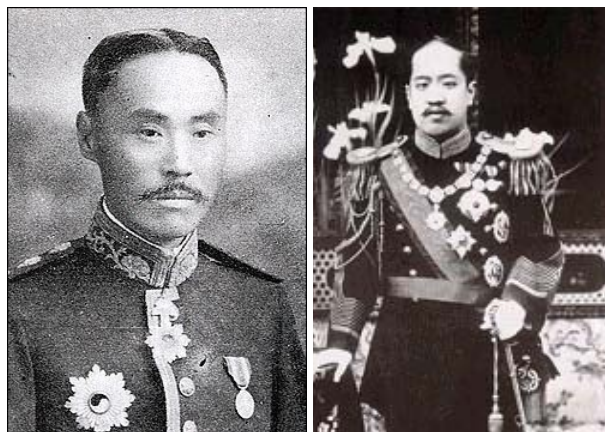
TAFT, WILLIAM H. - AS SECY OF WAR



Copyright 1905 By Burr McIntosh

Leaving the dock at Yokohama.

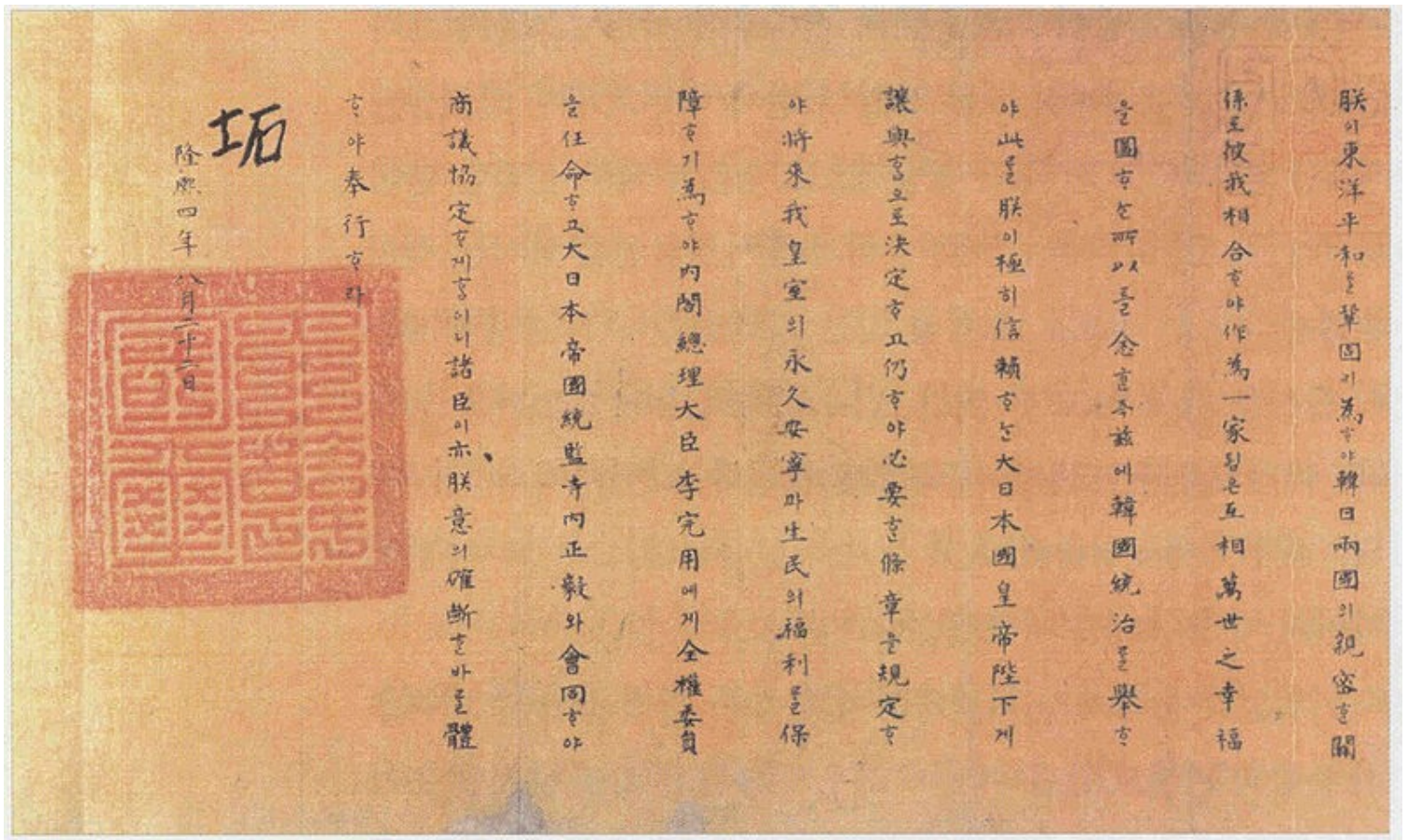
U.S. Secretary of War William Howard Taft speaks with Japanese dignitaries while leaving the dock at Yokohama, Japan in July 1905. William Howard Taft and Prime Minister Taro Katsura engaged in a “gentlemen’s agreement”, later known as the Taft-Katsura Agreement. The Taft-Katsura Agreement virtually invalidated the United States-Korea Treaty of 1882. (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))



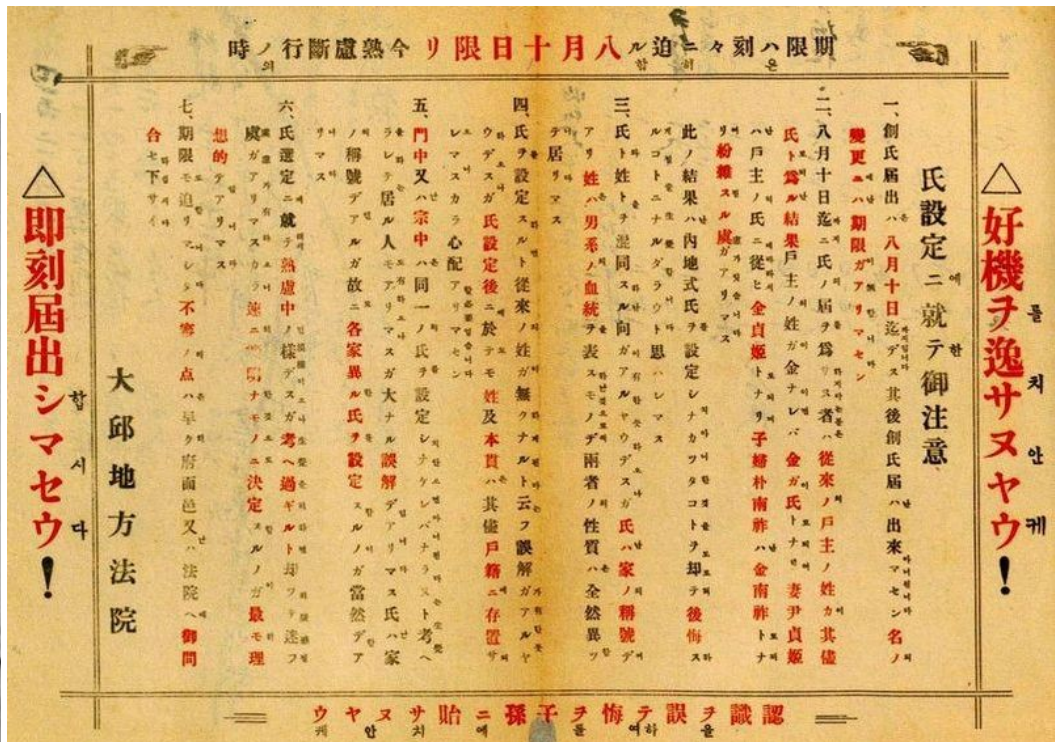
Left photo: Lee Wan-Yong (1858-1926) was the Prime Minister of Korea (1906-1910) who signed the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty on August 22, 1910. The Korean diplomats who agreed to the annexation in 1910 were under the impression that the Japanese annexation of Korea would lead to a political union similar to Austria-Hungary; the annexation of Korea would transform Korea into a Japanese colony.

Right: Sunjong (1874-1926) was the last King (Emperor) of Korea who governed Korea from 1907 to 1910. Sunjong did not sign the annexation treaty in 1910. The Imperial Japanese government provided Sunjong and other members of the Korean royal family a pension and a Japanese title of nobility following annexation. Sunjong died at his palace in Seoul in 1926.





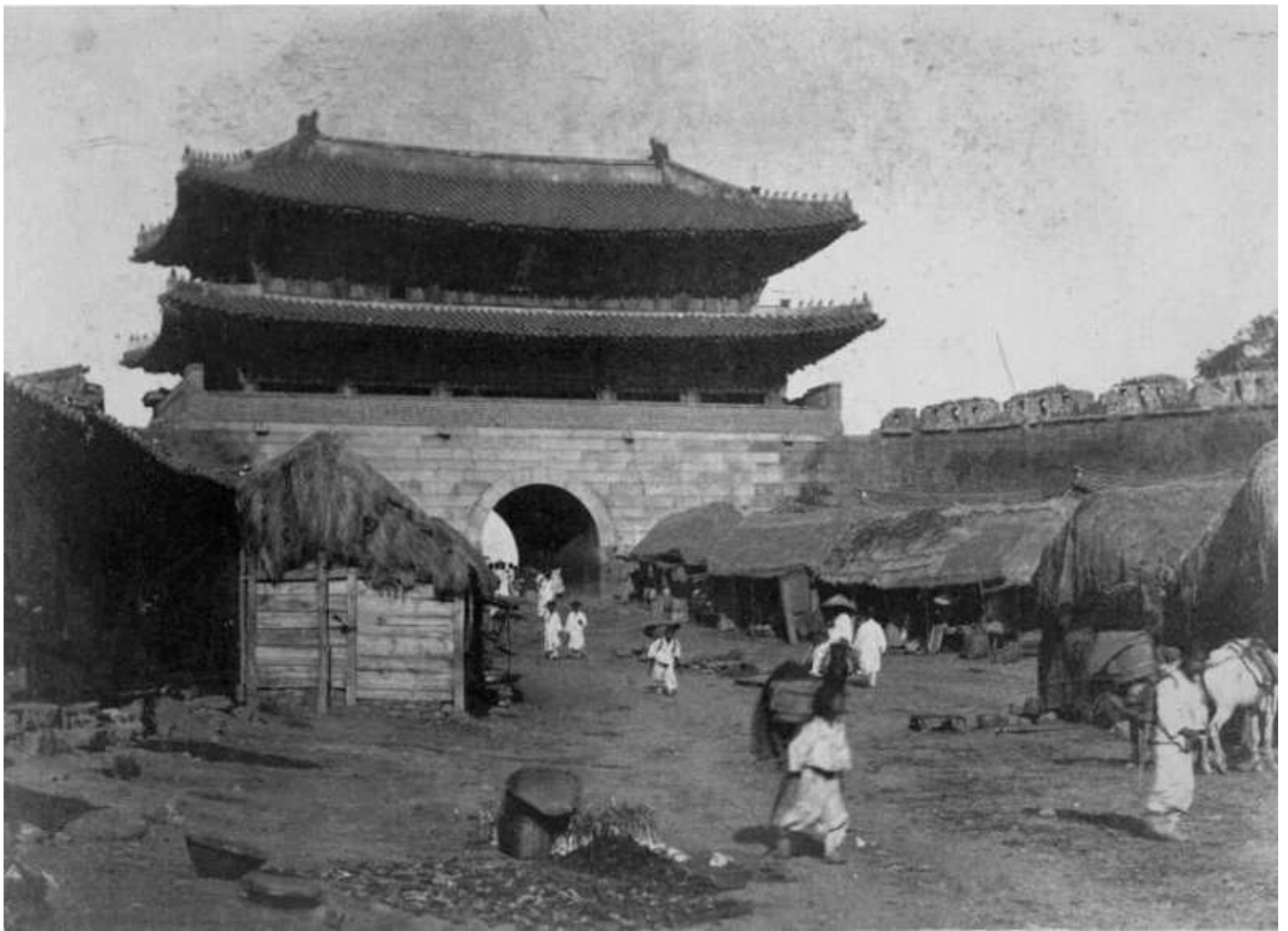
The Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty (日韓併合条約) was signed on August 22, 1910 by the representatives of the Korean and Japanese Imperial Governments. The Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty went into effect on August 29, 1910, officially starting the period of Japanese colonial rule in Korea. In South Korea, August 29 is known as "the day of national shame."



Left: *Sōshi-kaimei* (創氏改名) was a Japanese policy created by General Jiro Minami (南次郎), the Governor-General of Korea, in 1939 and 1940 that required Koreans living in Korea to abandon their Korean name and adopt a Japanese name. General Jiro Minami was the the Governor-General of Korea from 1936 to 1942, Governor-General of Kwantung Leased Territory from 1934 to 1936, and the Japanese Minister of War (April 1931-December 1931) during the infamous Mukden Incident in Manchuria. General Jiro Minami was tried and convicted of war crimes at the Tokyo Trials held after World War II.

Right: Announcement of the *Sōshi-kaimei* policy issued by the Daegu court in Korea, written bilingually in Japanese and Korean, in a special parallel style in which hanja/kanji were printed only once and were "shared" by the hangul and kana texts. The literal meaning of *Sōshi-kaimei*: "Create a surname (shi) and change (your) given name".





A photograph of Seoul, Korea prior to Japan's annexation in 1910



A photograph of Korean families working outside their homes in Seoul, Korea in the early 1900s



The largest uprising against Japanese rule occurred in March 1919 after a failure of the Korean delegation to gain the rights of self-determination at the Versailles Conference following WWI. Here university students demonstrate. (Photo: <http://koreanhistory.info/japan.htm>)



A group of Koreans involved in the 1919 uprising (March First Movement, or Samil Movement) stand in front of Japanese judges in Korea during a trial. An estimated 1-2 million Koreans participated in the uprising with some 7,000 Koreans being executed. (Photo: <http://koreanhistory.info/japan.htm>)



One of the 'righteous armies' that were formed in the early 1900s after the Japanese occupation. In 1907 a righteous Army of 10,000 tried to liberate Seoul but were defeated. Most of the resistance armies in the south were hunted down, while those in the north survived by being able to retreat and resupply in Manchuria and Russia. (Photo: <http://koreanhistory.info/japan.htm>)





Seoul, Korea during Japanese colonial rule



Oriental Development Company (東洋拓殖株式会社) in Seoul, Korea before 1945. The Oriental Development Company was a Japanese company that was involved in the real estate sales of Korean farm land. Japanese farmers and businessmen living in Korea benefited from the land speculation while Korean farmers and former landlords were forced to live as tenants and peons. The Imperial Japanese government encouraged Japanese people to migrate to Korea and live in the major cities, including Seoul, Pyongyang, and Pusan. (Source: Japanese book "Old Days of Korea through Pictures" published by Kokusho-kankoukai)

*Chosun Ilbo* (Korean Daily News) was established in 1920 and was suspended at least four times by the Japanese Imperial government for publishing editorials critical of the Japanese colonial regime in Korea. *Chosun Ilbo* newspaper company was outlawed by Japanese colonial authorities in 1940.

The National Debt Repayment Movement was a movement by the people of the Korean Empire to repay their country's debt (primarily to the Japanese bankers) through collecting individual donations. The movement was initiated by Seo Sang-dong of Daegu, Korea in January 1907. Korea's national debt was an estimated 13 million won in 1907. At the movement's height in 1908, leaders of the movement had collected 190,000 won.





A photo of downtown Seoul, Korea under Japanese colonial rule in the early 1940s. A sign advertising Kirin Beer (キリンビール) in Japanese *katagana* (alphabet) can be seen on the right. Seoul was known as “Keijo” from 1910 to 1945.

(Photo: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=611726>)



The Japanese Government-General Office in Seoul, Korea before 1945

(Source: Japanese book "The General view of Korea" published by Chosen-Bunka Fukyu Kai)





Bank of Chosen (朝鮮銀行), located in Seoul (formerly Keijo), was the central bank of Korea under Japanese colonial rule. The Bank of Chosen was a privately-owned corporation owned and operated by the Japanese bankers. Bank of Chosen was formally dissolved by U.S. Allied Occupation authorities in 1950 and was replaced by the Bank of Korea, the central bank for the Republic of Korea.



Pyongyang, Korea under Japanese colonial rule



The Imperial Japanese government and Japanese corporations brought numerous Korean men to Japan (usually by conscription) to work in coal mines and factories throughout Japan, including the southern part of Sakhalin Island (Karafuto).



The Imperial Japanese Army conscripted (drafted) Korean men and boys during the final years of World War II.





Photographs of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, Maryknoll, New York, 1912-1945. East Gate, Pyeongyang [Pyongyang], Korea, ca. 1920-1940. Photograph of "East Gate of ancient walled city of Pyeongyang."  
(The Maryknoll Mission Archives) <http://www.piie.com/blogs/nk/?p=4688>



A Mitsukoshi department store in Seoul (Keijo), Korea in the 1930s

## Japanese Governor-Generals of Korea and Taiwan



Field Marshal  
Masatake Terauchi  
寺内 正毅  
Governor General of  
Korea (1910-1916);  
Minister of the Army  
of Imperial Japan  
(1902-1911);  
Prime Minister of  
Japan (1916-1918)



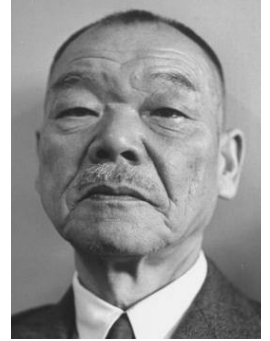
Field Marshal  
Yoshimichi Hasegawa  
長谷川 好道  
Governor General of  
Korea (1916-1919);  
Commander of the  
Korea Garrison Army  
(1904-1908)



Makoto Saito  
齋藤 実  
Governor-General of  
Korea (1919-1927,  
1929-1931);  
Navy Minister of Japan  
(1906-1914);  
Prime Minister of  
Japan (1932-1934)



General Jiro Minami  
南 次郎  
Governor-General of  
Korea (1936-1942);  
Governor-General of  
Kwantung Leased  
Territory (1934-1936)  
Minister of the Army  
of Imperial Japan  
(Apr. 1931-Dec. 1931)



Gen. Kuniaki Koiso  
小磯 國昭  
Governor-General of  
Korea (1942-1944);  
Prime Minister of  
Japan (1944-1945);  
Class-A war criminal;  
died at Sugamo Prison  
in Tokyo



Sukenori Kabayama  
樺山 資紀  
Governor-General of  
Taiwan (1895-1896);  
Minister of the Navy  
(1890-1892);  
Education Minister of  
Japan (1898-1900)



Maresuke Nogi  
乃木 希典  
Governor-General of  
Taiwan (1896-1898);  
Commander of the  
Japanese Third Army  
(1904-1905);  
defeated the Russian  
army during the Siege  
of Port Arthur



Gen. Gentarō Kodama  
兒玉 源太郎  
Governor-General of  
Taiwan (1898-1906)  
Minister of the Army  
of Imperial Japan  
(1900-1902)



Gen. Samata Sakuma  
佐久間 左馬太  
Governor-General of  
Taiwan (1906-1915)



Andō Sadayoshi  
貞美安東  
Governor-General of  
Taiwan (1915-1918);  
Commander of the  
Chōsen Army in Korea  
(1913-1915)

Note: All Japanese names begin with first name first and surname last.



# Japan's New Policy in Korea and Formosa

By Ralston Hayden

Foreign Affairs, March 1924

BARON MAKOTO SAITO, Governor-General of Korea, stated the fundamental principles of the colonial policy of the Japanese Empire in three terse sentences: "The economic development of the country must come first. Education and the raising of the standards of the people will follow. Afterwards political development may be possible." He was discussing the problems of Korea, but his words describe perfectly the course which his country is following in every colony over which floats the banner of the Rising Sun. Prior to 1919 this policy was carried out by the application of naked force. In that year, however, the velvet glove of conciliation and "attraction" was slipped over the iron hand of Japanese control in Formosa and Korea, Japan's greatest colonies. The new methods by which these dependencies have since been ruled are being closely watched by the governments having large interests in the Far East. The United States in particular is interested in this newest phase of Japanese colonial policy not only because it has an important bearing on the general question of peace in the Orient, but because it offers some striking contrasts with the policy which America has followed in the Philippine Islands.

Japan acquired her first large colony, Formosa, in 1895 at the end of her victorious war with China. The island is about the size of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined. It lies ninety miles off the China coast, less than six hundred miles south of Japan and approximately two hundred miles north of the Philippines. The population consists of about 3,500,000 Chinese, 80,000 Malay aborigines and 160,000 Japanese.

The traveler in Formosa is soon impressed with the truth of Baron Saito's statement that under the Japanese system the economic development of the country comes first. He sees splendid harbor works and port facilities, visits substantial and handsome public buildings that are far superior to those of most American states, and rides over a well built, excellently equipped and efficiently operated railroad system. He travels through two hundred miles of agricultural land that is as intensively cultivated as that of Belgium, and inspects enormous and growing industrial plants. Wherever he goes he observes all of the external evidences of prosperity.

If he turns to history and statistics the investigator discovers that this prosperity is genuine and that without question it is a result of Japanese rule. When the Japanese took over Formosa its annual imports and exports amounted to just a little more than 20 million yen; in 1921 they were worth more than 286 million. Until 1905 Japan annually subsidized the government of Formosa to the extent of millions of yen; for the past eighteen years the colony has made annual contributions to the Imperial treasury. The Japanese have introduced scientific methods and abundant capital into industry, agriculture, fishing, mining, and forestry. They have created a modern transportation system. Above all, they have established a rule of law maintained by a reasonably honest and efficient government. Given these advantages, which it never had under the Chinese Empire and apparently could not yet expect as a province of the Republic, the Chinese population of Formosa has done the rest.

The remarkable economic development of their country under Japanese auspices has not, however, escaped the bitter criticism of the Formosan Chinese. Japan's policy, they believe, is simply that of vicious exploitation. In the early days of the occupation they were robbed of the richest lands in the island by terror and chicanery. The Japanese Government has monopolized the production and sale of camphor, tobacco, salt, opium, sake, and other spirits, the most profitable Formosan industries. The Formosans claim that their resources and labor are exploited by Japanese capitalists, and that the tariff laws give Japan a monopoly of the market and compel them to pay monopoly prices. In a word, it is their belief that the Japanese and a few rich Formosans whose political support they have purchased are the only ones who profit by the development of the country.

Investigation on the ground leads to the conviction that there is much truth in this indictment. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the lot of the common man is immeasurably better in Formosa now than it was before the Japanese occupation, or than it is in China. As for the higher class Formosans, they are beginning to participate more generally in Japanese enterprises in the island, and doubtless will obtain a larger share of the profits.

The visitor in Formosa also discovers the truth of Baron Saito's dictum that education and the raising of the standards of the people will follow economic development. He finds that Formosan cities are among the cleanest in the Orient, that they are well equipped to perform all of the manifold services expected of modern municipalities, and that they are efficiently managed. The same praise might well be given to the educational system and to the departments of sanitation and public health. In 1895 Formosa was justly considered to be one of the most unhealthy countries in the world. Today no part of the Orient has more favorable health conditions, while a comparison of the Formosan health and medical services with those of the Philippines, for instance, is distinctly to the disadvantage of the latter.

"Afterwards political development may be possible," said Baron Saito. Is it possible in Formosa while that island remains a part of the Empire of Japan ? The Japanese say that they hope so and that the colony is now entering this third and most delicate phase of its development. The Formosans are skeptical and point to the record of the past to justify their lack of faith in the future.

For seven years after 1895 the Japanese army practically ruled Formosa. During this period the organized resistance of the Chinese population against their new sovereign was broken, banditry was stamped out, and the savage aborigines were brought under control. At the end of 1902, for the first time in its long history, law and order prevailed in the "Beautiful Isle." Life and property had become as safe there as in Japan. The reign of the soldier was followed by the rule of the policeman. When Viscount Kodama became Governor-General in 1902 he gradually limited army activity to military affairs and exerted his authority over the people chiefly through the medium of a Japanese police force. Japanese as well as Chinese residents in Formosa declare that the policeman was a harsher and less considerate master than the soldier. Frequently he was of a distinctly lower type than the police in Japan proper. He held his Chinese wards in contempt, often spoke their language haltingly or not at all, and was apt to regard his short, blunt sword as the means best fitted for explaining and enforcing government ordinances. These ordinances regulated every aspect of life in Formosa. They were, and are, extremely galling to the Chinese population, for the Chinese are individualists who put personal liberty among the first of the desiderata of life.

Prior to 1920 scarcely a trace of self-government could be found in this oldest Japanese colony. The governmental organization was, and is, simple. At the head of the bureaucratic hierarchy stand the Governor-General and the Director-General of civil administration. They administer the government through the bureaus of the government-general, the governors of the seven provinces, and the chiefs of the fifty districts into which the island is divided. All of these officials are members of the Japanese Civil Service, an organization which exhibits the usual virtues and defects of highly trained bureaucracies. This hierarchy is paralleled by a series of police officers, directed by a bureau of police in the central government. Within the towns and villages the people are divided into small groups, for each of which a native headman is made responsible.

In 1919 the Imperial Cabinet took the initial steps towards the liberalization of this autocratic system of government. Baron Kenjiro Den, a distinguished liberal statesman, became the first civilian Governor-General of Formosa, and a series of important reforms was undertaken. With the chief executive officer of each of the political divisions of the island was associated an advisory council. These councils are appointed and are composed of Japanese officials, private Japanese residents of Formosa and Formosan Chinese. Their functions are advisory only and obviously they are completely under the control of the government. Nevertheless they do afford an official channel for the expression of popular opinion; they may be able to influence, even though they cannot possibly control, official action. In Formosa great differences of opinion exist as to their value. There seems to be a general feeling, however, that the local councils are giving the people some voice in the administration of local affairs.

Coincidentally with this extension of political privileges the government adopted the policy of offering to Chinese Formosans educational opportunities equal to those afforded Japanese residents. From their first days on the island the Japanese had furnished primary schools for Chinese as well as for Japanese children. Instruction, however, was in the Chinese language, the schools often were inferior in quality, and it was only in exceptional cases that Chinese children actually passed into the higher institutions, in which Japanese alone was spoken. "This is manifestly unjust," said Baron Den. "It is eminently proper that we also grant them opportunities of education not inferior to those available to our own children; that we encourage them to develop; that we foster men of genius in all walks of life, thereby increasing the resources of our country. And it is with this in view that I have made it possible for Formosans qualified in the Japanese language to enter schools for Japanese children. Excellent results have already been obtained, with incalculably good effect upon our policy of assimilation." (The italics are the writer's.) As a further measure of assimilation with Japan the Imperial Civil and Commercial Codes have recently been extended to Formosa. Although the displacement of the old Chinese law may cause some temporary confusion and hardship, yet it will give Chinese Formosans many rights which they have not hitherto possessed, and will put them on a legal equality with the resident Japanese.

The professed goal of the recent reforms in the administration of the island is the "Formosanization" of the government and, perhaps, its ultimate assimilation with that of Japan. The writer believes that this is the real purpose of the Japanese. Whether they will have the political sagacity and the courage to accomplish it,--whether, indeed, it is possible of accomplishment,--is another matter. Twenty-seven years of despotism is not a very sure foundation upon which to build liberal institutions. A large number, probably a majority, of the politically active Formosans will not even admit the sincerity of the government's intentions. A mass meeting of Formosans residing in Tokyo recently adopted and distributed resolutions criticising Baron Den's administration bitterly. A paragraph from this manifesto, translated into English by a Japanese, sets forth some of the political grievances of the nationalists and reveals their general attitude towards the "sham reforms:"



"According to the present system of government in Taiwan, the powers of making laws, judicial and other acts of administration are vested in the Governor-General. It is really a despotic government. The Governor-General does not understand the real will of the Formosans, who have special life and customs. He does nothing but hoodwink the people by establishing false self-government, by allowing Formosans into Japanese schools,--not actually carried out,--and by promulgating dead laws allowing Formosans to become higher officials. As an instance of maladministration we point out the rigorous laws governing the punishment of rioters, unlawful disposition of loafers, compulsory labor, intervention in sugar cultivation and its sale, requisitioning of money and land, etc. Thus the government infringes upon the rights of the people and they are able to do anything they want. The almighty government! . . . The lawful organization of the Political Society Claiming Legislature in Taiwan was prohibited, to the great disappointment of Formosans who rely upon the Japanese Empire. The magazine Taiwan was prohibited distribution, as it contained articles by noted men of Japan on the claim of Formosa for a separate legislature. 3,600,000 Formosans have no recourse for redress, enduring oppression and humiliation. Such an attitude of the government only tends to provoke the ill-feeling of the ruled, and is not the one to be taken by wise administrators who wish ultimate success in the administration of the island."

This manifesto could not have been issued in Formosa. The expression of public opinion there is made practically impossible by the government. But Formosans in Japan, Manila, and the China coast cities tell whom they can that their people will never cease to resist assimilation, and that China will not rest satisfied until the Japanese are expelled from this old Chinese province. Occasional flashes in Formosa itself reveal the forces of discontent that are normally concealed by the Japanese machinery of repression. A number of strikes of a revolutionary nature have occurred in the upper schools; upon the occasion of the visit of the Prince Regent last April 532 prisoners who were in jail for revolutionary activities were given commutation in their terms of imprisonment. A highly intelligent Japanese gentleman told the writer in Formosa that, "It is now a race between liberalization and revolution."

More than a quarter of a century of despotic Japanese rule in Formosa, then, has produced the following results: law and order, economic prosperity, elevated standards of living, widespread education, and rising political discontent. The writer believes the Japanese Government realizes that if it cannot solve the political problem with which it is now faced, its remarkable material achievements in Formosa will, in the end, avail the Empire nothing.

In Korea the Japanese have applied the general policy and many of the methods which they first developed in Formosa. The economic results bid fair to be equally satisfactory, although the problem is both greater and more complex. No one who has not seen with his own eyes what the Japanese have done in Korea can appreciate their truly remarkable accomplishments. Railroads, steamship lines, hotels, banks, mines, afforested mountain sides, scientific agricultural projects, schools, hospitals, and cities of stone, brick and cement are the visible products of the marvelous mechanism of colonization which Japan has built up during the past generation. No country has ever created such a complete, well organized, abundantly capitalized and ably directed organization for the economic penetration and conquest of other lands.

Thus far the masses of the Korean population have appreciated the ministrations of their foreign rulers about as heartily as our early activities in the West were relished by the Crees and the Sioux. Yet they are on the ground, 17,500,000 of them. They possess a national history, national institutions, and a national consciousness that are more ancient than those of Japan herself. If they are lazy and decadent they are also proud and stubborn. Unlike the American redskins they can not be brushed aside, driven out, nor exterminated.

**The Korean rebellion of 1919 revealed to the world that Japan's astonishing material achievements in this colony had been accompanied by a tragic failure to solve satisfactorily the problem of the government of the Korean people.** Nor was the lesson lost upon the Japanese themselves. No sooner had the rebellion been crushed than vigorous steps were taken to reorganize the government of Korea and to infuse a new spirit into its administration. An Imperial rescript announced that the objects of the reforms were "to treat both Japanese and Koreans as equals, and to enable the people of Chosen to live in peace and prosperity by endowing them with an administration conducted on a liberal and cultural line." The new Governor-General issued a proclamation frankly admitting the necessity of reforms and outlining the policy which he expected to follow. "I am determined," he declared, "to superintend officials under my control and encourage them to put forth greater efforts to act in a fairer and juster way, and promote the facilities of the people and the unhindered attainment of the people's desires by dispensing with all formality. Full consideration will be given to the appointment of Koreans so as to secure the right men for the right places, and what in Korean customs and old institutions is worthy of adoption will be adopted as a means of government. I also hope to introduce reforms in the different branches of administrative activity, and enforce local self-government at the proper opportunity and thereby insure stability for the people and enhance their general well-being." Sedition, however, was not to be winked at, and the proclamation ended with this sentence: "If anybody is found guilty of unwarrantably refractory language or action, of misleading the popular mind, or of impeding the maintenance of public peace, he will be met with relentless justice." In effect, the Japanese announced a new deal in Korea; but served notice that they would still make and enforce the rules of the game.

A large volume would be required to describe all the reforms which have been inaugurated in Korea since 1919. A few of the more important ones may be mentioned, however, with the remark that they constitute an official confession of the previous existence of conditions in Korea against which even the most docile of people might have been expected to revolt.

1. The government has abolished legal discrimination between Koreans and Japanese in the Korean civil service with reference to salaries, pensions and promotions, court rank, and decorations. The regulations limiting the jurisdiction of Korean judicial officials to cases in which both parties were Koreans have been rescinded. Punishment by flogging, which had been applicable only to Koreans, has been abolished. A general amnesty has been granted to Koreans implicated in the rebellion of 1919.
2. Formalism and red tape in the conduct of the government have been greatly reduced. Civil officials, save in exceptional cases, no longer wear uniforms. There has been a considerable decentralization all through the government, especially as between the central and the local administrations.
3. Means have been provided for the expression of Korean opinion. Leading men from all of the provinces are called to Seoul periodically for an exchange of views regarding the administration of the country. Inspectors, both Korean and Japanese, are continually in the field, "for the inspection of local conditions as well as for the observation of popular ideas and desires." The publication of a few newspapers printed in Korean is permitted. The Central Council, long intended to serve the Governor-General as an advisory organ, has been reorganized and is more frequently consulted.
4. The educational system has been reorganized in such a way as to meet, in part, the wishes of the Koreans.
5. The local administrative system has been reorganized. Partially elective, partially appointive advisory councils have been created in the several areas of local government. A portion of the Confucian temple funds which had been diverted to other purposes (stolen, the Koreans aver) has been returned to its former uses. The requisition of labor and the forced donation of land for the construction of highways has been greatly reduced.
6. The police system has been reorganized. Prior to 1919 the police and the gendarmerie were united under one command and were directed from the central government. The two services have been separated, the former has been reduced in size, and the direction of the latter transferred from the central to the provincial governments.
7. Definite steps have been taken to guarantee an increased respect for Korean usages and customs.

In addition to instituting these specific reforms the Japanese have attempted to win the confidence and the coöperation of their Korean subjects by many other means. Influential Koreans are taken to Japan and there entertained with the charming hospitality of which the Japanese are masters. A moving picture film service has been used extensively to familiarize Koreans with Japanese life, and vice versa. A special propaganda office has been established to acquaint the people of Korea, Japan and elsewhere with the new governmental policy. Representative Korean officials, teachers and scientific men are frequently sent to Japan to attend conferences of leaders in their special fields. Social intercourse between the two races is encouraged at every opportunity. Vigorous efforts are being made to educate the rising generation in the Japanese language. No opportunity to emphasize the racial and cultural affinity of the Koreans and the Japanese is overlooked, and their common citizenship in the Empire is constantly harped upon.

Obviously it is difficult for an outsider to gauge either the sincerity or the probable results of such a reform program. Indeed, even the opinions of Koreans and of Japanese and foreigners long resident in Korea differ on these questions. The writer felt at the time, and still feels, that the Governor-General, Baron Saito, spoke very frankly about the purposes of his government and the difficulties with which he is confronted. After declaring that economic development must come first, that education and elevated standards of living would follow, and that afterwards political development might be possible, he went on to say that there were many difficulties to be overcome. "The chief of these arise from the character of the Koreans. Many of them are crooked. They want "squeeze" from the Japanese and their own people. They are lazy. At present Bolshevik agents and money are stirring them up. The Russians, though, are clever. They do not give them too much money at once. Of course there are many Koreans who wish to coöperate with us for their country's welfare. But we cannot ask too much of these men. They are in danger from their own people. The Japanese desire to have the Koreans contented and happy. We don't want to make Japanese out of them against their will. But for our own safety, we must govern this country. We hope that in time the Koreans will realize that they need our assistance. They can do nothing by themselves." These plain words from the man who is the chief instrument of Japanese rule in Korea are refreshingly at variance with the familiar propaganda about peace, harmony and brotherhood in a land where these blessings have not existed for many years.



Like Rome at its best, Japan sends first-rate statesmen to be her proconsuls, gives them free rein while in their provinces, and holds them to account for results. No colonial minister or department in Tokyo stands between the Japanese governor and the Imperial Cabinet. The Colonial Bureau is merely a secretariat attached directly to the office of the Premier. Its chief is not an important or powerful official, and its functions are merely the transmittal and filing of colonial papers. Japan's colonial governors are immediately responsible to the Premier alone.

Among foreigners resident in Korea there is much more respect for the present administration than a visitor at first supposes. For the brutalities and stupidities of the past there is little but reprobation. But those Europeans who themselves have to deal with Koreans seem inclined to talk about the difficulties with which the government is faced as well as about its shortcomings. One foreigner whose opinion regarding Korea would be respected anywhere spoke substantially as follows: "One of the greatest difficulties faced by the Japanese is in securing the coöperation of the Koreans. Of course a large proportion of the population is determined never to coöperate. But there is, and always has been an important Japanese party among the Korean people. This party is growing rapidly. Its members have made up their minds to accept Japanese rule as inevitable and to make the most of whatever advantages are offered by it. Yet they seem to be unable to get together among themselves or with the government on any practical proposition. The masses are indifferent, or at least quiescent. The 'intellectuals', who have not much to lose, are the principal agitators. The trouble with them is that they do not tie up to any principle. They reach for and seize this panacea and that. Their minds are in a ferment but produce nothing. They don't know what they want, but they want it like the Devil."

This same foreigner had recently returned from a trip which had taken him into every corner of the peninsula. "I found," he said, "that the Japanese are just as active in public health enterprises, educational work and other activities in remote districts as they are along the trunk line railway. I visited schools everywhere and found them crowded to capacity. Out of 300 or 400 pupils only twenty or thirty would be Japanese children. The rest were Koreans. The teachers were both Korean and Japanese. A few years ago--before 1919--the people were indifferent or hostile to the schools. Now they are eager to have their children attend, and the problem is to take care of them all. In recent years the knife has been used pretty freely on the Korean budget (made in Japan), but the school appropriations have not been touched. In fact, last year when there was a million and a half yen cut in the personnel of the government that amount was added to the educational budget."

Many other resident foreigners relate incidents in their experience with the Koreans and express opinions concerning these people that tally closely with those of the gentleman just quoted. One of the most distinguished of them in discussing the attitude of the Koreans toward the Japanese said: **"In 1919 the country was aflame with hatred of the Japanese, a hatred that can be well understood.** Many of the causes of that bitterness have been removed. The older people still cherish it fiercely; many Koreans try to keep it alive as a matter of pride, or of habit, or almost of religion. Yet time is working against them. Education and modern civilization are working against them. Thousands of Koreans who as a matter of course tell you that they hate the Japanese, get along perfectly well with the individual Japanese people with whom they come into daily contact. I should not care to predict how it will end, but we all know that if the Japanese were to withdraw today there would be chaos tomorrow."

For obvious reasons it is much easier to get the story of the Korean nationalists in many other parts of the Orient than in Korea. In Manchuria and Siberia reside more than 2,000,000 emigrants from the former Hermit Kingdom. Small groups of them are to be found in many of the cities along the China coast and in Japan itself. The Japanese propaganda agents very naively say that the Manchurian-Siberian group, most of whom are agriculturalists, emigrated "on account of the difficulty of living caused by the extraordinary rise in the prices of commodities in recent days; as a matter of fact, some 45,000 Koreans migrated from Chosen to Manchuria during 1919, mostly from this cause." (The italics are the writer's.) The plain fact is that most of these people abandoned their homes and fled from their native country rather than endure Japanese rule; or, in many cases, because the Japanese robbed them of the land upon which they had lived. A majority of the leaders of the Korean party of violence are members of this group. They hope to overthrow the Japanese régime by assassination, rebellion and attacks over the northern border, and they make frequent attempts to oust their foes by these means.

**One center of Korean nationalism is in Shanghai. The "Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea", which was set up there in 1919, and which sent emissaries to the Peace Conference at Versailles, has now disintegrated. It has been replaced, however, by a "Korean Congress" composed of about 150 members representing the irreconcilables of Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia, as well as exiles living in Hawaii and the United States. One of these irreconcilables gave the writer an account of the character and the activities of the "Congress" which tended to confirm much already learnt in Korea itself. "We have been sitting now for several months," he said. "There are two main parties. One of them wishes to use violence of every sort against the Japanese. The other, representing the American Koreans and other groups outside of Manchuria and Siberia, feel that we cannot cope with Japan's military power and must rely upon moderate methods and a constant appeal to world opinion.** So far no agreement has been reached by these two factions. Feeling between them has been bitter at times. Our difficulties are increased by the constant presence of spies. Whatever we say, the Japanese know all about it the next day. If a dozen of us meet secretly each one wonders who is the traitor. Of course we have our organization in Korea. But Japan still rules there by terror and our men are constantly being taken. Only today I learned that one of our friends

who had been collecting data upon the extent to which the Koreans have been dispossessed of their lands, was arrested as he was attempting to get out of the country. But we have ways of keeping in touch with our people at home. If one man is caught another gets through."

This Korean is confident that the new Japanese policy of "attraction" will fail to win his people just as the former application of undisguised force failed to subdue them. "We have no fear for the long future," he said. "The Korean people will never give in. The Czechs held out for several centuries. Now they are free. We can do that, and more. The Japanese are always doing stupid things to keep the hatred of our people alive. They will have to take all of our land and drive us all out of the country before Korea will be safe for them. This they cannot do."

The more intelligent of the Korean irreconcilables pin their hopes for the future upon China and Russia. They regard Japanese supremacy in the Orient as a passing phase, a mere incident in the great drama of history. In common with many Chinese they hold their overlords in contempt as well as hatred. Inevitably China will come into her own. When she does the barbarians will be broke utterly. This is what one hears from Mukden to Batavia. As for Russia, her day is coming too, they say. She does not forget.

An American who returns to the Philippines after a sojourn in either Formosa or Korea would be less than human if he did not feel a certain sense of pride in the larger spirit of liberty which is characteristic of our Oriental dependency. Yet those who understand the situation in the Philippines recognize that in one important phase of colonial development the United States has been far less successful than has Japan; and they realize that both Americans and Filipinos, especially the latter, will have to pay the price of that comparative failure.

During the American régime in the Philippines political and general education has enjoyed an unparalleled growth. Yet during this period Americans and Filipinos have not succeeded in laying an economic foundation substantial enough to support the social and political superstructure which they have erected. The result is that not only independence but further progress of any sort in the Islands must wait upon the creation of a vastly greater national income than will be available for some years to come. The Japanese, on the other hand, have proceeded much more slowly in the social and especially the political development of Formosa and Korea. Once they are seriously embarked upon a progressive program, however, both of these countries will have at their disposal ample means for the completion of their task. At the present time the annual income of the Government of Formosa (population 3,500,000) is about \$50,000,000; while the Government of the Philippines (population 11,500,000) has at its disposal about \$32,000,000 yearly. Considering the cost of the modern civilization which both of these people covet these figures are of great significance.

Where are the Japanese coming out with Korea and Formosa? Will their present policy of "attraction" and the great material advantages which they have given these colonies so dim the memories of the past as to produce at least an acquiescence in Japanese rule? Or, in some future struggle, will one of these dependencies prove to be the Achilles heel of the Island Empire? Press reports of a bloody uprising of Koreans in Tokyo and Yokohama during the recent disaster suggest vividly the dangerous possibilities of a permanently hostile population in Formosa and Korea. In the developments of the past four years there is much evidence that Japan realizes the danger of the situation and that she is determined to consolidate her military gains by political and moral victories. It is to this end that the new Japanese policy in Formosa and Korea is directed.

Source: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68494/ralston-hayden/japans-new-policy-in-korea-and-formosa>

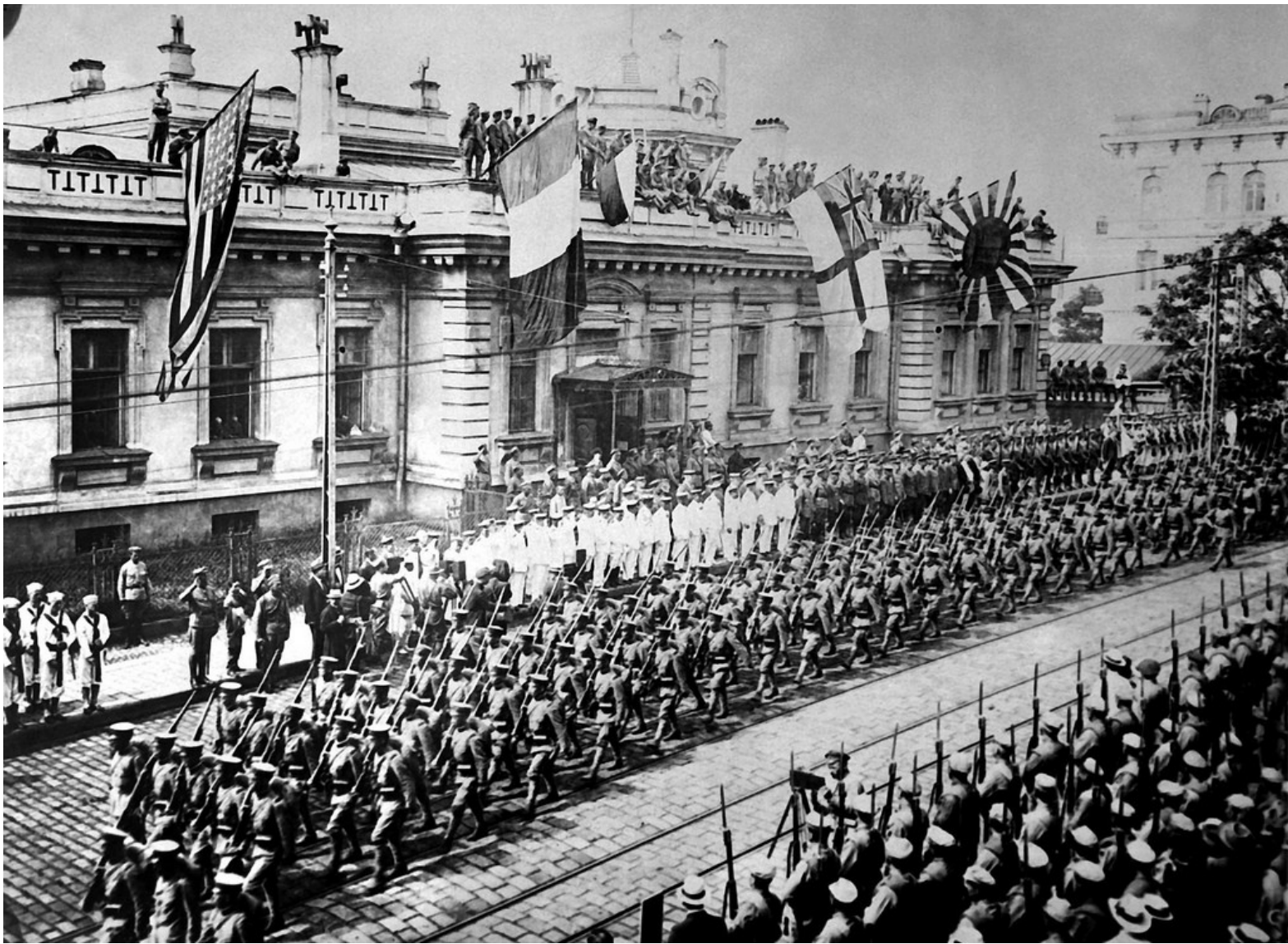


# Foreign Affairs of Imperial Japan From World War I to World War II



Source: Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University Library  
Produced for reference use only. (mssa.img.6025)

Edward M. House (standing, far left) appears with members of the Commission on League of Nations in April 1919. Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando is seated third from right; Woodrow Wilson is standing at center. Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain Sutemi Chinda and Japanese diplomat Nobuaki Makino are seated, respectively, on the far left. Robert Cecil, a Member of the British Parliament and a member of the Milner Group, is seated fourth from left. Chinese diplomat Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo is standing, fourth from right. (Photo: Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University)



Soldiers and sailors from many countries are lined up in front of the Allied Headquarters Building in Vladivostok, Russia in September 1918. The various flags flying in front of the Allied Headquarters Building include the (from left to right) American flag, French flag, British (military?) flag, and Imperial Japanese flag. (Photo: Underwood & Underwood)

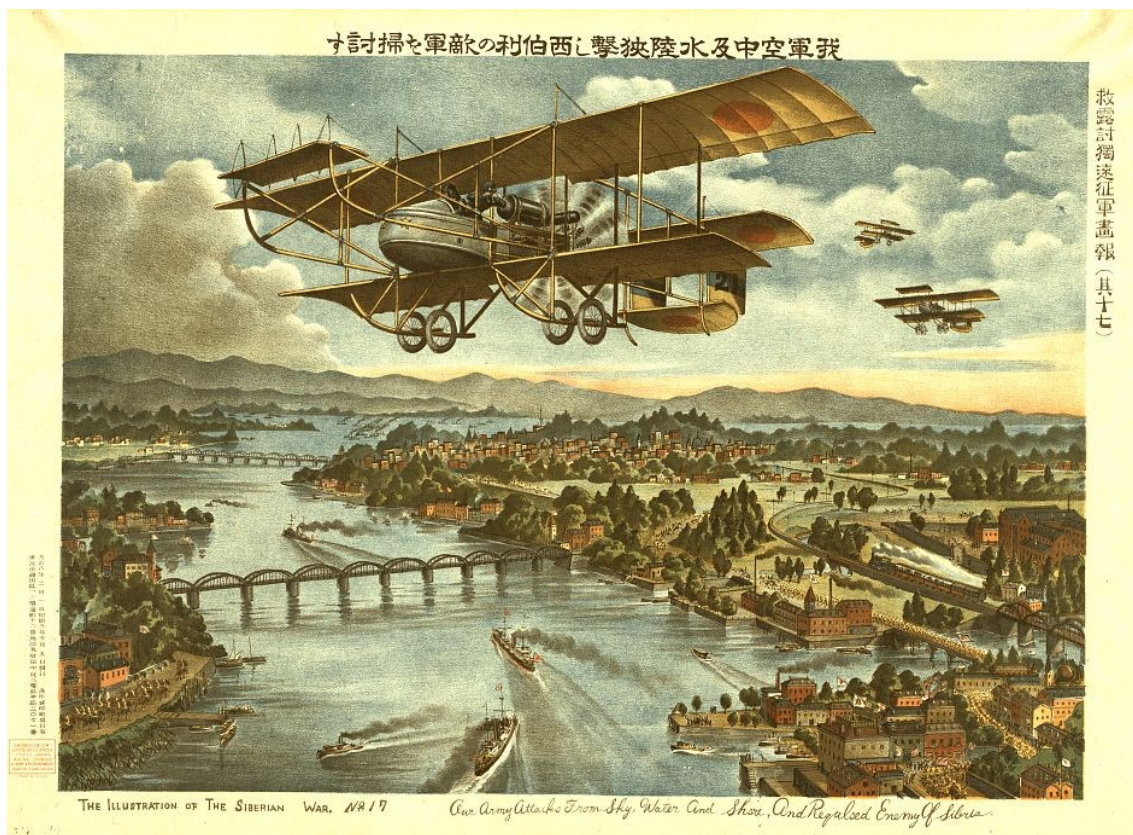


Japanese political bosses, left to right: Onisaburo Deguchi (出口 王仁三郎), Mitsuru Toyama (頭山 満), and Ryohei Uchida (内田 良平). Mitsuru Toyama was a member of the Black Dragon Society (Kokuryukai, 黒龍会) and the founder of the Dark Ocean Society (Gen'yosha, 玄洋社), a secret society and terrorist organization that favored Japanese conquest and colonization of Korea and Manchuria, in 1881. Ryohei Uchida was the godfather and founder of the Black Dragon Society. Onisaburo Deguchi was a Japanese spiritual leader.



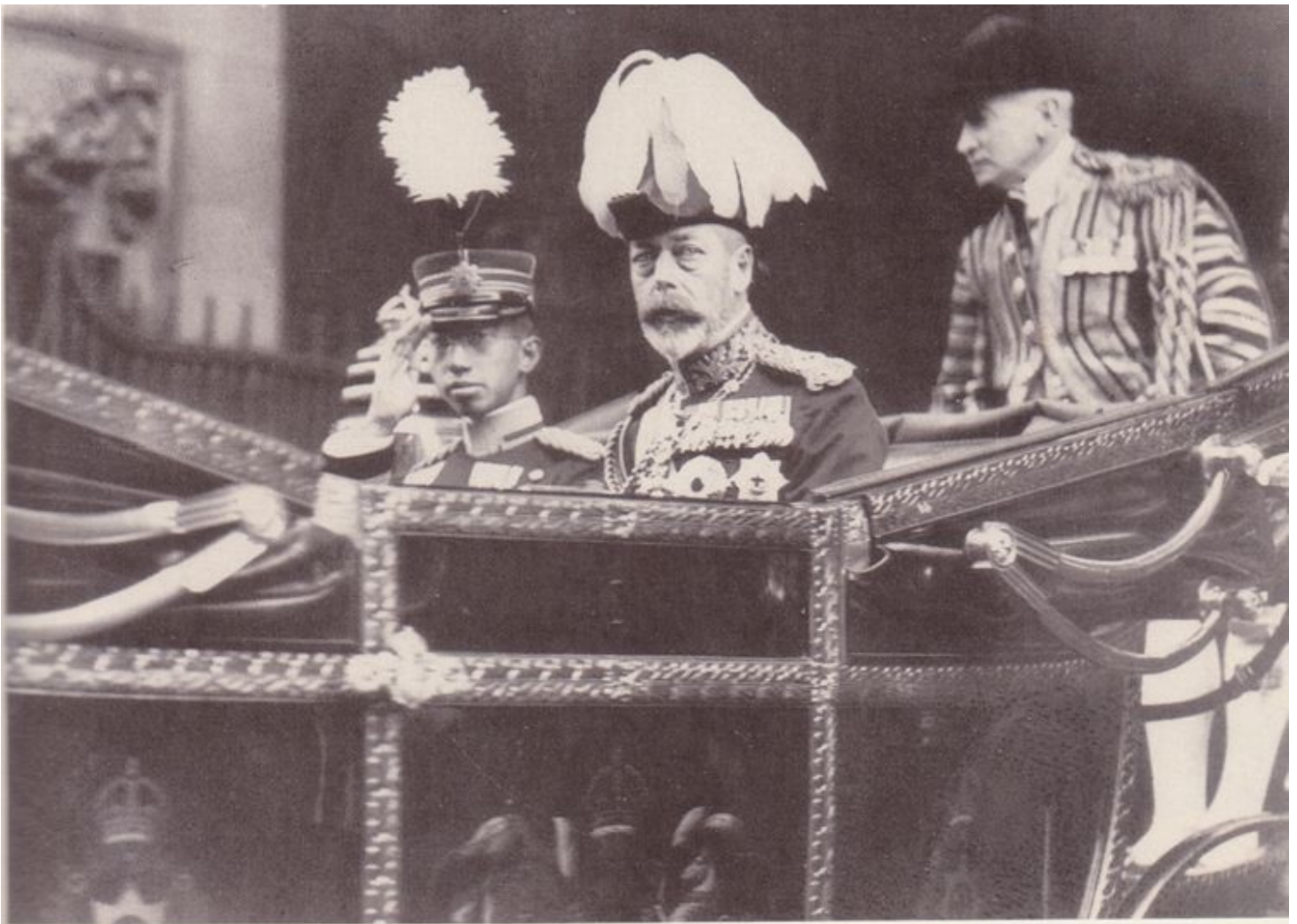


A painting of the landing of the Japanese army at Vladivostok, Russia during the Russian Civil War in 1919. The two ships in the background appear to be American vessels with American stars and stripes flags hoisted atop the ships. The "tricolor flag" displayed below the Japanese flag ("Rising Sun") on a flagpole on the right is the provisional Russian flag representing "White Russia." (Painting: Tokyo: Shobido & Co.)



Imperial Japanese military occupation of the Russian city of Khabarovsk during the Russian Civil War in 1919. (Illustration: Shobido & Co. (Tokyo)/U.S. Library of Congress)





Crown Prince Hirohito with King George V during his 1921 visit to Britain.

(Photo: *Hirohito: Behind the Myth* by Edward Behr)

## Japanese Statesmen during World War I



General Ken'ichi Ōshima  
大島 健一  
War Minister of Japan  
(1916-1918)



Admiral Tomosaburō Katō  
加藤 友三郎  
Navy Minister of Japan  
(1915-1923);  
Prime Minister of Japan  
(June 12, 1922-  
August 24, 1923)



Field Marshal  
Masatake Terauchi  
寺内 正毅  
Prime Minister of Japan  
(October 9, 1916-  
September 29, 1918);  
Governor General of  
Korea (October 1, 1910-  
October 9, 1916);  
Died November 3, 1919



Ichirō Motono  
本野 一郎  
Foreign Minister of Japan  
(1916-1918);  
Japanese Ambassador to  
Russia (1906-1916);  
Died in office on  
September 17, 1918



Kōsai Uchida  
内田 康哉  
Foreign Minister of Japan  
(1911-1912, 1918-1923,  
1932-1933);  
Japanese Ambassador to  
Russia (1916-1918)

Note: Kazue Shōda (勝田 主計) served as Finance Minister of Japan (1916-1918) and President of the Bank of Chosen in Seoul, Korea.





Prime Minister of Great Britain David Lloyd George (front row, 2<sup>nd</sup> left) meets with Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan (front row, center) in London on May 15, 1921. (Photo: Asahi Newspaper)

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crown\\_Prince\\_Hirohito\\_and\\_Lloyd\\_George\\_1921.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crown_Prince_Hirohito_and_Lloyd_George_1921.jpg)



Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan (right) and the Prince of Wales salute during Hirohito's visit to Great Britain on May 21, 1921. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



American birth control activist Margaret Sanger, right, is shown, photographed on her arrival to Tokyo, Japan on April 3, 1922. Japan being opposed to birth control, she was forbidden to make any public talks on the subject. In this photo with her are the Baroness and Baron Ishimoto, leaders for control of birth in Tokyo; Mrs. Sanger was their guest. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



## 1923 Kanto Earthquake



The Metropolitan Police Department at Marunouchi district near Hibiya Park in Tokyo, Japan erupts in flames on September 15, 1923.



Survivors of the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake search for missing relatives. The Great Kanto Earthquake killed more than 140,000 people and destroyed most of Tokyo and Yokohama. Most Japanese buildings in Tokyo and Yokohama in 1923 were made of wood, and most of the wooden buildings erupted in flames following the earthquake.



A U.S. Navy Chaplain ministers to the dead, burned beyond recognition, in the ruins of the U.S. Naval Hospital at Yokohama, Japan in September 1923 following the Great Kanto Earthquake. The Chaplain was part of an Asiatic Fleet search and recovery party sent to the hospital site after the earthquake. (Photo: Collection of Henry J. Poy, *U.S. Naval Historical Center Photograph*)

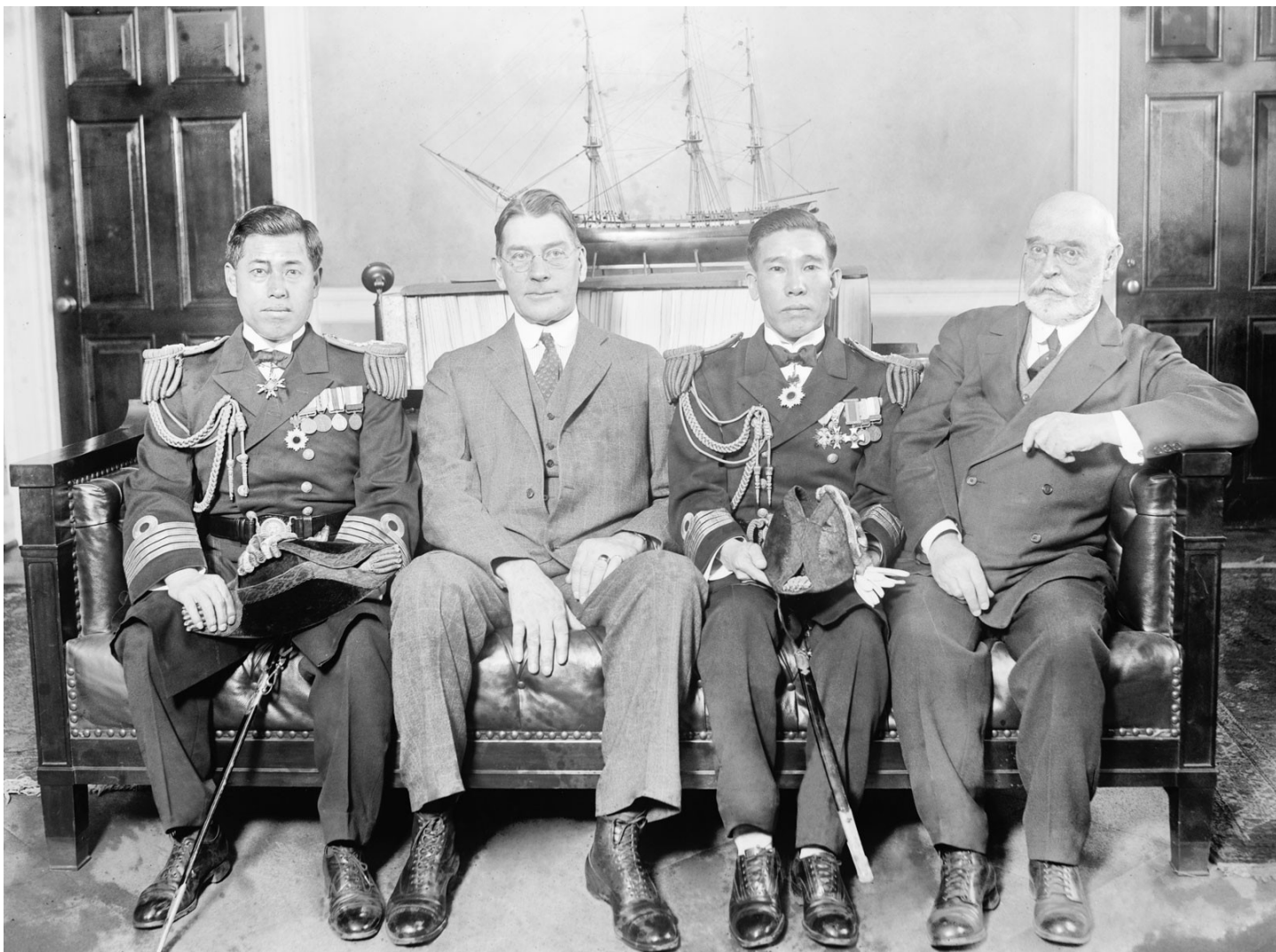


Left: Fire erupts in the Marunouchi district in Tokyo, Japan on September 1, 1923 following a major earthquake that day.



Right: Japanese police officers interrogate and persecute ethnic Korean migrant workers, including a migrant worker, after the 1923 Kanto Earthquake. Ethnic Koreans, most of whom were unable to speak Japanese fluently, were falsely accused of looting and arson in Tokyo and Yokohama after the earthquake displaced many residents and destroyed homes and businesses. The Imperial Japanese government imposed martial law over Tokyo in an attempt to restore order following the devastating earthquake.





Left to right: Capt. Isoroku Yamamoto, Japanese naval attaché in Washington, D.C., U.S. Secretary of the Navy Curtis D. Wilbur, another Japanese naval officer, and Adm. Edward W. Eberle, Chief of U.S. Naval Operations, on February 17, 1926.  
 (Photo: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (digital. id. npcc 27504))  
 (Source: <http://media-2.web.britannica.com/eb-media/48/128748-050-384F5AB2.jpg>)



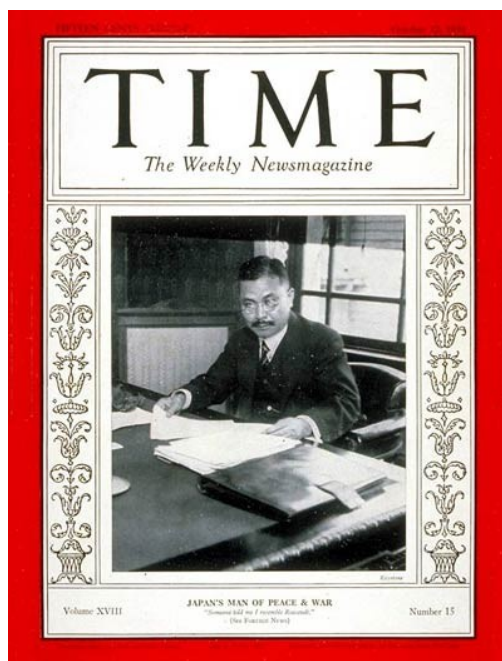
Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan (left) and U.S. Army Brigadier General Frank R. McCoy, later a Major General and a member of the Roberts Commission, inspect several field hospitals in Tokyo, Japan in 1923, shortly after The Great Kanto Earthquake devastated Tokyo and Yokohama. The American people, out of charity and goodwill, donated money, food, and clothes to Japan to assist the Japanese people who survived the earthquake.



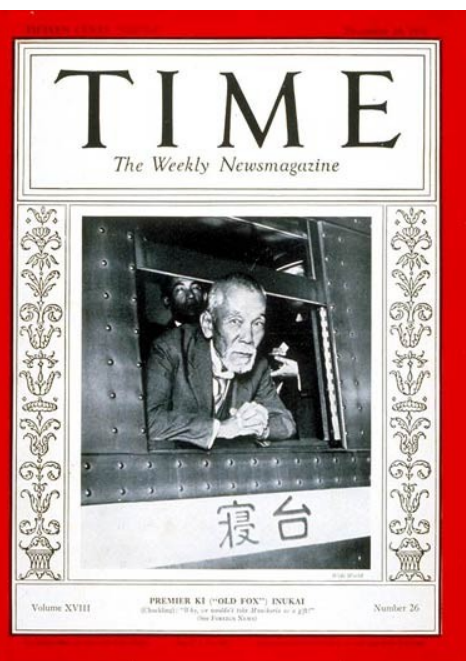
Photo # NH 96118 Japanese Naval Delegation at Arlington Cemetary, ca. 1927



Imperial Japanese Navy Vice Admiral Osami Nagano lays a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Arlington National Cemetery in Arlington, Virginia, U.S.A. in circa 1927. At the right end of the Japanese delegation is Captain Isoroku Yamamoto, the Naval Attaché to the United States. The U.S. Navy officer standing hatless just behind them is Lieutenant Commander Paulus P. Powell, Aide to Vice Admiral Osami Nagano during this visit. (Collection of Rear Admiral Paulus P. Powell/U.S. Naval Historical Center Photograph)  
<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/prs-for/japan/japrs-xz/i-yamto.htm>



Left: Foreign Minister of Japan Baron Kijuro Shidehara (幣原 喜重郎) appears on the front cover of *Time* magazine (October 12, 1931 edition).  
 Right: Prime Minister of Japan Tsuyoshi Inukai (犬養 毅) appears on the front cover of *Time* magazine (December 28, 1931 edition).



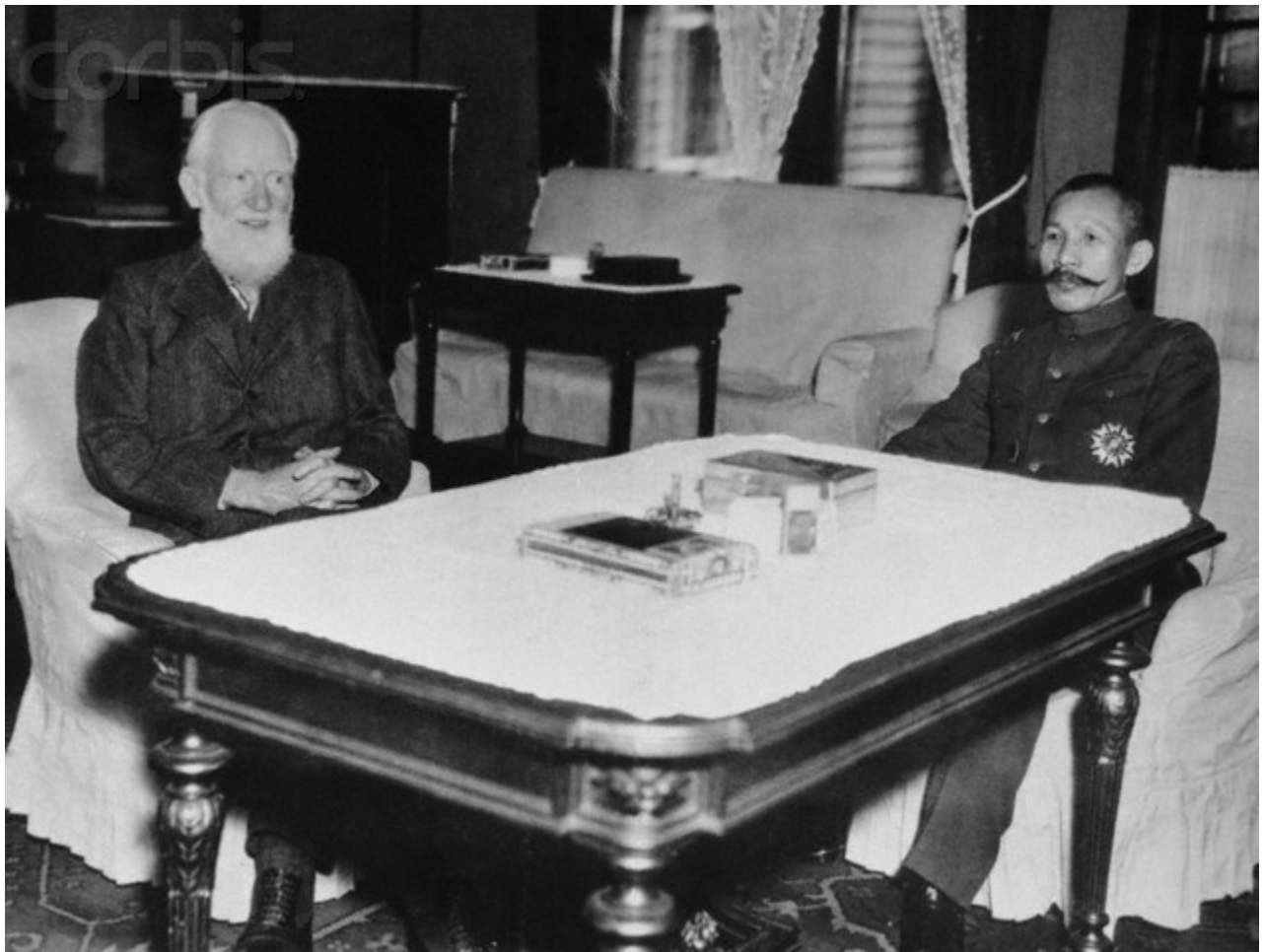




U.S. Minister to China John Van Antwerp MacMurray (left), later a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City, attends a formal affair alongside Japanese Foreign Minister Kijuro Shidehara in Tokyo, Japan on August 1, 1925. Kijuro Shidehara, who was identified with the peaceful efforts of Japan of the 1920's, served as Prime Minister of Japan from October 9, 1945 to May 22, 1946. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



While U.S. Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson looks on, Japanese Ambassador Katsuji Debuchi signs the Kellogg-Briand Pact an hour prior to the ratification ceremony on July 24, 1929. Stimson was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. (CORBIS)



George Bernard Shaw, world-famed British dramatist and socialist, meet with Lieutenant General Sado Araki, Japanese Minister of War, in Tokyo, Japan on March 23, 1933. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



Members of the Japanese delegation to the World Economic Conference in London bid goodbye to U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt at the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on May 27, 1933. Left to right: Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, head delegate and former Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. (1918-1919); Juukuio Kabono, Economic adviser; President Roosevelt; Japanese banker Eigo Fukai (Governor of the Bank of Japan from 1935 to 1937); and Katsuji Debuchi, Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)





Leading Japanese officials and the American Ambassador to Japan spoke to the United States of America via telephone for the first time on December 30, 1934, when an international service was completed in Tokyo. Pictured at the ceremony, are left to right: Takejiro Tokonami, Minister of Communications; Foreign Minister Koki Hirota; Ambassador Joseph C. Grew; and Mr. Edwin Neville, Counsellor of the American Embassy listening in on messages coming from Washington, D.C. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Joseph C. Grew (standing), the American Ambassador to Imperial Japan, delivers a speech at an America-Japan Society dinner in March 1936. Prime Minister of Japan Koki Hirota (広田 弘毅), who served as the Prime Minister from March 9, 1936 to February 2, 1937, is seated three persons from Grew's right. The Japanese naval officer at the extreme right is Admiral Mineo Osumi (大角 岑生), Minister of the Navy. Koki Hirota was convicted of war crimes at the Tokyo Trials in 1948 and executed by hanging at Sugamo Prison in Tokyo on December 23,

1948. Admiral Mineo Osumi, who served as the Minister of the Navy from 1931 to 1932 and from 1933 to 1936, was killed in action in China during the Second Sino-Japanese War on February 5, 1941.

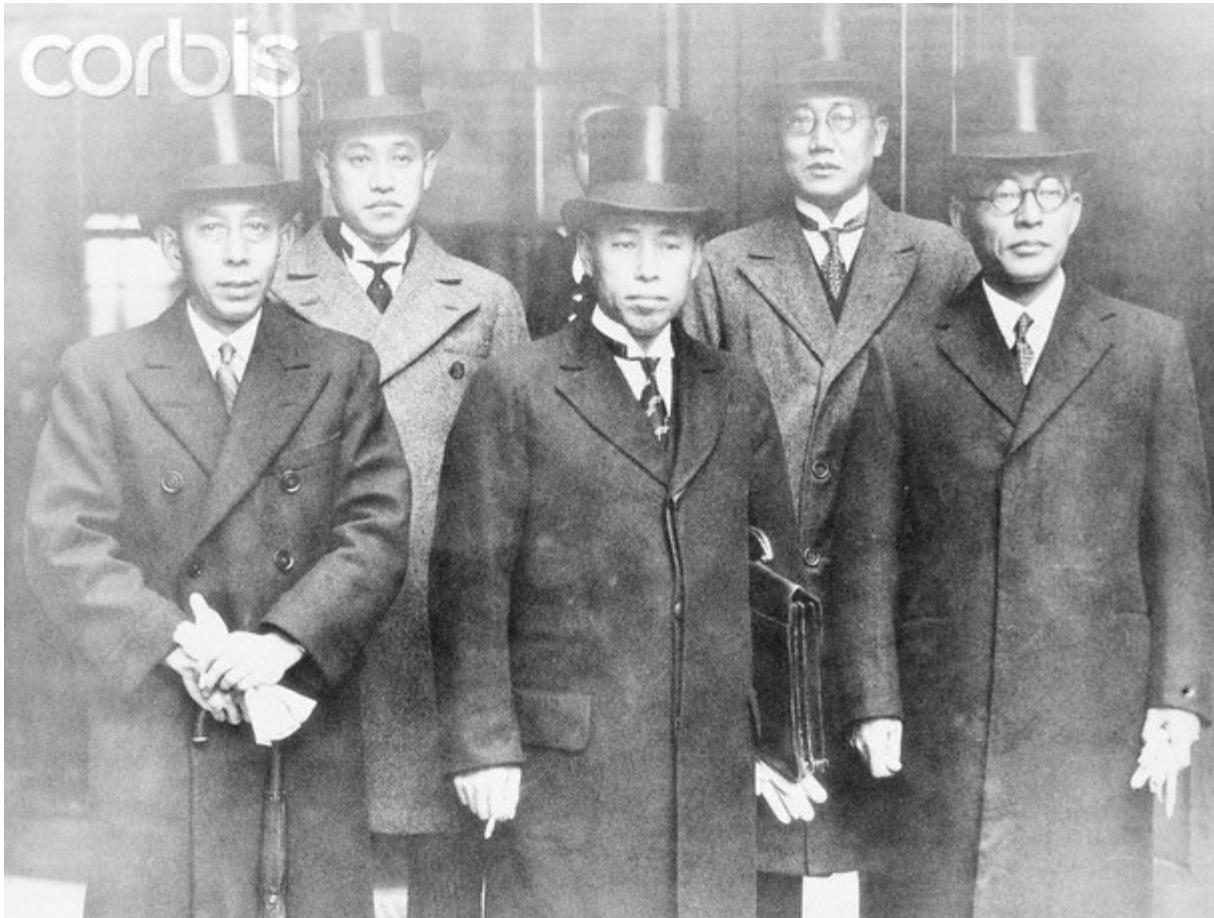


British Member of Parliament and statesman Arthur Balfour addresses the first council of the League of Nations held in St. James Palace in London on February 26, 1920. At table left to right: Baron Matsui of Japan, Mr. Balfour, M. Leon Bourgeoise, President of the League of Nations; Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General; Maggirino Ferraris of Italy, M. Paul Humans of Belgium and M. Quinones de Leon of Spain. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Prime Minister of Japan Viscount Makoto Saito announces Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations at a park in Tokyo, Japan on May 17, 1933, after the recognition of the Japanese puppet-state of Manchukuo by the Japanese. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)





Members of the Japanese delegation to the negotiations between Japan, United States and Great Britain in preparation for the 1935 London Naval Conference, are seen leaving their hotel for the first conference in London on October 24, 1934. Left to right front, Cap. Tain Oka; Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto; and Captain Iwashita. Back, left to right: J. Enomoto and Commander T. Mitunobu. The Japanese delegates asked for future elimination of Naval "ratios" from all treaties. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Participants from Italy, France, America, Britain, and Japan attend the Five-Power Naval Conference discussing limitations on naval armaments in the Locarno Room of the Foreign Office in London in December 1935. (Photo: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)



# Imperial Japanese Colonization of Manchuria (Manchukuo)

## Mukden Incident: Organized Crime?



An express train on the South Manchuria Railroad (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))

**“During the night of September 18, 1931, Kwantung Army officers detonated an explosion near the Japanese-controlled South Manchurian Railway line at Liut’iaokou (north of Mukden) and blamed it on the soldiers of Chang Hsueh-liang and armed Chinese “bandits.” Using an incident they themselves had staged as a pretext, and that had left the rail line itself undamaged, Staff Officer Col. Itagaki Seishiro [Gen. Seishiro Itagaki, later Japanese Minister of War] ordered the Independent Garrison Force and the Twenty-ninth Infantry Regiment to attack the barracks of the Chinese Manchurian Army within the walled city of Mukden. Taken by surprise, the Chinese troops fled or laid down their arms. An hour later Itagaki’s co-conspirator, Lt. Col. Ishiwara Kanji, stationed in Ryojun [Port Arthur], conveyed the false report of what had happened to Kwantung Army Commander Honjo Shigeru. Honjo then issued attack orders that Ishiwara had carefully prepared long in advance. Over the next twenty-four hours Kwantung Army units advanced beyond the leased territory and seized control of the strategic towns along the railway. The army then prepared to move on the major population centers of southern Manchuria. The next day, September 19, the palace learned – through newspaper reports based on Kwantung Army explanations – of the clash in Manchuria. Responsibility, according to the army spokesmen, rested with the Chinese. Chief Aide-de-Camp Nara Takeji promptly informed the emperor, adding that he believed “this incident [would] not spread.”...Once started, the Manchurian Incident set off a chain reaction of international and domestic crises that interacted and fundamentally altered the whole trajectory of Japanese state development. China immediately sought redress before the League of Nations; the Kwantung Army sought reinforcements. Gen. Hayashi Senjuro, commanding in Korea, sought permission, though central army headquarters in Tokyo, to send units across the Yalu River into Manchuria. On September 19 the government was still helpless and ill-informed. Prime Minister Wakatsuki appealed to Harada Kumao, secretary to *genro* Saionji, for assistance...”**  
– *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* by Herbert P. Bix, p. 235-236



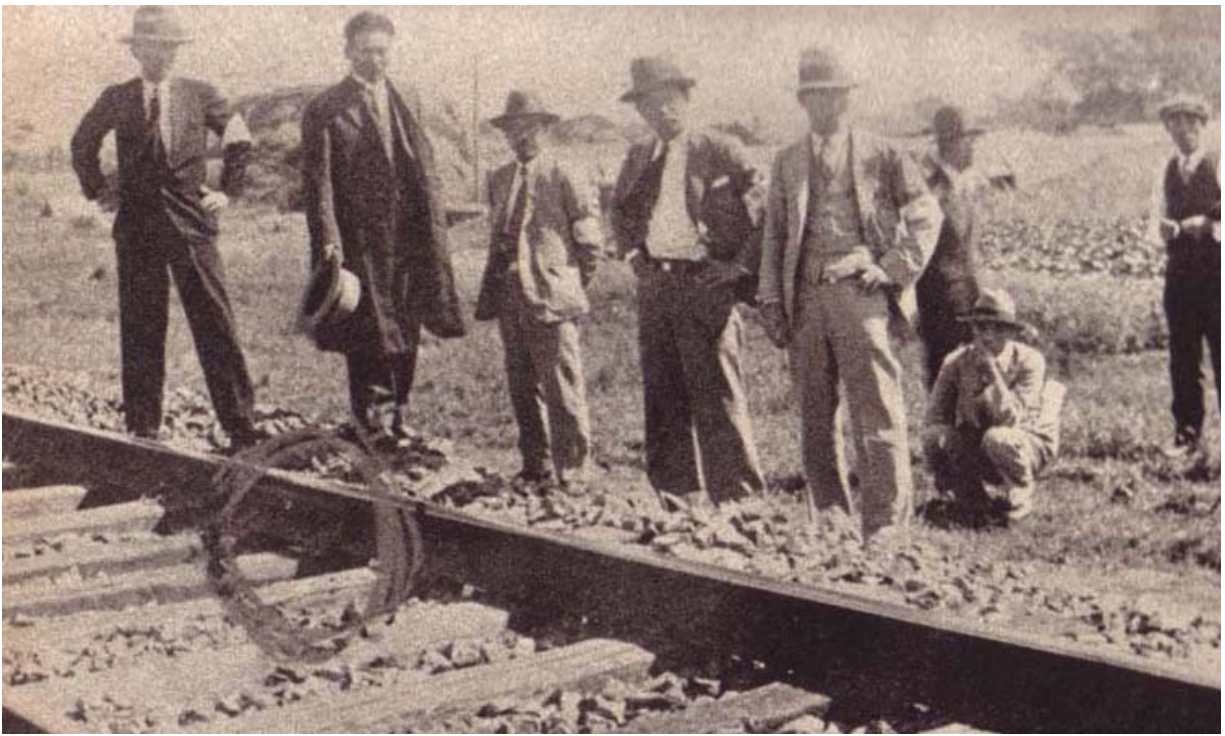
“The Express Train of the South Manchurian Railway Company running through the spot where Chan Tso-rin [Chang Tso-lin] was bombed to death.” Chang Tso-lin was the Warlord of Manchuria from 1922 until his death on **June 4, 1928**, when he was assassinated in a bombing incident in which his train exploded as the train arrived in Mukden.

Chang Tso-lin departed Peking (Beijing) on June 3, 1928 and traveled by train to Mukden (Shenyang). On the morning of June 4, 1928, the train reached the outskirts of Mukden. In Mukden, the rail line passed through the Japanese-operated South Manchuria Railroad. Imperial Japanese Kwantung Army officer Colonel Kōmoto Daisaku had planted a bomb on the rail line, which exploded when Chang Tso-lin's train passed under the viaduct.



Chang Tso-lin, Warlord of Manchuria





Japanese experts inspect the scene of the staged 'railway sabotage' on South Manchuria Railway in September 1931, leading to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. Japanese soldiers of the Kwantung Army reportedly engaged in a false-flag operation by sabotaging the Japanese government-owned South Manchuria Railway and blamed the terrorist incident on the Chinese "bandits".

(Published in Japanese newspaper Rekishi Syashin)

(Photo: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:193109\\_mukden\\_incident\\_railway\\_sabotage.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:193109_mukden_incident_railway_sabotage.jpg))

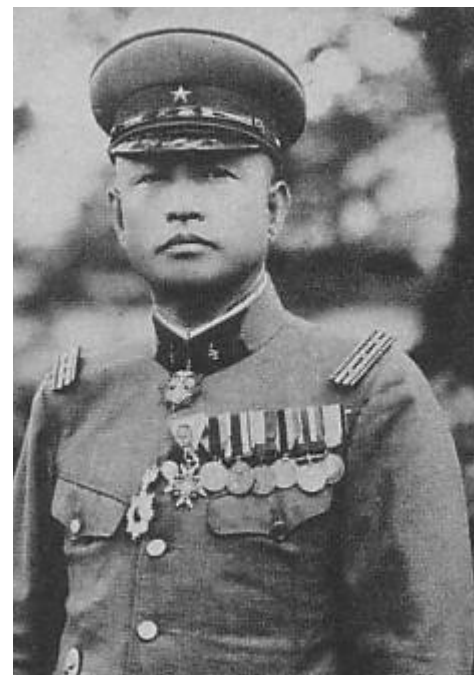


Central Bank of Manchou headquarters in Hsinking (Changchun), Manchukuo in 1939. The Mukden Incident occurred on **September 18, 1931**. The British Empire went off the gold standard on **September 21, 1931**.

(Photo: *Showa History: History of Japanese colony* published by Mainichi Newspapers Company)

“By October 1, 1931, two weeks into the incident, most Japanese had begun to rally behind the army. **Hirohito knew that the incident had been staged. He knew who had planned it, who had ordered it, and who had carried it out. He was totally aware that several senior officers had violated the army’s own penal law of 1908 by ordering troops into areas that lay outside their command jurisdiction.** Nevertheless, as Chief Aide-de-Camp Nara’s diary makes quite clear, Hirohito intended to order only the lightest of punishments for the army chief of staff and the Kwantung Army commander.”

– *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* by Herbert P. Bix, p. 240



Co-Conspirators of the Mukden Incident: General Shigeru Honjō (left, commander in chief of the Kwantung Army), Colonel (later General) Seishiro Itagaki (center), and Lt. Col. (later Lieutenant General) Kanji Ishiwara (right)

Kanji Ishiwara was an advocate of Pan-Asianism and staunch opponent of the Japanese military invasion of China and Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor. Kanji Ishiwara confronted Prime Minister Gen. Hideki Tojo at the Prime Minister's office in Tokyo in late 1942 and advised Tojo to resign from office and commit suicide.

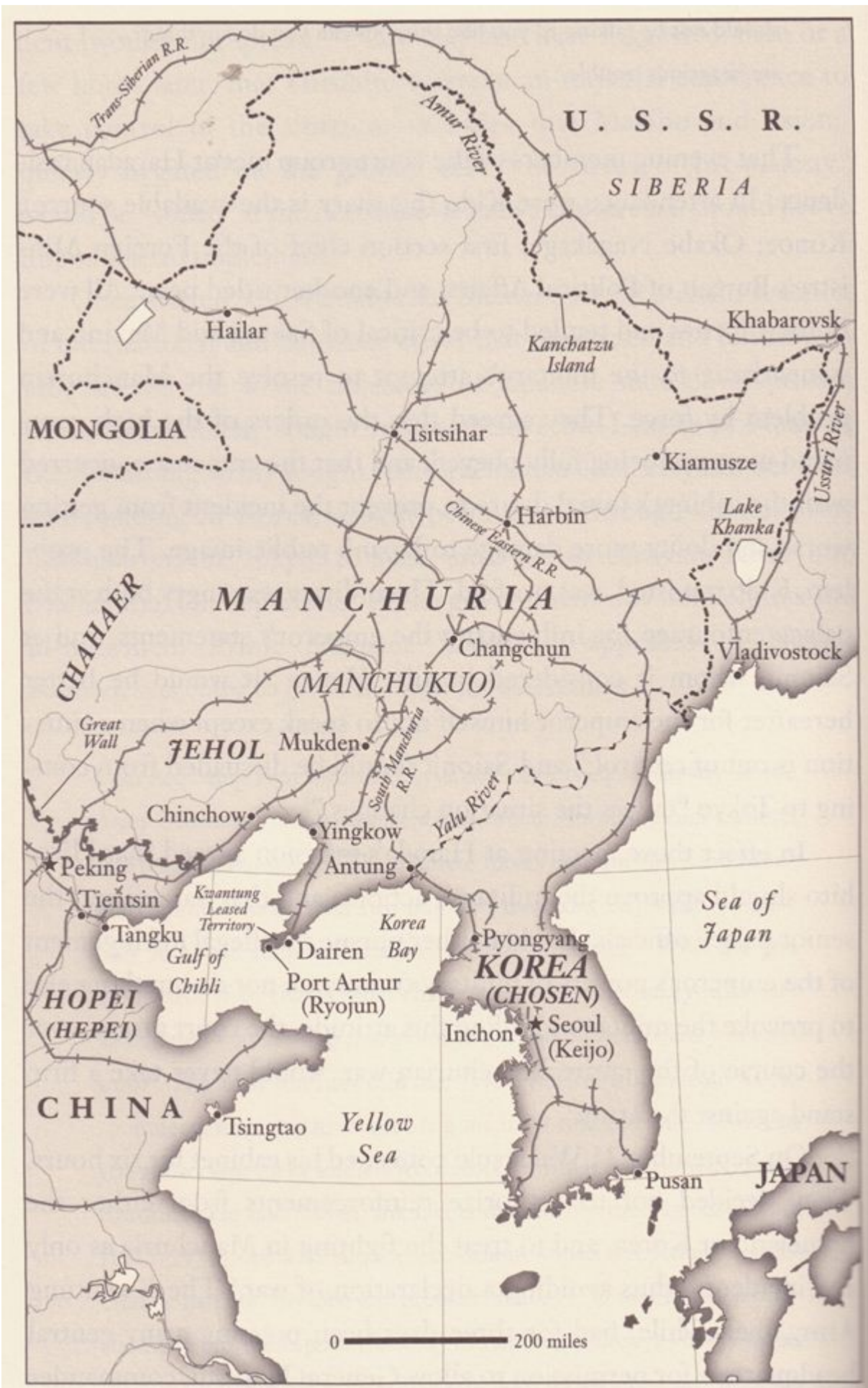
“Captain Kawamoto Suemori laid the forty-two yellow packages of blasting powder with care. Shortly after 10:00 P.M. on September 18, 1931, he detonated them, displacing a portion of the tracks of the South Manchuria Railway Line as it passed the northern outskirts of Mukden. Kawamoto and his coconspirators intended to derail the Dairen Express, due just minutes later, and blame the act on the local Chinese warlord, Zhang Xueliang. Incredibly, when the train reached the damaged section of track, it swayed only slightly and passed on safely. Unruffled, Kawamoto relayed a prearranged message to his home base. “Engaged in action with Chinese forces who set off explosion along railroad.” Ostensibly in response to that “unprovoked aggression,” units of Japan’s Kwantung Army immediately attacked the barracks of Zhang’s soldiers in Mukden and Changchun. Within forty-eight hours, Japanese troops occupied the two cities, and Doihara Kenji, a colonel in the Kwantung Army, named himself to head an emergency committee to govern Mukden, effectively detaching that provincial capital from Chinese control. The fighting in Manchuria erupted while Japan was mired in depression. The New York Stock market crashed in October 1929, and Tokyo soon felt the shock waves. Between 1929 and 1931 Japan’s exports fell in half, its GNP declined by 18 percent, and investments in plants and equipment dropped by one-third. In urban centers, more than a million men and women joined the unemployment rolls as large businesses curtailed operations, medium-size firms collapsed in bankruptcy, and owners of some small factories withheld pay for work done and even absconded with the money left in the cash drawer. With wages low and jobs hard to find, many younger workers returned to their ancestral villages to wait out the depression, only to find their relatives were faring no better. As demand for silk fell precipitously in 1930, farm families that raised cocoons earned only half their 1929 incomes. Rice prices declined so sharply that in some regions farmers received less for their crop than the cost of growing it, and overall rural incomes plunged from an index of one hundred in 1926 to just thirty-three in 1931. Life grew even harsher when crop failures punished northern Japan in 1931 and again in 1934. Food became so scarce that travelers reported seeing farm families stripping the winter bark from trees to expose eatable grubs, and thousands of starving families sold their daughters to urban brothels. Even the dead were affected... The Manchurian Incident and the Great Depression – the twin crises that racked Japan at the beginning of the 1930s – raised new doubts about the efficacy of capitalism and the ability of party cabinets to address the myriad political, economic, and social problems, that confronted the nation. Clearly, everyone acknowledged, Japan had entered “a period of national emergency,” and many pushed forward with new answers to the question of wither Japan.” – *Japan: A Modern History* by James L. McClain, p. 405-407



“The leading architect of the Manchurian [Mukden] Incident was Ishiwara Kanji. A graduate of the Japanese Military Academy, class of '09 [1909], the young second lieutenant completed a tour of duty in Korea before entering the Army Staff College, where he finished second in his class in 1918 and stepped onto the fast track for promotion to higher rank.. He subsequently served a year in China, accepted a posting to Germany for three years of research and language study, and in 1925 returned to Japan, a major assigned to lecture about the history of warfare at the Army Staff College. A quixotic and unconventional thinker, Ishiwara painted an apocalyptic view of the future in his lectures. The lesson to be learned was simple, he explained: Warfare had become more violent and more encompassing than ever before. The invention of deadly poison gases, the invincible tank, and now the airplane with its awesome potential to project power over great distances meant that any future war would draw into its vortex of horror everyone in society – civilians as well as soldiers, innocent women and children as well as armed men. Using a term popular in German military circles, *der totale Krieg*, Ishiwara warned that another conflict, should it come, would be Total War: Destruction would be beyond comprehension, and a nation could hope to weather such a holocaust only if it were able to mobilize all its material, human, and spiritual resources. It would be folly, he also cautioned, to imagine that World War I was “the war to end all wars.” As a convert to the Nichiren faith, a contentious and sometimes militant Buddhist denomination founded in the thirteenth century, Ishiwara accepted the sect’s fundamental tenet: Ultimately a “titanic world Conflict, unprecedented in human history,” would scour the globe and prepare the way for a reign of universal and eternal peace. His own interpretation of the scriptures suggested that this catastrophic showdown would take place within his own lifetime, and his sense of the strategic situation in the late 1920s led him to conclude that two new world powers, representatives of very different historical and religious traditions, would stand in the center of the conflagration. On one side of the Pacific Ocean, Ishiwara told his audience, the United States had moved to the forefront of Western societies, and on the opposite side of that ocean Japan was emerging as the undisputed leader of Asian civilization. Ultimately, inevitably, sooner rather than later, he prophesied, these two standard-bearers for mutually hostile ideological systems would meet not just in a Total War but in a Final War, and only one would survive to preside over the new era of world peace. Japan, he concluded, must begin preparations immediately for this impending Armageddon. That imperative meant that Japan must dominate East Asia, and in Manchuria it had to build up a powerful industrial base that would provide the resources and industrial might necessary to win the coming war of annihilation with the United States. In October 1928 Ishiwara arranged to have himself assigned to the Kwantung Army. From the day he stepped ashore at Port Arthur he endlessly sermonized about Japan’s need to control the region.”

– *Japan: A Modern History* by James L. McClain, p. 407-408

“Neither the army general staff nor the country’s newly appointed prime minister, Konoe Fumimaro, was particularly apprehensive when details of the latest incident in China reached Tokyo. The confrontation seemed to be just another minor foulup that could be straightened out quickly and routinely. On the night of July 7, 1937, a company of Japanese soldiers, one of several international units stationed near Beijing under the provisions of the Boxer Protocol, was conducting ordinary field maneuvers near the graceful Marco Polo Bridge, some ten miles west of China’s old imperial capital. The soldiers added realism to the training exercise by firing blank cartridges from their machine guns, as was regular practice, but that night, much to their surprise, they were answered by incoming live rounds, presumably from Chinese troops. After a roll call revealed one Japanese soldier to be missing, the company commander asked permission to search a nearby town, and when the Chinese balked at the request, the Japanese tried to enter the settlement forcibly. Following that second skirmish, each side rushed a battalion of men to the scene, even though the errant soldier had found his way back to his unit unharmed. When central military headquarters in Tokyo received a situation report on the morning of July 8, the army chief of staff decided to downplay events and cabled instructions to the local Japanese commander to work out a settlement with his Chinese counterpart, a familiar method of resolving minor incidents in northern China. The chief of staff’s action met with approval from several officers on the general staff who believed Japan must avoid petty military engagements in China that might broaden into a protracted war. Remarkably, one of the most articulate of the so-called noninterventionists was Ishiwara Kanji, the impulsive, cocksure mastermind behind the Manchurian Incident. Having been transferred in 1935 to the general staff’s Operations Division in Tokyo, Ishiwara agreed with colleagues who saw the Soviet Union as Japan’s most immediate strategic problem in northern Asia, even while he continued to predict the eventual onset of a Final War with the United States. Such threats compelled Japan to embark on a long-term industrial and military buildup, Ishiwara asserted, and that had justified the creation of Manchukuo since the new country could contribute to Japan’s attempt to achieve autarky, or economic self-sufficiency. But at this juncture, in the mid-1930s, Japan needed to maintain a state of peace to buy time to develop its full economic and military capabilities. Looked at in such light, further military involvement in China, Ishiwara reasoned, simply invited “the same sort of disaster which overtook Napoleon in Spain – a slow sinking into the deepest sort of bog.” Japan must be on guard, the noninterventionists admonished, not to underestimate the growing strength of Chinese nationalism and the tenacity with which Chiang Kai-shek’s army would fight if backed into a corner, the continent was a quagmire that would suck in Japanese manpower and resources, leaving the nation vulnerable.” – *Japan: A Modern History* by James L. McClain, p. 442-444



Map of Manchuria (Manchukuo), Kwantung Leased Territory, and Korea (Chosen) in 1931





Imperial Japanese Army troops enter Mukden [now Shenyang], China in September 1931, shortly after the staged Mukden Incident that occurred on September 18, 1931.





Imperial Japanese Army troops enter Harbin in September-October 1931, shortly after Mukden Incident.  
(Photo: [http://ww2db.com/image.php?image\\_id=3581](http://ww2db.com/image.php?image_id=3581))



Kwantung Army Headquarters in Hsinking, Manchukuo [Japan] in 1935. Hsinking [now Changchun] was the capital of Manchukuo.  
(Source: Japanese book "Showa History: History of Japanese colony" published by Mainichi Newspapers Company)





### Die Mandschurei-Kommission

Dr. Schnee      General Mc Coy      General Claudel  
 Graf Aldorrandi      Lord Lytton      Botschafter Yoshida

Members of the Lytton Commission investigate the Mukden Incident in 1932. From left to right: Count Luigi Aldrovandi-Marescotti (Italian Ambassador to Germany (1926-1929)), Dr. Heinrich Schnee (Governor of German East Africa (1912-1918)), Lord Victor Bulwer-Lytton (Chairman of the Lytton Commission; former Governor of Bengal), U.S. Army Major General Frank R. McCoy (later member of the Council on Foreign Relations), General Henri-Edouard Claudel (former Inspector-general of French colonial troops), and Japanese diplomat Isaburo Yoshida.



The former Russia city hall in Dalian, China



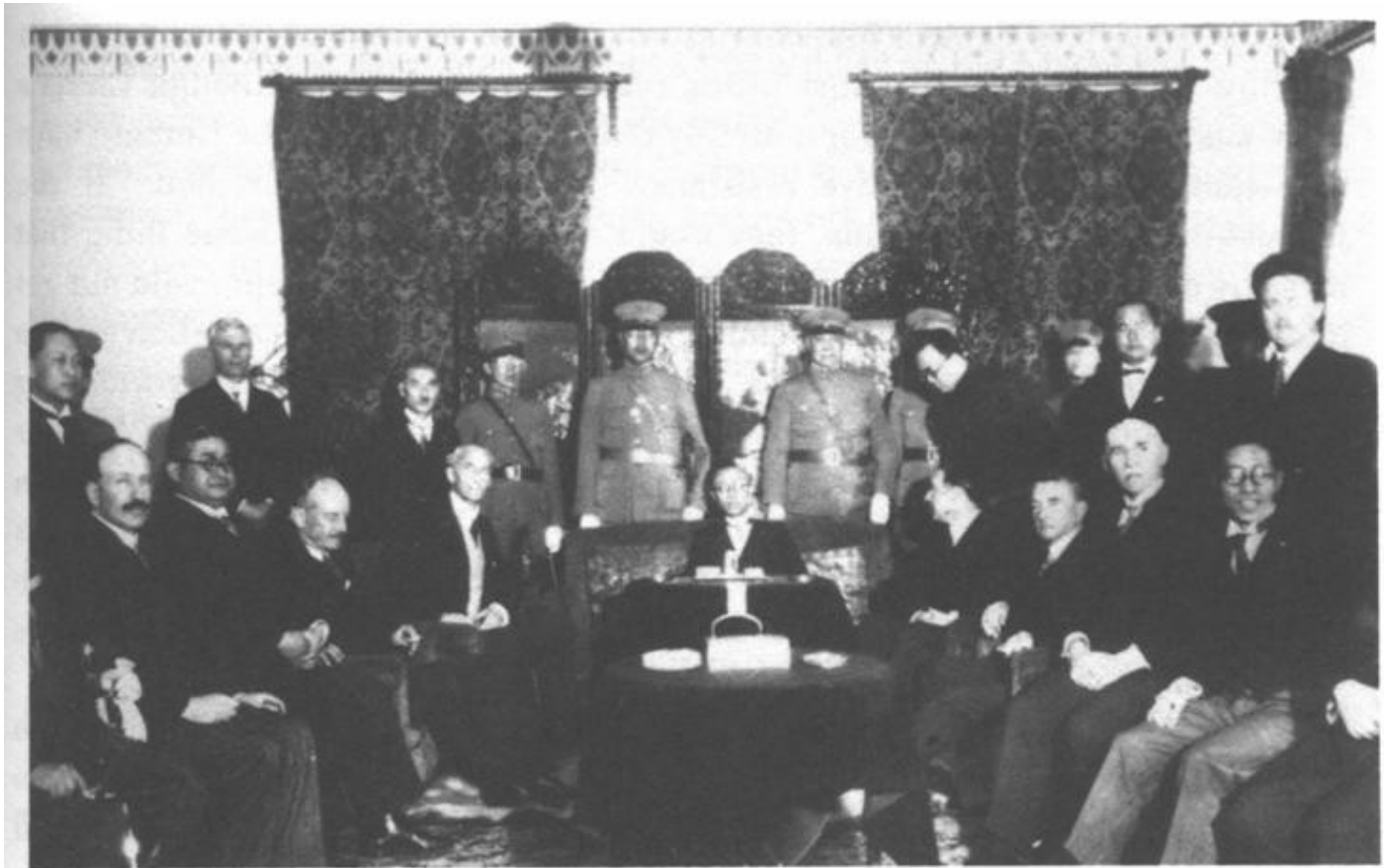


Members of the League of Nation's Commission of Inquiry in the Far East (Lytton Commission) arrive at Hankow, China in 1932. (Source: [League of Nations Archives](#), [UNOG Library](#))



A photo of Harbin before 1945





*The Lytton Commission confers with Henry Pu Yi, titular ruler of Manchukuo, 1932. To Pu Yi's right are Lytton and McCoy; to his left are Count Luigi Aldrovandi-Marescotti, Dr. Albert Schnee, and General Henri Claudel. (Courtesy National Archives)*

Frank McCoy and other members of the Lytton Commission meet with Henry Pu-Yi., the titular ruler of Manchukuo (Manchuria) in 1932. Henry Pu-Yi is seated in the center; McCoy is seated two persons from Pu-Yi's right. Frank McCoy was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Soviet Union, Fascist Spain, and Hungary established diplomatic relations with Manchukuo.

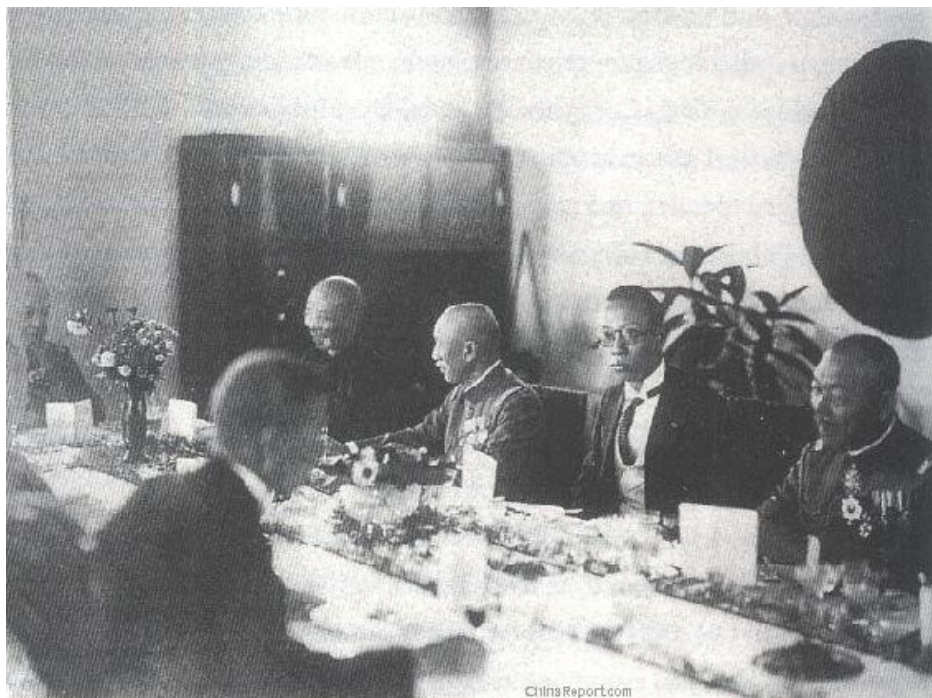


Left photo: Japanese troops entering Shenyang, China during the Mukden Incident in September 1931.

Right photo: Chinese soldiers of the National Revolutionary Army hold their positions at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking in 1937 during their battle against the Imperial Japanese Army. The Imperial Japanese government used the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge as a pretext to invade mainland China and the cities of Shanghai, Nanking, and Peking.

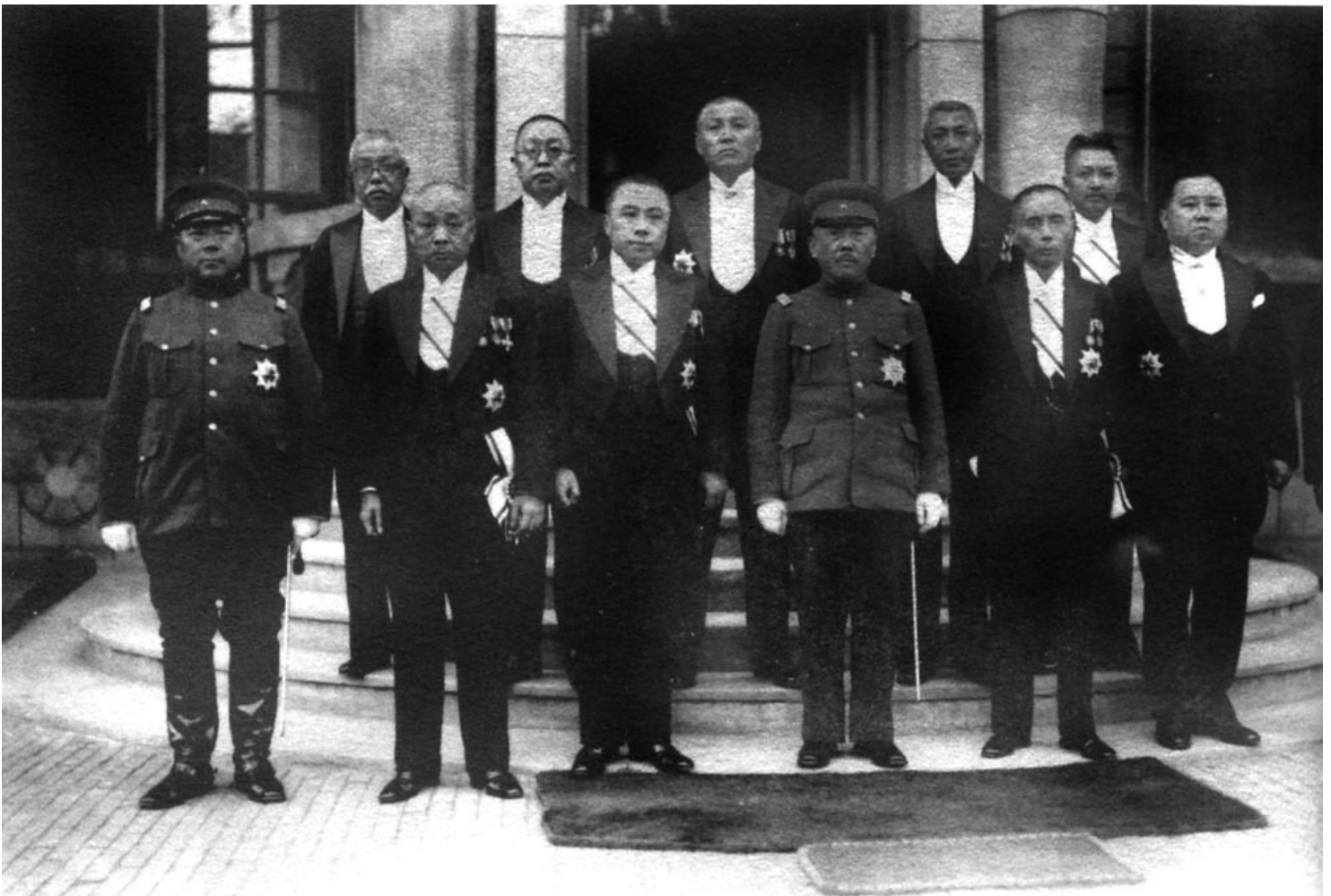


Emperor Hirohito of Japan (left) and Emperor Henry Pu-Yi of Manchukuo (center, saluting) ride in a carriage during a formal visit to Tokyo, Japan in 1935. Henry Pu-Yi, who once served as the final Emperor of China in 1911, served as the Emperor of Manchukuo from March 1, 1934 until August 15, 1945. Henry Pu-Yi lived in Tientsin during the Mukden Incident and moved to Dairen shortly after the Mukden Incident. Henry Pu-Yi (born on February 7, 1906) died of medical complications in Peking (Beijing) on October 17, 1967.

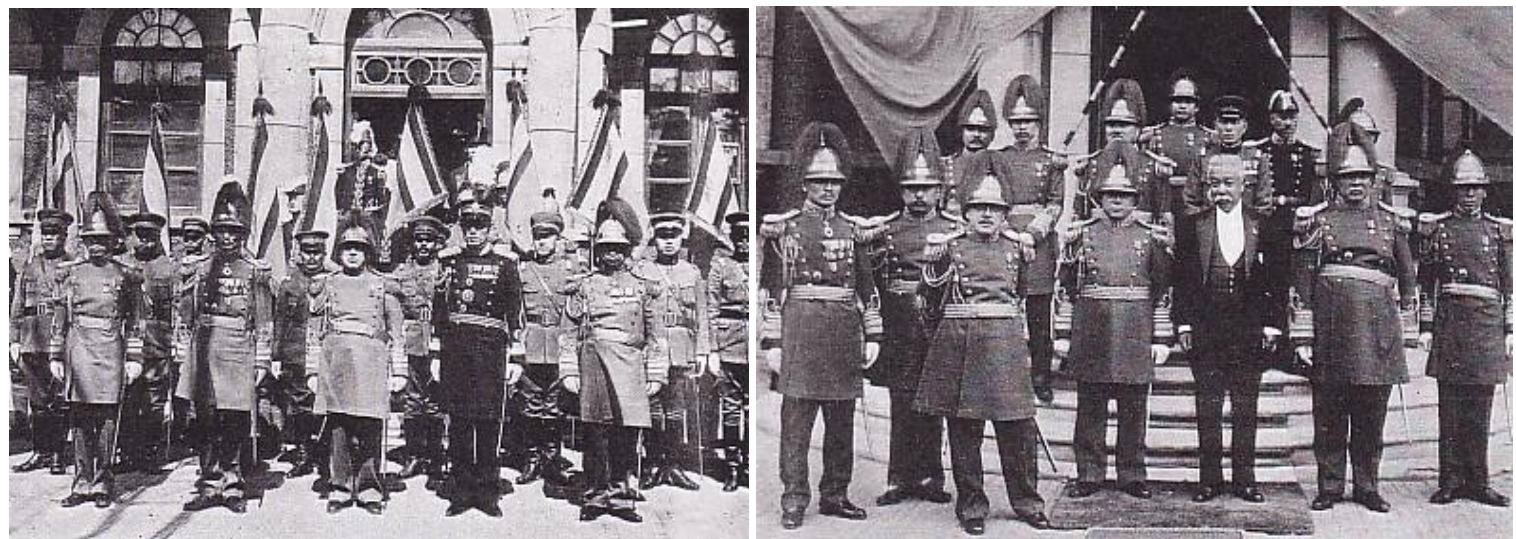


Emperor Henry Pu-Yi of Manchukuo (2<sup>nd</sup> right) appears with a group of Imperial Japanese Army generals.

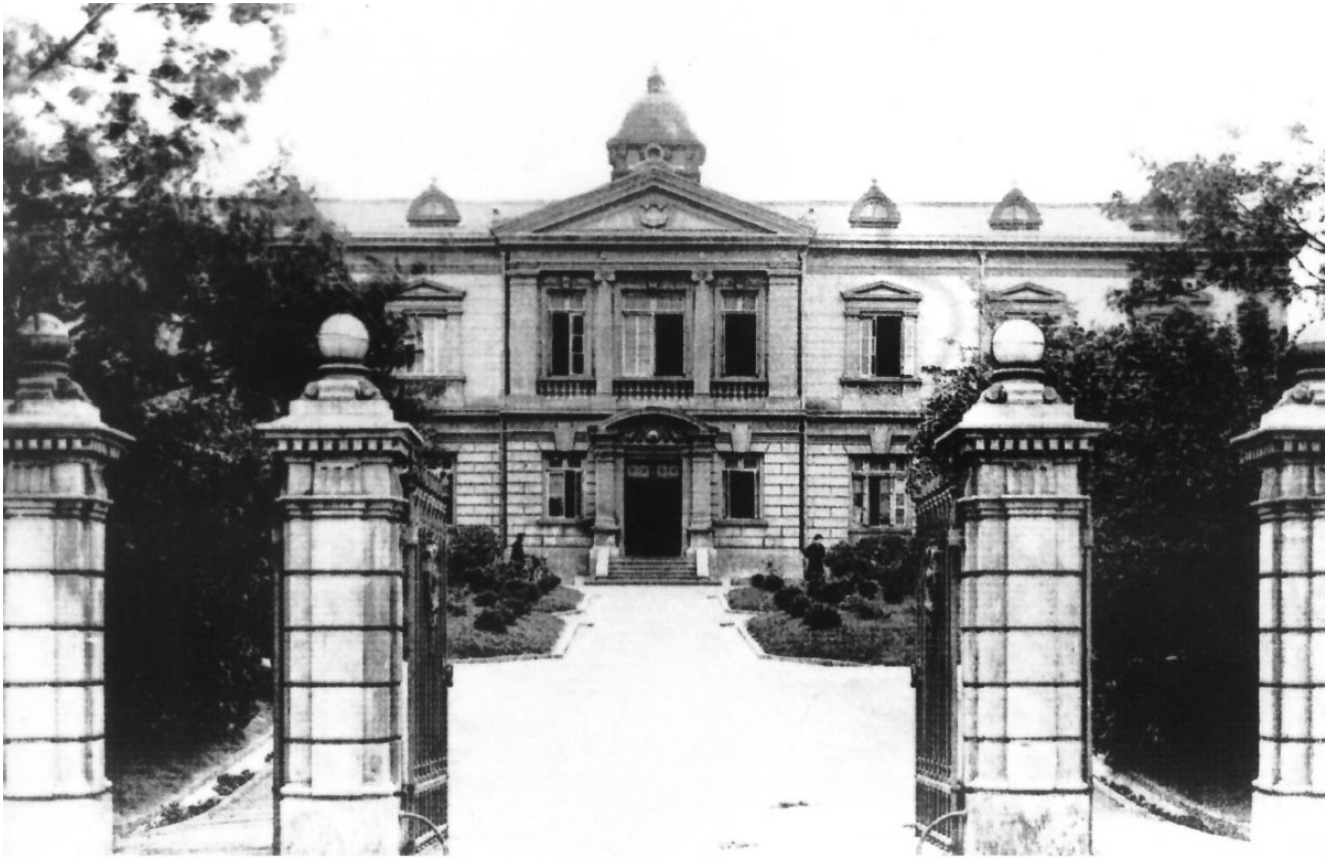




Manchukuo Politicians pose for a group portrait in circa 1936. Front row, from left: Yu Zhishan, Minister of Military Affairs; Xie Jieshi, Ambassador to Japan; Xi Qia, Chief of Imperial Household Agency; Zhang Jinghui, Prime Minister of Manchukuo (1935-1945); Zang Shiyi, President of the Senate; Lu Ronghuan, Minister of Civil Affairs; Ding Jianxiu, Minister of Industry. Rear row, from left: Yuan Jinkai, Minister of Palatine Affairs; Li Shaogeng, Minister of Traffic; Ruan Zhenduo, Minister of Education (1935-1937); Zhang Yanqing, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1935-1937).



General Officers of Manchukuo Imperial Army before 1937  
 (Source: Japanese book “*The latest General view of Empire of Manchuria*” published by Seibundou-Shinkou Sha)  
 (Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:General\\_Officers\\_of\\_MIA-1.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:General_Officers_of_MIA-1.JPG))

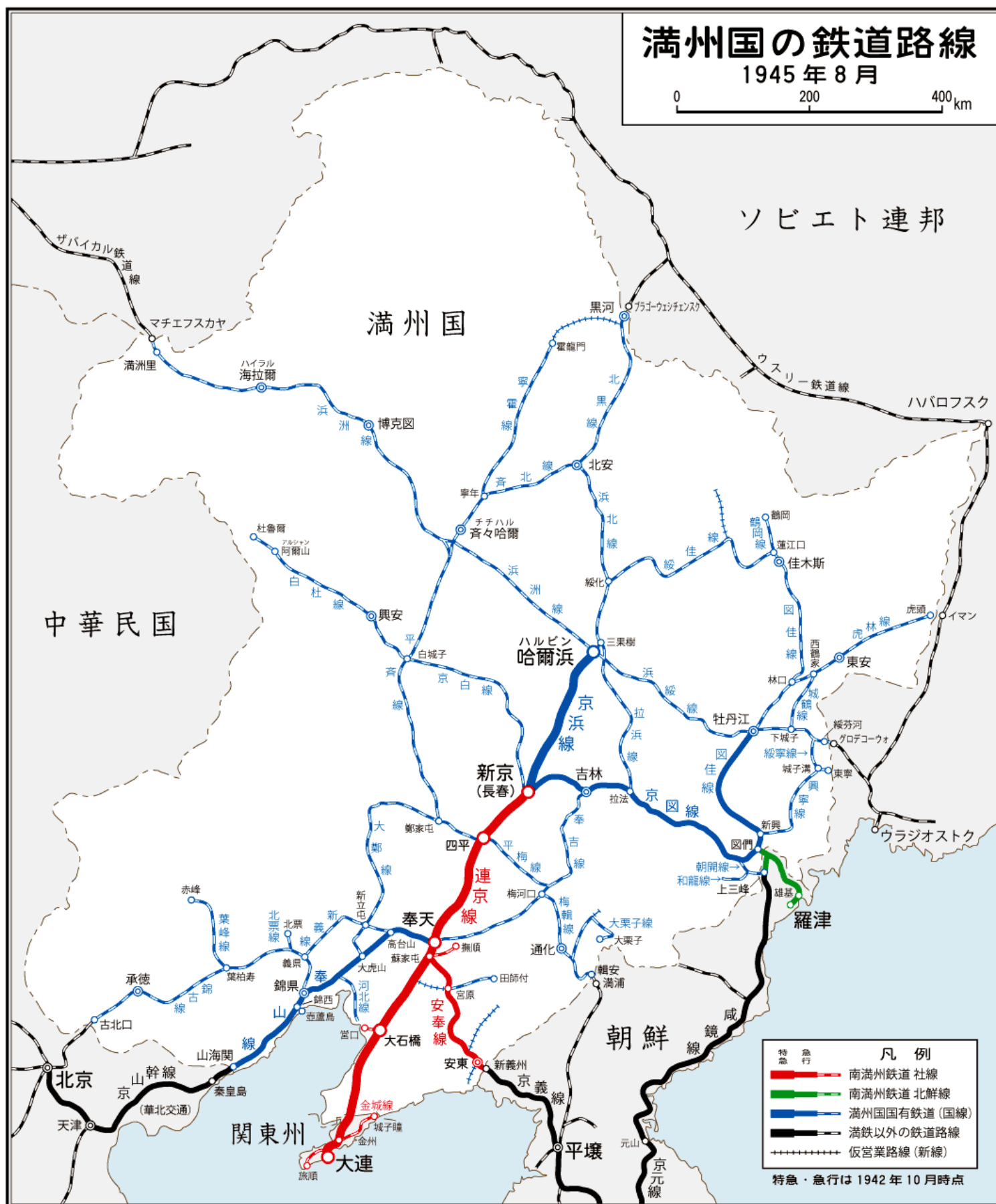


South Manchuria Railway Company (南満洲鉄道株式会社) headquarters in Dairen (Dalian) before 1945 (*Old Pictures of Puppet Manchukuo*), edited by the museum of Manchukuo Palace, published in 2001  
(Photo: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Manchukuo\\_SMR\\_headquarters.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Manchukuo_SMR_headquarters.jpg))



Advertisement of the South Manchuria Railway Company. “*Manchuria Daily News*”, August 15, 1937. Published in Dalian. South Manchuria Railway Company / Manchuria Daily News

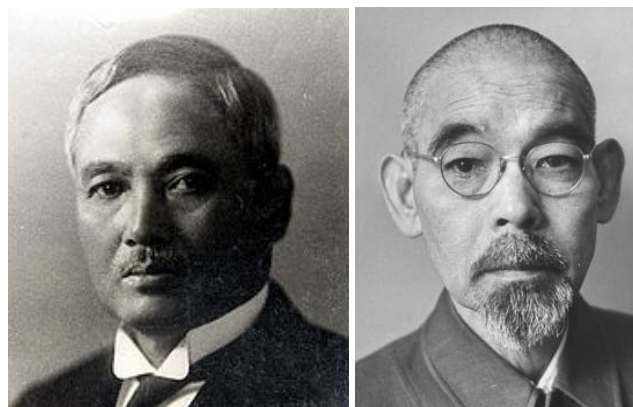




Railroad map of Manchuria in August 1945  
(Note: Red line indicates railway operated by the Japanese government-owned South Manchurian Railroad)



A map of Manchuria, including the rail lines of the South Manchurian Railroad. The “Asia Express” line ran from Dairen [Dalian] (大連) to Harbin (哈爾濱) via to Mukden (奉天) and Hsingking (新京).



Left: Kōsai Uchida, President of South Manchuria Railroad Company (June 1931-July 1932) and Foreign Minister of Japan (1911-1912, 1918-1923, 1932-1933). Kōsai Uchida was the President of South Manchuria Railroad Company during the Mukden Incident (September 18, 1931). Right: Yosuke Matsuoka, President of South Manchuria Railroad Company (1935-1939) and Foreign Minister of Japan (1940-July 1941)

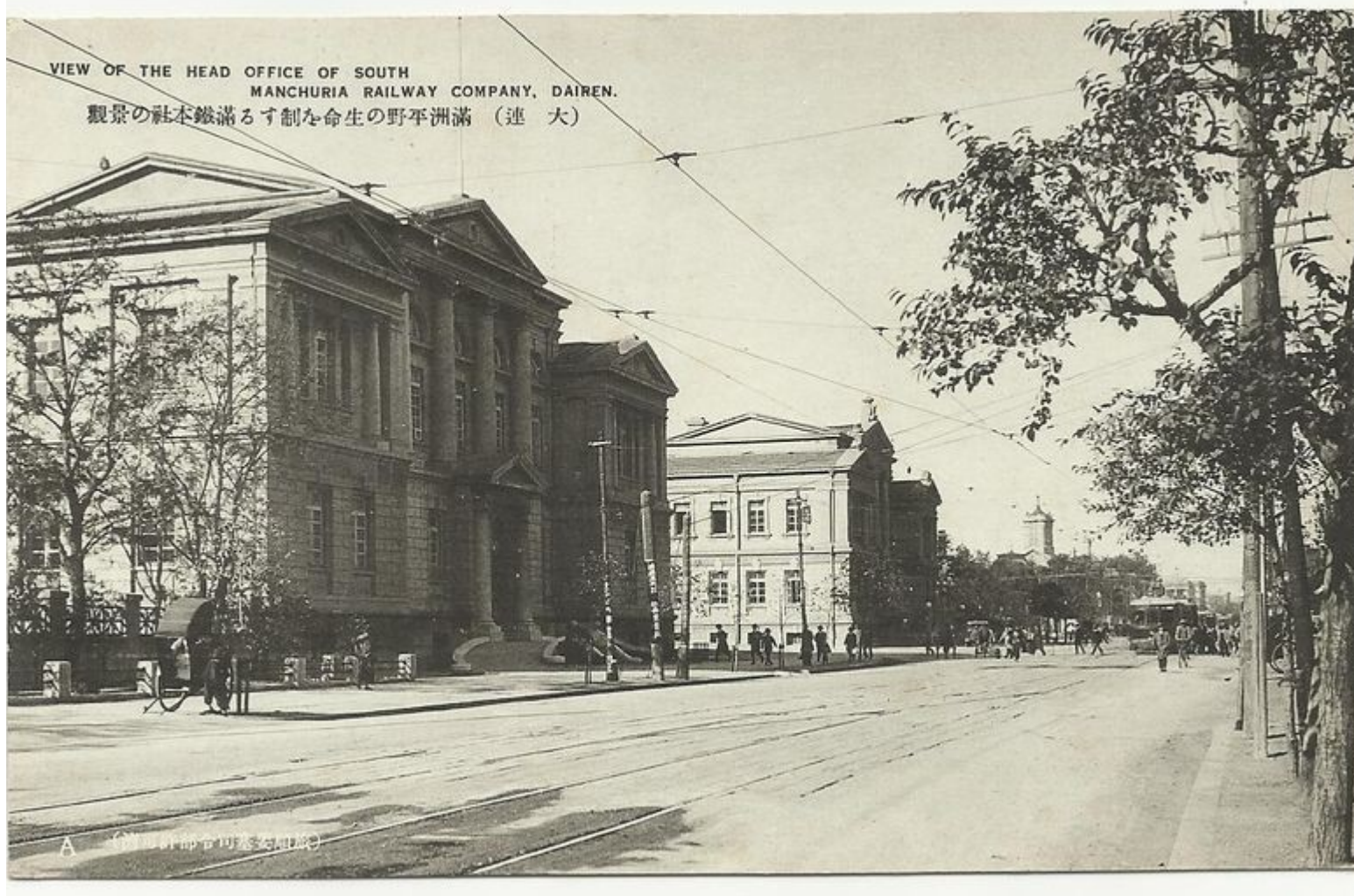




Hsinking Station in Hsinking (Changchun), Manchukuo before 1945. Hsinking (新京) was the capital of Manchukuo.

Source: "旧影满洲" (Old Pictures of Puppet Manchukuo), edited by the museum of Manchukuo Palace, published in 2001  
(Photo: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Manchukuo\\_Hsinking\\_station.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Manchukuo_Hsinking_station.jpg))





View of the headquarters of South Manchuria Railway Company in Dairen (Dalian), Kwantung Leased Territory



St. Nicolas Orthodox Church in Harbin, Manchukuo in circa 1940



The Kwanto Army Headquarters which is one of our Nippon representatives. The building, somewhere castle-like style, is very imposing and has dignity that anyone can not violate.

HSINKING



儼  
然  
と  
し  
て

大 新 京

・ 部 令 司 軍 東 關 ・

司軍東關がれこ、物建な大壯の々堂風威るた然儼  
、は式様築建るぜは思な塞城かこと、で貌全の部令  
。だのもるぜさじ感を和調たしりくつこと目役のそ

A Japanese postcard displaying a photograph of the Kwanto (Kwantung) Army Headquarters in Hsinking, Manchuria

“Manchuria is known in China as the Three Eastern Provinces: Heilungkiang to the north, Kirin to the east, and Fengtien or Liaoning to the south. With an area estimated at 985,000 square kilometers, Manchuria is as large as all of Germany and France combined. To the southwest stands the Great Wall of China; to the west, Inner and Outer Mongolia; to the north and east, Russian Siberia; to the southeast, Korea (annexed by Japan in 1910); to the south, the Liaotung Peninsula and two arms of the Yellow Sea. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, the Japanese army pushed as far north as Changchun and conquered all of South Manchuria, which had been occupied by Russian troops in force at the time of the Boxer Uprising of 1900 and had not been relinquished afterward. By the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war in September 1905, the victorious Japanese ousted the Russians from South Manchuria and took from them the balance of the 25-year lease of the Liaotung area that the Chinese had yielded in 1898. Renamed the Kwantung Leased Territory, this Japanese-occupied strategic zone of 3,400 square kilometers at the southern tip of the peninsula commanded the seaward approaches to Tientsin and Peking and contained the great port of Dairen (Dalny or Talien) and the major fortress and ice-free naval base of Port Arthur (Lushun or Ryojun). Japan also acquired, by the Portsmouth settlement, the right to the Changchun-to-Port Arthur main portion of the rail network that the Russians had built to the south of the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER), their shortcut across Manchuria from Manchouli in the west to Vladivostok in the east. After obtaining the Chinese government’s nominal consent to the new arrangements in December 1905 by the Treaty of Peking, the Japanese cabinet in June 1906 authorized the formation of a single corporate enterprise to be known as the South Manchuria Railway Joint Stock Company (Minami Manshu Tetsudo Kabushiki Kaisha, or Mantetsu). The organizing committee was headed by Gen. Kodama Gentaro, the chief of staff of the Japanese army during the Russo-Japanese War. When Kodama died soon afterward, Gen. Terauchi Masatake (Masakata), the war minister, replaced him. By April 1907 the quasigovernmental South Manchuria Railway (SMR) began full operation, taking over from the army’s field railway corps. Count Goto Shinpei, most recently governor of Formosa, became the first president of the SMR, now headquartered in Dairen. At the end of 1907 the railway company employed 9,000 Japanese and 4,000 Chinese. The core of the SMR was the 700-km. trunk railroad extending south from Changchun to Dairen. Coal mines, warehouses, and electrical facilities along the right-of-way were also included, as were the 260-km. Mukden-to-Antung rail connection and four other spurs, bringing the total trackage to more than 1,100 kilometers. The extraterritorial strip encompassed by the SMR zone itself was no wider than 62 meters and only 250 square kilometers in area, but the main trunk and branch rail lines connected 25 towns. As a counterweight to Russian and Japanese encroachment in China’s Northeast, in the late nineteenth century the authorities in Peking belatedly encouraged Chinese migration to Manchuria – a migration that was further stimulated by the railway-building projects which drew Chinese laborers and merchants. From an estimated three million in 1870, Manchuria’s Chinese or assimilated Manchu population grew to nine million in 1906. The soil was some of the richest in the world and soy and cereal crops dominated agricultural output. Unlike the rest of China, Manchuria consistently exported far more than it imported. Manchuria also possessed huge coal and iron deposits, supplemented by magnesite, gold, oil shale, and lumber, all of which could be exploited by cheap indigenous labor and hauled easily by rail to good ports. The role of the South Manchuria Railway Company in spearheading Japan’s aggressive continental policy, at the expense of China and Russia, was apparent from the outset. In the words of the diplomat Matsuoka Yosuke, later president of the SMR, the railroad was “a bulwark in the first line of national defense” and represented “the sum total of the special rights that Japan had won as a result of the wars on which she had staked her existence.” By securing control of the transportation system, the Japanese could exert strategic domination over all of South Manchuria. Among the first tasks that the SMR set for itself were the double-tracking of the rail line between Dairen and the Mukden area, and the conversion of the Russian broad-gauge to standard-gauge track. The new Japanese sphere of influence in South Manchuria, however, needed to be consolidated and protected, especially since according to the peace terms the combat forces of both the Japanese and the Russians were to be withdrawn from Manchuria within 18 months, by the spring of 1907. Already in 1907 there was a considerable Japanese civilian population in Manchuria: about 25,000 in the Kwantung Leased Territory, and another 13,000 in the SMR zone. Three years later, in 1910, those numbers had increased to nearly 37,000 and 25,000, respectively. Chinese mounted bandits, demobilized soldiers, vagrants, and other lawless elements posed a familiar threat in Manchuria, especially in the rural sectors. But the major concern of the Japanese High Command was the possibility that the Russians would seek revenge for their recent defeat... The Japanese army’s new strategy demanded a sizable military presence in South Manchuria, even in peacetime – the genesis of the force known later as the Kwantung Army... The mission of the Kwantung Military Government was to administer the leasehold, handle army affairs, and defend the region. The number of regular troops Japan might station in the Kwantung Territory was not stipulated by treaty, but the initial strength of the Kwantung Garrison amounted to two regular army divisions and fortress units stationed at Port Arthur and Dairen. To defend the tracks and concessions in the SMR zone, Japan had insisted at Portsmouth on its right – and indeed duty – to station railway guard soldiers along the right-of-way.”

– *Nomonhan: Japan Against Russia, 1939* by Alvin D. Coox, p. 1-4



# Prominent Governors-General of Governor-General of Kwantung Leased Territory and Japanese Ministers of Colonial Affairs



Gen. Yoshimasa Ōshima  
大島 義昌  
Governor-General of  
Kwantung Leased  
Territory  
(October 10, 1905-  
April 26, 1912)  
Great-grandfather of  
Prime Minister of Japan  
Shinzō Abe



Gen. Yasumasa  
Fukushima  
福島 安正  
Governor-General of  
Kwantung Leased  
Territory (1912-1914)



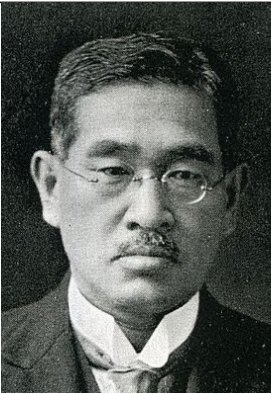
Hideo Kodama  
兒玉 秀雄  
Governor-General of  
Kwantung Leased  
Territory (1923-1927);  
Minister of Colonial  
Affairs (1934-1936)



Gen. Jiro Minami  
南 次郎  
Governor-General of  
Kwantung Leased  
Territory (1934-1936);  
Minister of the Army of  
Imperial Japan  
(Apr. 1931-Dec. 1931);  
Governor-General of  
Korea (1936-1942)



Gen. Yoshijirō Umezu  
梅津 美治郎  
Governor-General of  
Kwantung Leased  
Territory (September 7,  
1939-July 18, 1944);  
Chief of Imperial  
Japanese Army General  
Staff  
(July 1944-Sept. 1945)



Genji Matsuda  
松田 源治  
Minister of Colonial  
Affairs  
(Oct. 1929-Apr. 1931);  
Minister of Education  
(Jul 1934-Feb 1936);  
Died February 1, 1936



Shūjirō Hara  
原 脩次郎  
Minister of Colonial  
Affairs  
(April 1931-Sept. 1931);  
Minister of Railways  
(September 10, 1931-  
December 13, 1931);  
Died March 6, 1934



Toyosuke Hata  
秦 豊助  
Minister of Colonial  
Affairs  
(Dec. 1931-May 1932)  
Died February 4, 1933



Hidejirō Nagata 永田秀  
次郎  
Minister of Colonial  
Affairs  
(March 9, 1936-  
February 2, 1937);  
Minister of Railways  
(Nov. 1939-Jan. 1940);  
Mayor of Tokyo, Japan  
(May 29, 1923-Sept. 8,  
1924; May 30, 1930-  
Jan. 25, 1933);  
Died Sept. 17, 1943



Gen. Kazushige Ugaki  
宇垣 一成  
Minister of Colonial  
Affairs  
(May 1938-Sept. 1938);  
Minister for Foreign  
Affairs  
(May 1938-Sept. 1938);  
Japanese Governor-  
General of Korea (1927,  
June 1931-Aug. 1936);  
Minister of the Army of  
Imperial Japan  
(Sept. 2, 1923-April 20,  
1927; July 2, 1929-April  
14, 1931)

# Yale University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Mukden Incident



Russell C. Leffingwell  
B.A. Yale 1899  
Partner of J.P. Morgan &  
Co. (1923-1950)



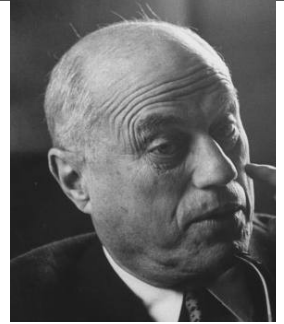
George L. Harrison  
B.A. Yale 1910  
President of the Federal  
Reserve Bank of New  
York (1928-1940)



Eugene Meyer  
B.A. Yale 1895  
Chairman of the Federal  
Reserve (September 16,  
1930-May 10, 1933)



Harold Stanley  
B.A. Yale 1908  
Partner of J.P. Morgan &  
Co. (1928-1935)



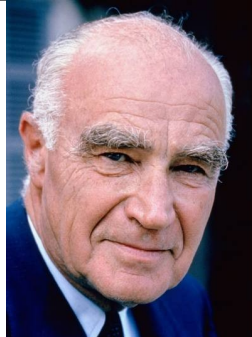
Frank Altschul  
B.A. Yale 1908  
Partner of Lazard Freres  
& Co. (1916-1945)



Henry L. Stimson  
B.A. Yale 1888  
U.S. Secretary of State  
(March 28, 1929-  
March 4, 1933)



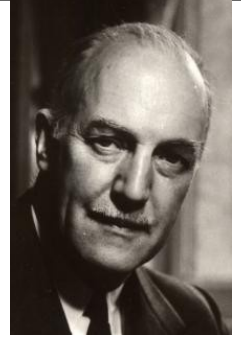
Hugh R. Wilson  
B.A. Yale 1906  
U.S. Minister to  
Switzerland (1927-1937)



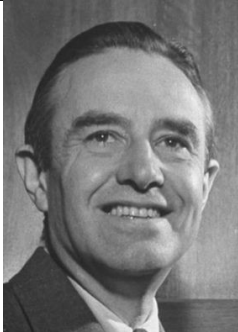
Henry R. Luce  
B.A. Yale 1920  
Editor-in-Chief of *Time*  
magazine (1923-1964)



Robert M. Hutchins  
B.A. Yale 1921  
President of University of  
Chicago (1929-1945)



Charles Seymour  
B.A. Yale 1908,  
Ph.D. Yale 1911  
Provost of Yale University  
(1927-1937)



W. Averell Harriman  
B.A. Yale 1913  
Partner of Brown Brothers  
Harriman & Co.  
(1931-1946)



Prescott S. Bush  
B.A. Yale 1917  
Partner of Brown  
Brothers Harriman & Co.  
(1931-1972)



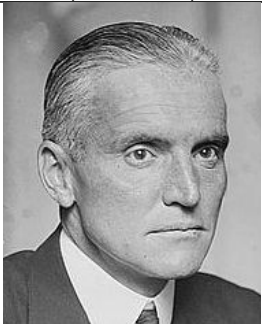
Robert A. Lovett  
B.A. Yale 1918  
Partner of Brown Brothers  
Harriman & Co. (1931-  
1940, 1946-1947, 1949-  
1950, 1953-1986)



Artemus L. Gates  
B.A. Yale 1918  
President of New York  
Trust Co. (1929-1941)



Pierre Jay  
B.A. Yale 1892  
Chairman of the board of  
Fiduciary Trust Company  
(1930-1945)



Frank L. Polk  
B.A. Yale 1894  
Member of Davis, Polk,  
Wardwell (1914-1943)



Allen Wardwell  
B.A. Yale 1895  
Member of Davis, Polk &  
Wardwell (1909-1953)



Dean G. Acheson  
B.A. Yale 1915  
Member of Covington &  
Burling [law firm] (1921-  
1933, 1934-1941)



Henry Waters Taft  
B.A. Yale 1880  
Partner of Cadwalader,  
Wickersham & Taft  
[law firm in New York  
City] (1899-1945)



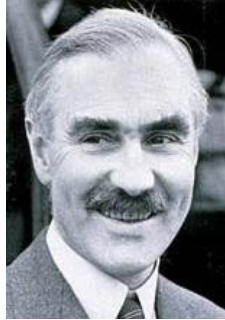
Thomas D. Thacher  
B.A. Yale 1904  
Solicitor General of the  
United States  
(1930-1933)



# Harvard University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Mukden Incident



W. Cameron Forbes  
A.B. Harvard 1892  
**U.S. Ambassador to  
Imperial Japan  
(1930-1932)**



Joseph C. Grew  
A.B. Harvard 1902  
U.S. Ambassador to  
Turkey (1927-1932)



Franklin D. Roosevelt  
A.B. Harvard 1904  
Governor of New York  
(1929-1932)



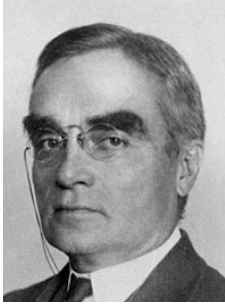
Ogden L. Mills  
A.B. Harvard 1904  
LL.B. Harvard 1907  
Under Secretary of the  
Treasury (1927-1932)



Charles F. Adams III  
B.A. Harvard 1888;  
LL.B. Harvard 1892  
Secretary of the Navy  
(1929-1933)



Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.  
B.A. Harvard 1861;  
LL.B. Harvard 1866  
Justice of the U.S.  
Supreme Court  
(1902-1932)



Learned Hand  
A.B. Harvard 1893;  
LL.B. Harvard 1896  
Judge of the U.S. Court  
of Appeals for the Second  
Circuit (1924-1951)



Walter S. Gifford  
A.B. Harvard 1905  
President of American  
Telephone and Telegraph  
Co. [AT&T] (1925-1948)



Dwight F. Davis  
B.A. Harvard 1900  
Governor-General of the  
Philippines (1929-1932)



Charles S. Hamlin  
A.B. Harvard 1883  
Member of the Federal  
Reserve Board  
(1914-1936)



Abbott Lawrence Lowell  
A.B. Harvard 1877;  
LL.B. Harvard 1880  
President of Harvard  
University (1909-1933)



Wallace Brett Donham  
A.B. Harvard 1898;  
LL.B. Harvard 1901  
Dean of Harvard  
Business School  
(1919-1942)



James Brown Scott  
A.B. Harvard 1890  
Secretary of Carnegie  
Endowment for  
International Peace  
(1910-1940)



Roger Nash Baldwin  
A.B. Harvard 1904  
Founder and Director of  
American Civil Liberties  
Union (1917-1950)



Cass Canfield  
A.B. Harvard 1919  
President of Harper &  
Brothers (1931-1945)



J.P. "Jack" Morgan Jr.  
A.B. Harvard 1889  
Chairman of the board of  
J.P. Morgan & Co., Inc.  
(1913-1943)



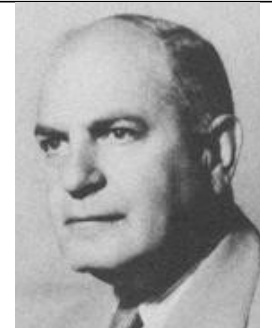
Thomas W. Lamont  
A.B. Harvard 1892  
Partner of J.P. Morgan &  
Co., Inc. (1911-1948)



Henry S. Morgan  
A.B. Harvard 1923  
Partner of J.P. Morgan &  
Co., Inc. (1928-1935)



Winthrop W. Aldrich  
A.B. Harvard 1907  
LL.B. Harvard 1910  
President of Chase  
National Bank  
(1930-1934)



Frederick M. Warburg  
A.B. Harvard 1919  
Partner of Kuhn, Loeb &  
Co. (1931-1973)



## Drug Trade in Manchuria: Modern Medicine or Money Laundering?



A Manchurian woman engages in opium poppy harvest in northern Manchuria in the puppet state of Manchukuo. The Imperial Japanese Government (大日本帝国) and the Imperial Japanese Army (日本帝国陸軍) were involved in selling opium and cocaine to finance their overseas military operations in China and southern Asia.

(Source: 满洲国旧影, edited by the museum of Manchukuo Palace, published in 2001; ISBN-7538611797 / J.886)

(Photo: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Manchukuo-poppy\\_harvest.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Manchukuo-poppy_harvest.jpg))



A bank note produced by the Central Bank of Manchu (滿洲中央銀行, *Manshū Chūō Ginkō*)





Chinese laborers work in an opium factory.



A photo of the Japanese Government Opium Factory in Taihoku [later Taipei], Taiwan during Japanese colonial rule circa 1900. The Japanese imperial government imported narcotics, including opium and cocaine, into Taiwan and transported the narcotics into Manchuria, where they were sold on the open market in Manchuria and mainland China, although Japan had signed international anti-opium treaties in the early 1900s.





The Zhongshan Square in Dairen (Dalian) in circa 1940. A statue of General Yoshimasa Oshima (大島義昌) (foreground), the first Governor of the Kwantung Leased Territory (關東州) was demolished after the Soviet Red Army liberated Dairen in August 1945.



The former Dalian branch of the Yokohama Seikin Bank (横濱正金銀行) in Dalian, China. This building was constructed by the Japanese colonial authorities in 1909 and is now used as the Dalian branch of the Bank of China. The Yokohama Seikin Bank founded 8 branches in China during the Imperialist Japanese era: Dalian (1909), Beijing [Peking] (1910), Harbin (1912), Qingdao (1919), Hankou (1921), Shanghai (1924), Shenyang (1925) and Tianjin [Tiensin] (1926). (Photo: <http://forum.axishistory.com/viewtopic.php?f=62&t=148982>)





Tokiwa Department Store, a Japanese department store in Harbin, Manchuria (Manchukuo) in the late 1930s.  
 (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/kernbeisser/4336789819/in/photostream/>)

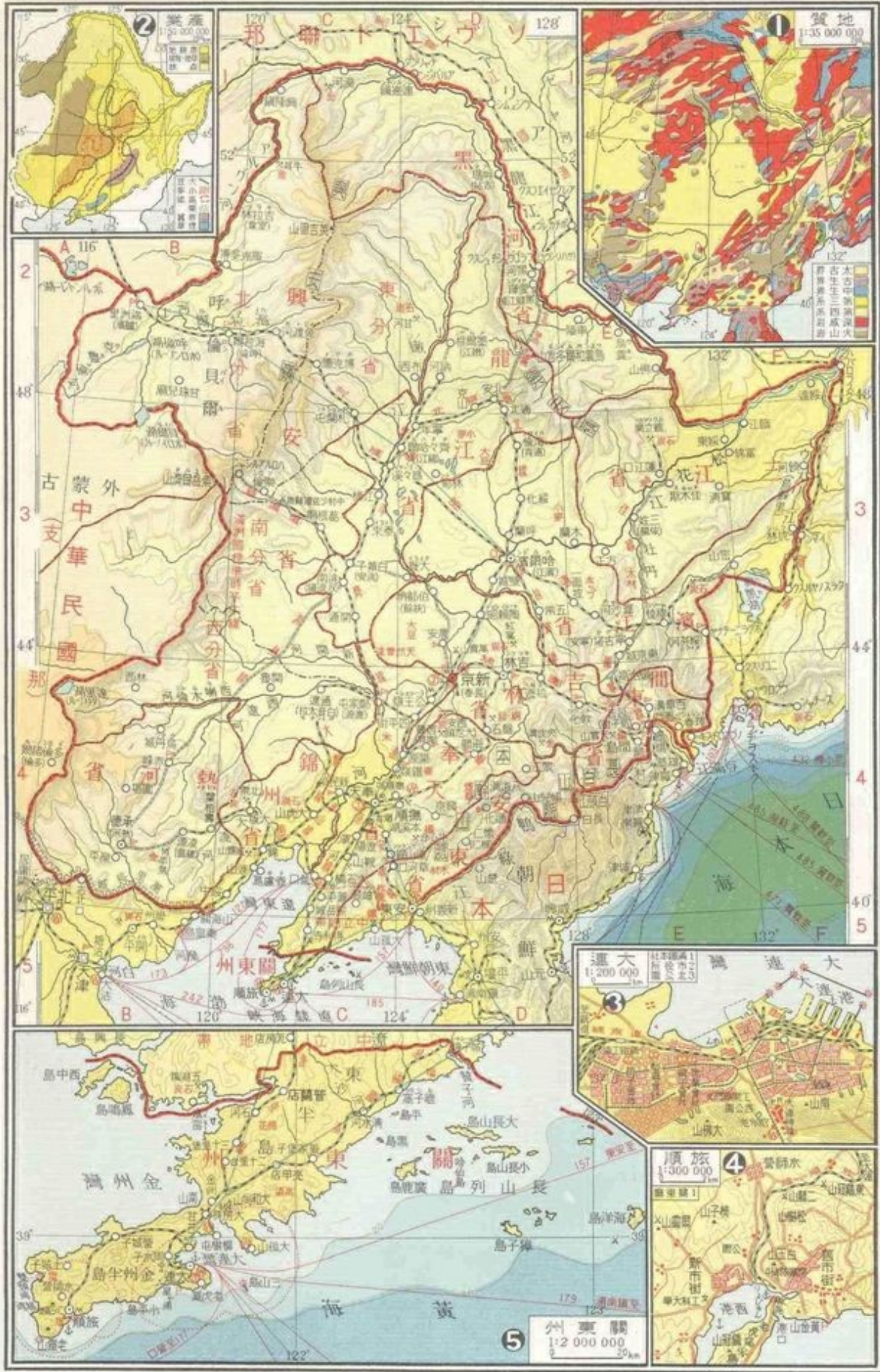


A photo of St. Sophia Cathedral, a Russian Orthodox church, taken from the South Market in Harbin, Manchuria during the 1930s  
 (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/kernbeisser/4344934494/in/photostream/>)



滿洲國・關東州

第六七圖



Map of Manchukuo (top) and Port Arthur (below, left corner)





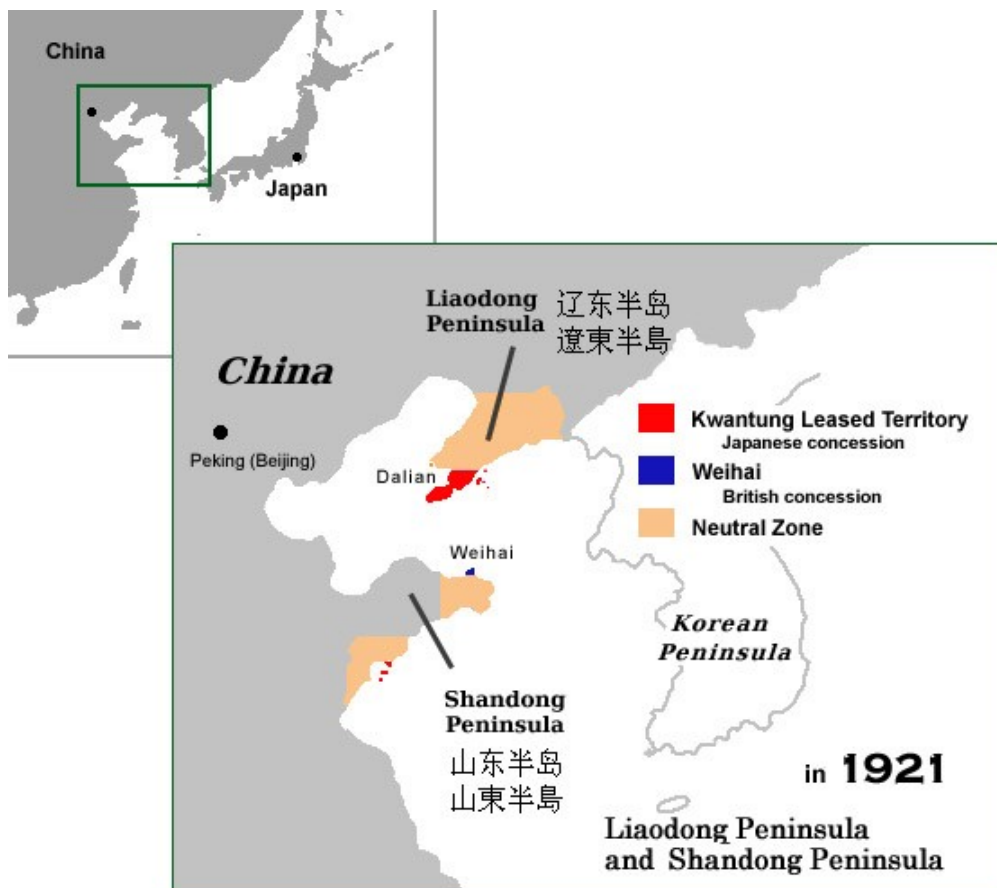
A group of pro-Czarist Russian Fascist Party (RFP) rebels in Harbin, Manchukuo [Japan] stand together for a portrait in 1934. Harbin and Shanghai were homes to a large number of Russian émigrés who fled Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian Civil War. (Photo: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Russian\\_fascists\\_at\\_Harbin\\_1934.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Russian_fascists_at_Harbin_1934.jpg))



The Russian Fascist Party headquarters in Harbin, Manchukuo in circa 1933-1934. The Russian Fascists in Harbin collaborated with the Imperial Japanese Government and the Kwantung Army before World War II.

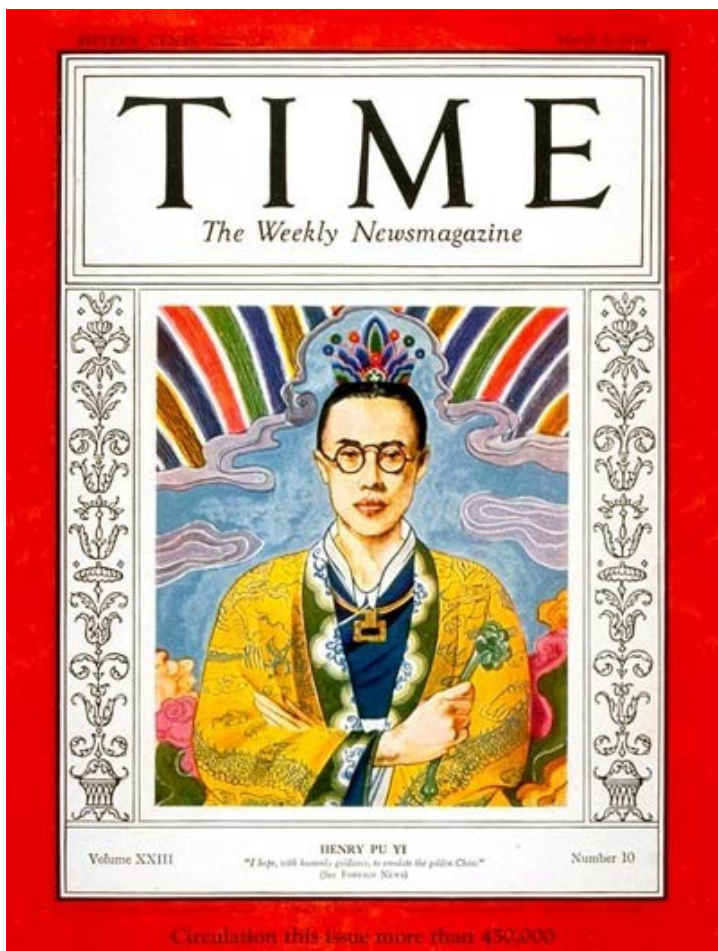


Left: Henry Pu-Yi (溥儀), the “Emperor” of Manchukuo; Right: A Japanese propaganda poster promoting “harmony” in Manchuria

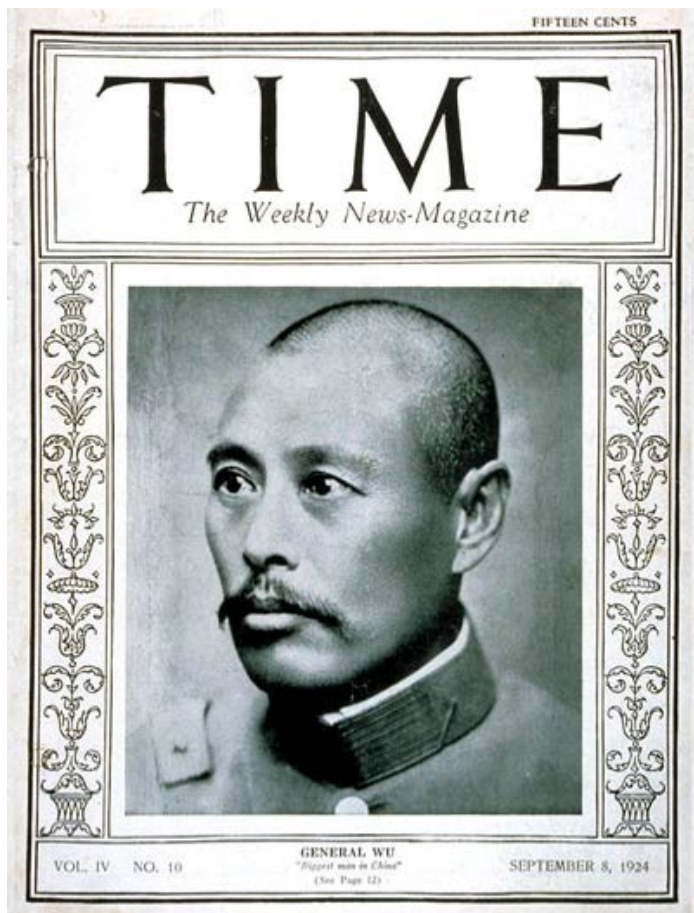


A map of the Kwantung Leased Territory in 1921. Dalian (Dairen in Japanese) was the “capital” of Kwantung.





Emperor Henry Pu Yi (left, March 5, 1934); General Wang Ching-wei [Wang Jingwei] (right, March 18, 1935)



Chinese warlord General Wu Pei-fu (吳佩孚) (left, September 8, 1924); Marshal Yen Hsi-shan (閻錫山) (right, May 19, 1930)



## Imperial Japanese Invasion of China (Republic of China): Organized Crime?



Imperial Japanese army troops enter Shanghai in November 1937.



A group of Chinese soldiers march in formation at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking during the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937.



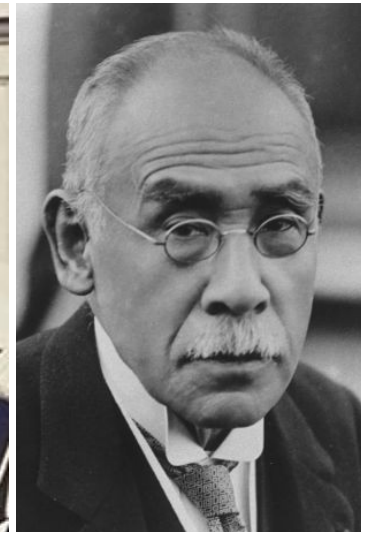




Imperial Japanese Army soldiers of the 9th Division march through the streets of Shanghai, China on March 7, 1932 as Japanese residents in Shanghai greet the soldiers with cheers and flag-waving. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



College students in Peking, China (left photo) protest against unequal treaties, foreign encroachment, Japan's Twenty-One Demands, and the Versailles Treaty during the May Fourth Movement (五四運動) on May 4, 1919.



Shigenobu Ōkuma (center photo), Prime Minister of Japan (April 16, 1914-October 9, 1916) and founder of Waseda University (prominent college in Tokyo) in 1882, along with Foreign Minister Takaaki Katō (right photo), drafted the infamous Twenty-One Demands, a set of demands Imperial Japan issued to China in January 1915. China, under Yuan Shih-kai, agreed to signing two unequal treaties with Japan on May 25, 1915.





Left: Smoke billows from buildings in Shanghai's native business district in February 1932, where Imperial Japanese Army troops launched an attack against the Chinese people. (Photo: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)



Right: Japanese soldiers set fire to this shack situated on a Chinese farm in March 1932 in their efforts to rout any and all snipers encountered during their recent fighting along the front. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



Japanese Marines examine one of the new armored cars in Shanghai, China in 1932, before the recent complications with the Chinese. Many of these armored cars were used as the advance guard of the Japanese troops when they made their attack in Shanghai. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)





General Yoshinori Shirakawa (left) and Yoon Bong-Gil (right)

Imperial Japanese Army General Yoshinori Shirakawa (白川 義則, January 24, 1869 -May 26, 1932), Commander of the Shanghai Expeditionary Army (February 25, 1932-April 29, 1932) and War Minister of Japan (1927-1929), was assassinated (with a homemade bomb) in Shanghai on April 29, 1932, during a military parade honoring Emperor Hirohito's 31<sup>st</sup> birthday, by 23-year-old Korean patriot and independence activist Yoon Bong-Gil. General Yoshinori Shirakawa died from his wounds on May 26, 1932. Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, later Japanese Ambassador to the United States, lost an eye during this assassination attempt. Kuramatsu Murai (Japanese Consul-General in Shanghai) and Shigemitsu Mamoru (Japanese Envoy in Shanghai) were injured as well. Yoon Bong-Gil was arrested, tried, and convicted in a Japanese military court in Shanghai; Yoon Bong-Gil was executed in Japan in December 1932. (Emperor Hirohito of Japan was born on April 29, 1901.) Chinese Nationalist leader Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek reportedly said:

**“A young Korean patriot has accomplished something tens of thousands of Chinese soldiers could not do.”**



Imperial Japanese Army soldiers guard the Japanese Concession in Shanghai during the January 28 Incident in Shanghai, Republic of China on January 28, 1932.





Japanese marines invade Shanghai during the Sino-Japanese War in August 1937. (Provided by Mainichi Newspaper)  
<http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichibei/negotiation/index5.html>



Residents in Shanghai, China search through rubble for survivors after a Japanese air raid attack upon the city in September 1937. (Time Life photo)



Soldiers from the Imperial Japanese Army enter Nanking, China in January 1938. (German Federal Archives)



Imperial Japanese Army General Iwane Matsui enters Nanking in December 1937.  
(Photo: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanking\\_Massacre](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanking_Massacre))





Imperial Japanese army soldier holds a decapitated head in his left hand during the Nanking Massacre (Rape of Nanking).  
(Photo: <http://www.armchairgeneral.com/forums/showthread.php?page=3&t=71114>)



Chinese civilians to be buried alive during the Nanking Massacre (南京大虐殺).  
(Source: [Department of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara](http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/133p/133p04papers/JChapelNanjing046.htm))  
<http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/133p/133p04papers/JChapelNanjing046.htm>





Chinese prisoners are used as live targets in a bayonet drill by their Japanese captors in Nanking, China during the infamous Rape of Nanking. The photograph was reportedly taken on November 7, 1938. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Imperial Japanese Army soldiers engage in a bayonet drill on a civilian.





A Japanese newspaper report of the [Contest To Cut Down 100 People](#). This news was originally reported by the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* in December 13, 1937. Both soldiers were extradited to China after the war, tried for their actions in Chinese court, and were executed on January 28, 1948. An estimated 200,000-300,000 Chinese people died in Nanking following the Japanese conquest of the capital city in December 1937. China was in the midst of a civil war in 1937 as the Chinese Nationalist government led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was waging war against the Chinese Communists led by Mao Tse-tung.



This terrified baby was almost the only human being left alive in Shanghai's South Station railway depot after brutal Japanese bombing of Shanghai, China on August 28, 1937. The Battle of Shanghai began on August 13, 1937 and ended more than two months later on November 26, 1937. This photograph is reportedly a staged photograph that was used for propaganda. (National Archives)





Imperial Japanese troops march through the rubble of a village near Hankow (later Wuhan), a Chinese city located near Shanghai, in 1937. (UPI Photo)





Imperial Japanese Army soldiers celebrate the capture of Hankow (the temporary Chinese capital after the fall of Nanking) in 1937. (Photo: Paul Dorsey/Time-Life)



Imperial Japanese Army officers toast their victory at Hsuchow (Xuzhou), a Chinese city located near Shanghai, in 1938. (Photo: Tsuguichi Koyanagi)

“With one notable exception, Japan’s background for aggression presented a strong parallel to that of Germany. The exception was the industrial strength of the two Powers. Japan was really a “have not” nation, lacking most of the natural resources to sustain a great industrial system. It lacked much of the necessary basic materials such as coal; iron, petroleum, alloy minerals, waterpower, or even food. In comparison, Germany's claim to be a “have not” nation was merely a propaganda device. Other than this, the similarity of the two countries was striking: each had a completely cartelized industry, a militaristic tradition, a hardworking population which respected authority and loved order, a national obsession with its own unique value and a resentment at the rest of the world for failure to recognize this, and a constitutional structure in which a facade of parliamentary constitutionalism barely concealed the reality of power wielded by an alliance of army, landlords, and industry. The fact that the Japanese constitution of 1889 was copied from the constitution of Bismarck goes far to explain this last similarity. We have already mentioned the acute problem presented to Japan by the contrast between their limited natural resources and their growing problems. While their resources did not increase, their population grew from 31 million in 1873 to 73 million in 1939, the rate of growth reaching its peak in the period 1925-1930 (8 percent increase in these five years). With great ingenuity and tireless energy, the Japanese people tried to make ends meet. With foreign exchange earned from merchant shipping or from exports of silk, wood products, or seafoods, raw materials were imported, manufactured into industrial products, and exported to obtain the foreign exchange necessary to pay for imports of raw materials or food. By keeping costs and prices low, the Japanese were able to undersell European exporters of cotton textiles and iron products in the markets of Asia, especially in China and Indonesia. The possibility of relieving their population pressure by emigration, as Europe had done earlier, was prevented by the fact that the obvious colonial areas had already been taken in hand by Europeans. English-speaking persons, who held the best and yet unfilled areas, slammed the door on Japanese immigration in the period after 1901, justifying their actions on racial and economic arguments. American restrictions on Japanese immigration, originated among laboring groups in California, were a very bitter pill for Japan, and injured its pride greatly.

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 561-562

“The steady rise in tariffs against Japanese manufactured goods after 1897, a development which was also led by America, served to increase the difficulties of Japan’s position. So also did the slow exhaustion of the Pacific fisheries, the growing (if necessary) restrictions on such fishing by conservationist agreements, the decrease in forestry resources, and political and social unrest in Asia. For a long time, Japan was protected from the full impact of this problem by a series of favorable accidents. The First World War was a splendid windfall. It ended European commercial competition in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific; it increased the demand for Japanese goods and services; and it made Japan an international creditor for the first time. Capital investment in the five years 1915-1920 was eight times as much as in the ten years 1905-1915; laborers employed in factories using over five workers each increased from 948 thousand in 1914 to 1,612 thousand in 1919; ocean shipping rose from 1.5 million tons in 1914 to 3 million tons in 1918, while income from shipping freight rose from 40 million yen in 1914 to 450 million in 1918; the favorable balance of international trade amounted to 1,480 million yen for the four years 1915-1918. Social life, the economic structure, and the price system, already dislocated by this rapid change, received a terrible jolt in the depression of 1920-1921, but Japan rapidly recovered and was shielded from the full consequences of her large population and limited resources by the boom of the 1920’s. Rapid technological advance in the United States, Germany, and Japan itself, demand for Japanese goods (especially textiles) in southern and southeastern Asia, American loans throughout the world, large American purchases of Japanese silk, and the general “boom psychology” of the whole world protected Japan from the full impact of its situation until 1929-1931. Under this protection the older authoritarian and militaristic traditions were weakened, liberalism and democracy grew slowly but steadily, the aping of Germanic traditions in intellectual and political life (which had been going on since about 1880) was largely abandoned, the first party government was established in 1918, universal manhood suffrage was established in 1925, civilian governors replaced military rule for the first time in colonial areas like Formosa, the army was reduced from 21 to 17 divisions in 1924, the navy was reduced by international agreement in 1922 and in 1930, and there was a great expansion of education, especially in the higher levels. This movement toward democracy and liberalism alarmed the militarists and drove them to desperation. At the same time, the growth of unity and public order in China, which these militarists had regarded as a potential victim for their operations, convinced them that they must act quickly before it was too late. The world depression gave this group their great opportunity. Even before its onset, however, four ominous factors in Japanese political life hung like threatening clouds on the horizon. These were (a) the lack of any constitutional requirement for a government responsible to the Diet, (b) the continued constitutional freedom of the army from civilian control, (c) the growing use of political assassination by the conservatives as a means for removing liberal politicians from public life, as was done against three premiers and many lesser persons in the period 1918-1932, and (d) the growing appeal of revolutionary Socialism in laboring circles. The world depression and the financial crisis hit Japan a terrible blow. The declining demand for raw silk in competition with synthetic fibers like rayon and the slow decline of such Asiatic markets as China and India because of political disturbances and growing industrialization made this blow harder to bear. Under this impact, the reactionary and aggressive forces in Japanese society were able to solidify their control of the state, intimidate all domestic opposition, and embark on that adventure of aggression and destruction that led ultimately to the disasters of 1945.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 562-563



“These economic storms were severe, but Japan took the road to aggression because of its own past traditions rather than for economic reasons. The militarist traditions of feudal Japan continued into the modern period, and flourished in spite of steady criticism and opposition. The constitutional structure shielded both the military leaders and the civilian politicians from popular control, and justified their actions as being in the emperor’s name. But these two branches of government were separated so that the civilians had no control over the generals. The law and custom of the constitution allowed the generals and admirals to approach the emperor directly without the knowledge or consent of the Cabinet, and required that only officers of this rank could serve as ministers for these services in the Cabinet itself. No civilian intervened in the chain of command from emperor to lowly private, and the armed services became a state within the state. Since the officers did not hesitate to use their positions to ensure civilian compliance with their wishes, and constantly resorted to armed force and assassination, the power of the military grew steadily after 1927. All their acts, they said, were in the name of the emperor, for the glory of Japan, to free the nation from corruption, from partisan politicians, and from plutocratic exploitation, and to restore the old Japanese virtues of order, self-sacrifice, and devotion to authority. Separate from the armed forces, sometimes in opposition to them but generally dependent upon them as the chief purchasers of the products of heavy industry, were the forces of monopoly capitalism. These were led, as we have indicated, by the eight great economic complexes, controlled as family units, known as *zaibatsu*. These eight controlled 75 percent of the nation’s corporate wealth by 1930 and were headed by Mitsui, which had 15 per cent of all corporate capital in the country. They engaged in openly corrupt relationships with Japanese politicians and, less frequently, with Japanese militarists. They usually cooperated with each other. For example, in 1927, the efforts of Mitsui and Mitsubishi to smash a smaller competitor, Suzuki Company of Kobe, precipitated a financial panic which closed most of the banks in Japan. While the Showa Bank, operated jointly by the *zaibatsu*, took over many smaller corporations and banks which failed in the crisis and over 180,000 depositors lost their savings, the Cabinet of the militarist General Tanaka granted 1,500 million yen to save the *zaibatsu* themselves from the consequences of their greed. The militaristic and nationalistic traditions were widely accepted by the Japanese people. These traditions, extolled by the majority of politicians and teachers, and propagated by numerous patriotic societies, both open and secret, were given a free hand, while any opposing voices were crushed out by legal or illegal methods until, by 1930, most such voices were silenced. About the same date, the militarists and the *zaibatsu*, who had previously been in opposition as often as in coalition, came together in their last fateful alliance. They united on a program of heavy industrialization, militarization, and foreign aggression. Eastern Asia, especially northern China and Manchuria, became the designated victim, since these seemed to offer the necessary raw materials and markets for the industrialists and the field of glory and booty for the militarists. In aiming their attack at Manchuria in 1931 and at northern China in 1937, the Japanese chose a victim who was clearly vulnerable.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 563-564

“Though the Japanese seizure of Manchuria in the autumn of 1931 was an independent action of the Japanese military forces, it had to be condoned by the civilian leaders. The Chinese retaliated by a boycott of Japanese goods which seriously reduced Japan’s exports. To force an end to this boycott, Japan landed forces at Shanghai (1932) and, after severe fighting in which much Japanese abuse was inflicted upon Europeans, the Chinese forces were driven from the city and compelled to agree to a termination of the economic boycott against Japan. About the same time, Manchuria was set up as a Japanese protectorate under the rule of Henry P’ui, who had abdicated the Chinese throne in 1912. As early as January 1932, the United States notified all signers of the Nine-Power treaty of 1922 that it would refuse to accept territorial changes made by force in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact to Outlaw War. An appeal to the League of Nations for support, made by China on September 21, 1931, the same day that England went off the gold standard, passed through an interminable series of procedural disputes and finally led to a Commission of Enquiry under the Earl of Lytton. The report of this commission, released in October, 1932, sharply condemned the actions of Japan but recommended no effective joint action to oppose these. The League accepted the Stimson Doctrine of Nonrecognition, and expressed sympathy for the Chinese position. This whole affair has been rehashed endlessly since 1931 to the accompaniment of claims and counterclaims that effective league action was blocked by the absence of the United States from its councils, or by Stimson’s delay in condemning Japanese aggression, or by British refusal to support Stimson’s suggestions for action against Japan. All these discussions neglect the vital point that the Japanese army in Manchuria was not under the control of the Japanese civil government, with which negotiations were being conducted, and that these civil authorities, who opposed the Manchurian attack, could not give effective voice to this opposition without rising assassination. Premier Yuko Hamaguchi had been killed as recently as November 1930 for approving the London Naval Agreement to which the militarists objected, and Premier Ki Inukai was dealt with the same way in May 1932. Throughout, the League discussions were not conducted with the right party. Except for its violation of nationalist feelings and the completely objectionable means by which it was achieved, the acquisition of Manchuria by Japan possessed many strategic and economic advantages. It gave Japan industrial resources which it vitally needed, and could, in time, have strengthened the Japanese economy. Separation of the area from China, which had not controlled it effectively for many years, would have restricted the sphere of Chiang’s government to a more manageable territory. Above all, it could have served as a counterpoise to Soviet power in the Far East and provided a fulcrum to restrain Soviet actions in Europe after the collapse of Germany. Unfortunately, the uncompromising avarice and ignorance of the Japanese militarists made any such solution impossible. This was made quite certain by their two major errors, the attack on China in 1937 and the attack on the United States in 1941. In both cases the militarists bit off more than they could chew, and destroyed any possible advantages they might have gained from the acquisition of Manchuria in 1931. In the seven years after the first attack on Manchuria in September 1931, Japan sank 2.5 billion yen in capital investments in that area, mostly in mining, iron production, electric power, and petroleum. Year after year this investment increased without returning any immediate yield to Japan, since output from this new investment was immediately reinvested. The only items of much help for Japan itself were iron ore, pig iron, and certain chemical fertilizers. The Manchurian soy-bean crop, although it declined under Japanese rule, was exchanged with Germany for needed commodities obtainable there. For Japan’s other urgent material needs, such as raw cotton, rubber, and petroleum, no help could be found in Manchuria. In spite of costly capital investment, it could produce no more than its own needs in petroleum, chiefly from liquefaction of coal. The failure of Manchuria to provide an answer to Japan’s economic problems led the Japanese military leaders toward a new act of aggression, this time directed toward North China itself.”

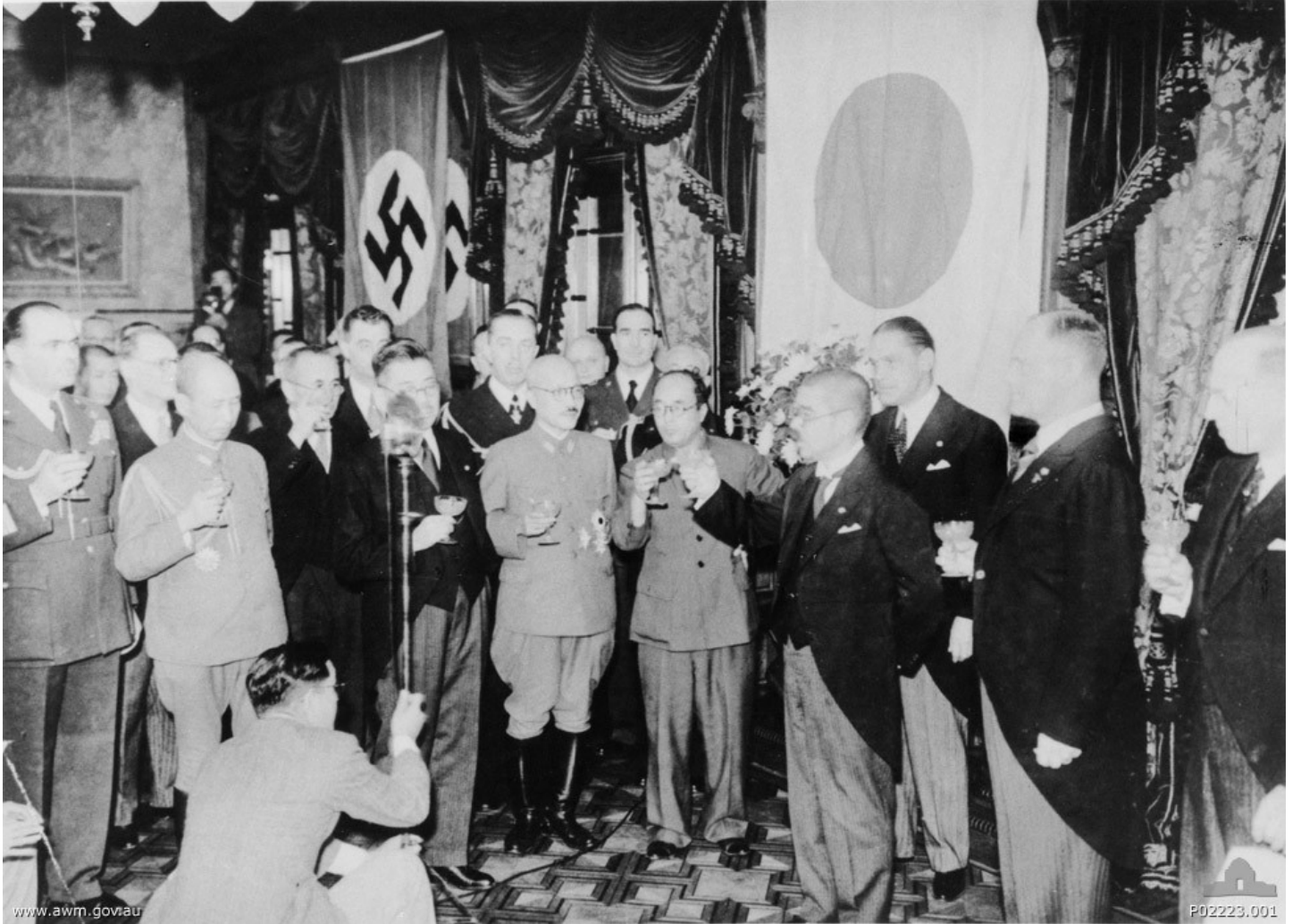
– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 566-568

“The rivalry between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang broke out intermittently in 1938-1941, but Japan was unable to profit from it in any decisive way because of its economic weakness. The great investment in Manchuria and the adoption of a policy of wholehearted aggression required a reorganization of Japan's own economy from its previous emphasis on light industry for the export market to a new emphasis on heavy industry for armaments and heavy investment. This was carried out so ruthlessly that Japan's production of heavy industry rose from 3 billion yen in 1933 to 8.2 billion yen in 1938, while textile production rose from 2.9 billion yen to no more than 3.7 billion yen in the same five years. By 1938 the products of heavy industry accounted for 53 percent of Japan's industrial output. This increased Japan's need for imports while reducing her ability to provide the exports (previously textiles) to pay for such imports. By 1937 Japan's unfavorable balance of trade with the “non-yen” area amounted to 925 million yen, or almost four times the average of the years before 1937. Income from shipping was reduced by military demands as well, with the result that Japan's unfavorable balance of trade was reflected in a heavy outflow of gold (1,685 million yen in 1937-1938). By the end of 1938, it was clear that Japan was losing its financial and commercial ability to buy necessary materials of foreign origin. The steps taken by the United States, Australia, and others to restrict export of strategic or military materials to Japan made this problem even more acute. The attack on China had been intended to remedy this situation by removing the Chinese boycott on Japanese goods, by bringing a supply of necessary materials, especially raw cotton, under Japan's direct control, and by creating an extension of the yen area where the use of foreign exchange would not be needed for trading purposes. On the whole, these purposes were not achieved. Guerrilla activities and Japanese inability to control the rural areas made the achievement of a yen area impossible, made trade difficult, and reduced the production of cotton drastically (by about one-third). Export of iron ore from China to Japan fell from 2.3 million tons in 1937 to 0.3 million in 1938, although coal exports rose slightly. In an effort to increase production, Japan began to pour capital investment into the still-unpacified areas of North China at a rate which rivaled the rate of investment in Manchuria. The Four-Year Plan of 1938 called for 1,420 million yen of such investment by 1942. This project, added to the need for Japan to feed and clothe the inhabitants of North China, made that area a drain on the whole Japanese economy, so that Japanese exports to that area rose from 179 billion yen in 1937 to 312 million in 1938. To make matters worse, the people of this occupied territory refused to accept or use the newly established yen currency because of guerrilla threats to shoot anyone found in possession of it. All this had an adverse effect on Japan's financial position. In two years of the China war, 1936-1937 to 1938-1939, the Japanese budget rose from 2.3 to 8.4 billion yen, of which 80 percent went for military purposes. Government debt and commodity prices rose steadily, but the Japanese people responded so readily to taxation, government loans, and demands for increased production that the system continued to function. By the end of 1939, however, it was clear that the threefold burden of a conversion to heavy industry, which ruined the export trade, a heavy rate of investment in Manchuria and North China, and an indecisive war with Nationalist China could not be borne forever, especially under the pressure of the growing reluctance of neutral countries to supply Japan with necessary strategic goods. The two most vital needs were in petroleum products and rubber. To the militarists, who controlled Japan both politically and economically after 1939, it seemed that the occupation of the Dutch Indies and Malaya could do much to alleviate these shortages. The occupation of the Netherlands itself by Hitler's hordes in 1940 and the involvement of England in the European war since 1939 seemed to offer a golden opportunity for Japan to seize these southern regions. To do so would require long lines of communications from Japan to Indonesia. These lines would be exposed to attack from the American bases in the Philippines or from the British base at Singapore. Judging the American psychology as similar to their own, the Japanese militarists were sure that in such circumstances America would not hesitate to attack these vulnerable lines of communication. Thus, it seemed to them that a Japanese attack on the Dutch Indies would inevitably lead to an American war on Japan. Facing this problem, the Japanese militarists reached what seemed to their minds to be an inescapable decision. They decided to attack the United States first. From this decision came the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 568-570



# World War II & Destruction of Imperial Japan



Minister of the Army General Hideki Tojo (center) and Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka (right) propose a toast with the German and Italian Ambassadors to Japan and officers from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, Japan in September 1940. The occasion was the signing of the Tripartite Pact, a defense agreement between Imperial Japan, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. (Photo: Courtesy of Australian War Memorial) <http://john.curtin.edu.au/envoy/expansion.html>



The Representatives of the Axis powers celebrate in Tokyo, Japan in 1943. ([Mainichi Photos](#))



The Duke of Kent and Prince and Princess Chichibu of Japan were guests at the Festival Banquet of the National Hospital for Nervous Diseases, at the Mansion House in London on April 27, 1937. Left to right: the Lady Mayoress, Lady Broadbridge; M. Corbin, French Ambassador; Princess Chichibu; Sir George Broadbridge, the Lord Mayor; the Earl of Athlone; the Duke of Kent, and Prince Chichibu. Prince Chichibu was the brother of Emperor Hirohito. Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



Prince Chichibu (1902-1953, center, left), younger brother of Emperor Hirohito of Japan, meets with German Luftwaffe Field Marshal Erhard Milch (1892-1972, center, right) during a visit to a military airfield at Gatow in Berlin, Germany on September 9, 1937. Field Marshal Erhard Milch was a member of the Nazi Party; Milch's father was a Jew. (Photo by FPG/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)





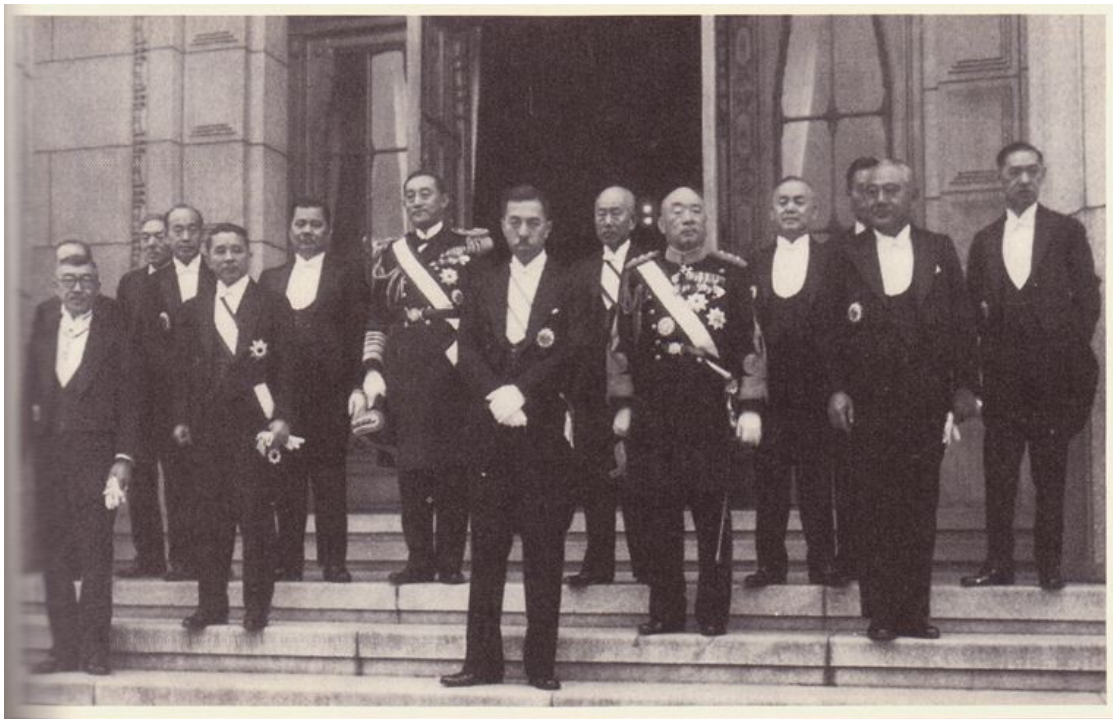
Emperor Hirohito of Japan meets with Imperial Japanese Army generals at the Imperial Headquarters Conference.





January 1938: Hirohito's political power grew in tandem with the military's rising voice in policy making. Presiding at his first Imperial Headquarters Conference, without uttering a word, he backed a stronger military policy toward China than the Army General Staff proposed and supported those pushing for continuation of the war. (*Mainichi shinbunsha*)

(Source: *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* by Herbert P. Bix)



March 1938: The first Konoe cabinet led Japan into a protracted war of attrition with China. Prime Minister Konoe in the center, flanked on the left by Navy Minister Yonai and on the right by Army Minister Sugiyama. Gen. Kido Kōichi, Konoe's friend, is in the last row, far left. (*K.K. Kyodo News*)

(Source: *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* by Herbert P. Bix)





The Military Policemen of the Imperial Japanese Army, better known as Kenpeitai (憲兵隊), pose for a group photo in 1935. The Kenpeitai was Imperial Japan's notorious secret police. The Kenpeitai was the equivalent of the Gestapo and the Abwehr. (Source: Japanese book "Showa History Vol.7: February 26 Incident" published by Mainichi Newspapers Company.)

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Kenpei.JPG>



A Kenpeitai officer (right) appears with a captured Chinese soldier in China, possibly in Shanghai or Manchuria in circa 1932 or 1937. (Photo: [http://www.ww2incolor.com/japan/C\\_pia+de+b+Shanghai+\\_28\\_001.html](http://www.ww2incolor.com/japan/C_pia+de+b+Shanghai+_28_001.html))

# Unmasking Horror - A special report (Unit 731 – Japanese Biological Weapons Unit) Japan Confronting Gruesome War Atrocity

By Nicholas D. Kristof  
The New York Times  
Published: March 17, 1995

He is a cheerful old farmer who jokes as he serves rice cakes made by his wife, and then he switches easily to explaining what it is like to cut open a 30-year-old man who is tied naked to a bed and dissect him alive, without anesthetic.

"The fellow knew that it was over for him, and so he didn't struggle when they led him into the room and tied him down," recalled the 72-year-old farmer, then a medical assistant in a Japanese Army unit in China in World War II. "But when I picked up the scalpel, that's when he began screaming.

"I cut him open from the chest to the stomach, and he screamed terribly, and his face was all twisted in agony. He made this unimaginable sound, he was screaming so horribly. But then finally he stopped. This was all in a day's work for the surgeons, but it really left an impression on me because it was my first time."

Finally the old man, who insisted on anonymity, explained the reason for the vivisection. The Chinese prisoner had been deliberately infected with the plague as part of a research project -- the full horror of which is only now emerging -- to develop plague bombs for use in World War II. After infecting him, the researchers decided to cut him open to see what the disease does to a man's inside. No anesthetic was used, he said, out of concern that it might have an effect on the results.

**That research program was one of the great secrets of Japan during and after World War II: a vast project to develop weapons of biological warfare, including plague, anthrax, cholera and a dozen other pathogens. Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army conducted research by experimenting on humans and by "field testing" plague bombs by dropping them on Chinese cities to see whether they could start plague outbreaks. They could.**

A trickle of information about the program has turned into a stream and now a torrent. Half a century after the end of the war, a rush of books, documentaries and exhibitions are unlocking the past and helping arouse interest in Japan in the atrocities committed by some of Japan's most distinguished doctors.

Scholars and former members of the unit say that at least 3,000 people -- by some accounts several times as many -- were killed in the medical experiments; none survived.

No one knows how many died in the "field testing." It is becoming evident that the Japanese officers in charge of the program hoped to use their weapons against the United States. They proposed using balloon bombs to carry disease to America, and they had a plan in the summer of 1945 to use kamikaze pilots to dump plague-infected fleas on San Diego.

**The research was kept secret after the end of the war in part because the United States Army granted immunity from war crimes prosecution to the doctors in exchange for their data. Japanese and American documents show that the United States helped cover up the human experimentation. Instead of putting the ringleaders on trial, it gave them stipends.**

The accounts are wrenching to read even after so much time has passed: a Russian mother and daughter left in a gas chamber, for example, as doctors peered through thick glass and timed their convulsions, watching as the woman sprawled over her child in a futile effort to save her from the gas.

## The Origins Ban on Weapon Entices Military

Japan's biological weapons program was born in the 1930's, in part because Japanese officials were impressed that germ warfare had been banned by the Geneva Convention of 1925. If it was so awful that it had to be banned under international law, the officers reasoned, it must make a great weapon.

The Japanese Army, which then occupied a large chunk of China, evicted the residents of eight villages near Harbin, in Manchuria, to make way for the headquarters of Unit 731. One advantage of China, from the Japanese point of view, was the availability of research subjects on whom germs could be tested. The subjects were called *marutas*, or logs, and most were Communist sympathizers or ordinary criminals. The majority were Chinese, but many were Russians, expatriates living in China.

Takeo Wano, a 71-year-old former medical worker in Unit 731 who now lives here in the northern Japanese city of Morioka, said he once saw a six-foot-high glass jar in which a Western man was pickled in formaldehyde. The man had been cut into two pieces, vertically, and Mr. Wano guesses that he was Russian because there were many Russians then living in the area.



The Unit 731 headquarters contained many other such jars with specimens. They contained feet, heads, internal organs, all neatly labeled. "I saw samples with labels saying 'American,' 'English' and 'Frenchman,' but most were Chinese, Koreans and Mongolians," said a Unit 731 veteran who insisted on anonymity. "Those labeled as American were just body parts, like hands or feet, and some were sent in by other military units."

There is no evidence that Americans were among the victims in the Unit 731 compound, although there have been persistent but unproven accusations that American prisoners of war in Mukden (now Shenyang) were subject to medical experimentation.

Medical researchers also locked up diseased prisoners with healthy ones, to see how readily various ailments would spread. The doctors locked others inside a pressure chamber to see how much the body can withstand before the eyes pop from their sockets.

Victims were often taken to a proving ground called Anda, where they were tied to stakes and bombarded with test weapons to see how effective the new technologies were. Planes sprayed the zone with a plague culture or dropped bombs with plague-infested fleas to see how many people would die.

The Japanese armed forces were using poison gas in their battles against Chinese troops, and so some of the prisoners were used in developing more lethal gases. One former member of Unit 731 who insisted on anonymity said he was taken on a "field trip" to the proving ground to watch a poison gas experiment.

A group of prisoners were tied to stakes, and then a tank-like contraption that spewed out gas was rolled toward them, he said. But at just that moment, the wind changed and the Japanese observers had to run for their lives without seeing what happened to the victims.

The Japanese Army regularly conducted field tests to see whether biological warfare would work outside the laboratory. Planes dropped plague-infected fleas over Ningbo in eastern China and over Changde in north-central China, and plague outbreaks were later reported.

Japanese troops also dropped cholera and typhoid cultures in wells and ponds, but the results were often counterproductive. In 1942 germ warfare specialists distributed dysentery, cholera and typhoid in Zhejiang Province in China, but Japanese soldiers became ill and 1,700 died of the diseases, scholars say.

Sheldon H. Harris, a historian at California State University in Northridge, estimates that more than 200,000 Chinese were killed in germ warfare field experiments. Professor Harris -- author of a book on Unit 731, "Factories of Death" (Routledge, 1994) -- also says plague-infected animals were released as the war was ending and caused outbreaks of the plague that killed at least 30,000 people in the Harbin area from 1946 through 1948.

The leading scholar of Unit 731 in Japan, Keiichi Tsuneishi, is skeptical of such numbers. Professor Tsuneishi, who has led the efforts in Japan to uncover atrocities by Unit 731, says that the attack on Ningbo killed about 100 people and that there is no evidence of huge outbreaks of disease set off by field trials.

### **The Tradeoff Knowledge Gained At Terrible Cost**

Many of the human experiments were intended to develop new treatments for medical problems that the Japanese Army faced. Many of the experiments remain secret, but an 18-page report prepared in 1945 -- and kept by a senior Japanese military officer until now -- includes a summary of the unit's research. The report was prepared in English for American intelligence officials, and it shows the extraordinary range of the unit's work.

Scholars say that the research was not contrived by mad scientists, and that it was intelligently designed and carried out. The medical findings saved many Japanese lives.

For example, Unit 731 proved scientifically that the best treatment for frostbite was not rubbing the limb, which had been the traditional method, but rather immersion in water a bit warmer than 100 degrees -- but never more than 122 degrees.

The cost of this scientific breakthrough was borne by those seized for medical experiments. They were taken outside in freezing weather and left with exposed arms, periodically drenched with water, until a guard decided that frostbite had set in. Testimony from a Japanese officer said this was determined after the "frozen arms, when struck with a short stick, emitted a sound resembling that which a board gives when it is struck."

A booklet just published in Japan after a major exhibition about Unit 731 shows how doctors even experimented on a three-day-old baby, measuring the temperature with a needle stuck inside the infant's middle finger.

"Usually a hand of a three-day-old infant is clenched into a fist," the booklet says, "but by sticking the needle in, the middle finger could be kept straight to make the experiment easier."

### **The Scope Other Experiments On Humans**

The human experimentation did not take place just in Unit 731, nor was it a rogue unit acting on its own. While it is unclear whether Emperor Hirohito knew of the atrocities, his younger brother, Prince Mikasa, toured the Unit 731 headquarters in China and wrote in his memoirs that he was shown films showing how Chinese prisoners were "made to march on the plains of Manchuria for poison gas experiments on humans."

In addition, the recollections of Dr. Ken Yuasa, 78, who still practices in a clinic in Tokyo, suggest that human experimentation may have been routine even outside Unit 731. Dr. Yuasa was an army medic in China, but he says he was never in Unit 731 and never had contact with it.

Nevertheless, Dr. Yuasa says that when he was still in medical school in Japan, the students heard that ordinary doctors who went to China were allowed to vivisect patients. And sure enough, when Dr. Yuasa arrived in Shanxi Province in north-central China in 1942, he was soon asked to attend a "practice surgery."

Two Chinese men were brought in, stripped naked and given general anesthetic. Then Dr. Yuasa and the others began practicing various kinds of surgery: first an appendectomy, then an amputation of an arm and finally a tracheotomy. After 90 minutes, they were finished, so they killed the patient with an injection.

When Dr. Yuasa was put in charge of a clinic, he said, he periodically asked the police for a Communist to dissect, and they sent one over. The vivisection was all for practice rather than for research, and Dr. Yuasa says they were routine among Japanese doctors working in China in the war.

In addition, Dr. Yuasa -- who is now deeply apologetic about what he did -- said he cultivated typhoid germs in test tubes and passed them on, as he had been instructed to do, to another army unit. Someone from that unit, which also had no connection with Unit 731, later told him that the troops would use the test tubes to infect the wells of villages in Communist-held territory.

### **The Plans Taking the War To U.S. Homeland**

In 1944, when Japan was nearing defeat, Tokyo's military planners seized on a remarkable way to hit back at the American heartland: they launched huge balloons that rode the prevailing winds to the continental United States. Although the American Government censored reports at the time, some 200 balloons landed in Western states, and bombs carried by the balloons killed a woman in Montana and six people in Oregon.

Half a century later, there is evidence that it could have been far worse; some Japanese generals proposed loading the balloons with weapons of biological warfare, to create epidemics of plague or anthrax in the United States. Other army units wanted to send cattle-plague virus to wipe out the American livestock industry or grain smut to wipe out the crops.

There was a fierce debate in Tokyo, and a document discovered recently suggests that at a crucial meeting in late July 1944 it was Hideki Tojo -- whom the United States later hanged for war crimes -- who rejected the proposal to use germ warfare against the United States.

At the time of the meeting, Tojo had just been ousted as Prime Minister and chief of the General Staff, but he retained enough authority to veto the proposal. He knew by then that Japan was likely to lose the war, and he feared that biological assaults on the United States would invite retaliation with germ or chemical weapons being developed by America.

Yet the Japanese Army was apparently willing to use biological weapons against the Allies in some circumstances. When the United States prepared to attack the Pacific island of Saipan in the late spring of 1944, a submarine was sent from Japan to carry biological weapons -- it is unclear what kind -- to the defenders.

The submarine was sunk, Professor Tsuneishi says, and the Japanese troops had to rely on conventional weapons alone.

As the end of the war approached in 1945, Unit 731 embarked on its wildest scheme of all. Codenamed Cherry Blossoms at Night, the plan was to use kamikaze pilots to infest California with the plague.

Toshimi Mizobuchi, who was an instructor for new recruits in Unit 731, said the idea was to use 20 of the 500 new troops who arrived in Harbin in July 1945. A submarine was to take a few of them to the seas off Southern California, and then they were to fly in a plane carried on board the submarine and contaminate San Diego with plague-infected fleas. The target date was to be Sept. 22, 1945.



Ishio Obata, 73, who now lives in Ehime prefecture, acknowledged that he had been a chief of the Cherry Blossoms at Night attack force against San Diego, but he declined to discuss details. "It is such a terrible memory that I don't want to recall it," he said.

Tadao Ishimaru, also 73, said he had learned only after returning to Japan that he had been a candidate for the strike force against San Diego. "I don't want to think about Unit 731," he said in a brief telephone interview. "Fifty years have passed since the war. Please let me remain silent."

It is unclear whether Cherry Blossoms at Night ever had a chance of being carried out. Japan did indeed have at least five submarines that carried two or three planes each, their wings folded against the fuselage like a bird.

But a Japanese Navy specialist said the navy would have never allowed its finest equipment to be used for an army plan like Cherry Blossoms at Night, partly because the highest priority in the summer of 1945 was to defend the main Japanese islands, not to launch attacks on the United States mainland.

If the Cherry Blossoms at Night plan was ever serious, it became irrelevant as Japan prepared to surrender in early August 1945. In the last days of the war, beginning on Aug. 9, Unit 731 used dynamite to try to destroy all evidence of its germ warfare program, scholars say.

### **The Aftermath: No Punishment, Little Remorse**

**Partly because the Americans helped cover up the biological warfare program in exchange for its data, Gen. Shiro Ishii, the head of Unit 731, was allowed to live peacefully until his death from throat cancer in 1959. Those around him in Unit 731 saw their careers flourish in the postwar period, rising to positions that included Governor of Tokyo, president of the Japan Medical Association and head of the Japan Olympic Committee.**

By conventional standards, few people were more cruel than the farmer who as a Unit 731 medic carved up a Chinese prisoner without anesthetic, and who also acknowledged that he had helped poison rivers and wells. Yet his main intention in agreeing to an interview seemed to be to explain that Unit 731 was not really so brutal after all.

Asked why he had not anesthetized the prisoner before dissecting him, the farmer explained: "Vivisection should be done under normal circumstances. If we'd used anesthesia, that might have affected the body organs and blood vessels that we were examining. So we couldn't have used anesthetic."

When the topic of children came up, the farmer offered another justification: "Of course there were experiments on children. But probably their fathers were spies."

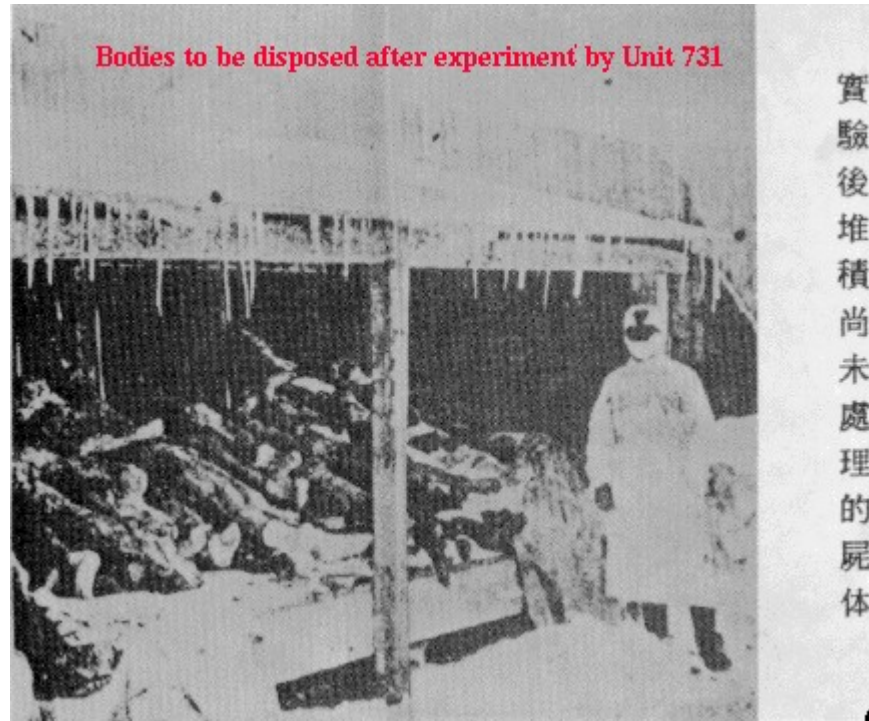
"There's a possibility this could happen again," the old man said, smiling genially. "Because in a war, you have to win."

Source: [The New York Times](#)



Left photo: An Imperial Japanese Army doctor performs surgery (vivisection) on a prisoner in Manchuria during World War II.

Right photo: Shirō Ishii (石井 四郎, 1892-1959) was a Japanese microbiologist and the lieutenant general of **Unit 731** (731 部隊, *Nana-san-ichi butai*), a secret biological warfare unit of the Imperial Japanese Army located outside of Harbin, China (Manchuria) during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Ishii was never tried for war crimes and received immunity from U.S. occupation authorities.



A Unit 731 “doctor” appears in front of a pile of corpse.



A Unit 731 doctor vivisectioning a pregnant girl who had his baby after being raped

A Unit 731 doctor vivisectioning a pregnant girl on an operating table. Other secret Japanese biological and chemical military units included Unit 100 (biological weapons) and Unit 516 (chemical weapons). Unit 100 and Unit 516 were located in Manchuria, and both units were operated by the Kenpeitai, the Japanese secret military police.



## “Hokushin-ron”: Japan’s plans for an attack on the Soviet Union

- 1) Eastwards movement to occupy Northern Sakhalin, the Maritime Province and adjacent areas
- 2) Westwards movement to occupy Outer Mongolia and the Baikal area up to the Yablonovy Mountain Range
- 3) and 4) Advance to Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk and Central Siberia

### UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS



Strategic map of “Hokushin-ron” (北進論), also known as “North Strike strategy”, the Japanese battle plans for a potential attack on and invasion of the eastern half of the Soviet Union and Mongolia. The “Nanshin-ron” (南進論), also known as “South Strike strategy”, was a Japanese military strategy for a Japanese invasion of French Indochina, Dutch East Indies, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines.

“As its operations brought the Kwantung Army to the outer reaches of Manchuria, and as first the Russians and then the Japanese began to gird the borders with fortifications, there ensued tension and controversies regarding national boundaries. Between 1932 and 1934, according to Japanese sources, 152 small-scale border disputes occurred, largely because the Russians now found it necessary to initiate an intensive program of collecting intelligence inside Manchuria and of countering espionage operations emanating from there. Soviet border guard units sought information, and small parties of Russians crossed into Manchurian territory at least twenty times during the period to abduct natives or White Russians and to interfere with the mails. The Kwantung Army also noted several airspace violations; over fifty cases of firing affrays, ground trespassing, and tampering with border markers; and six blatant instances of interference with or attack upon river shipping. For their part, the Russians alleged fifteen cases of border violation by the Japanese, six air intrusions, and twenty episodes of “spy smuggling” in 1933 alone. Though Russo-Japanese relations improved temporarily after the Soviet sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway in early 1935, German pressures not only drew Russian attention to Europe but hardened the Soviet attitude against both the Nazis and the Japanese. An IJA military attaché in the USSR detected the sterner outlook quickly. When he set off to visit the Ukraine in April 1935, the Soviet attitude toward the Japanese was very good; but by the time he got back to Moscow at the close of the month the situation had deteriorated, his female interpreter was arrested, and anti-Japanese propaganda intensified greatly. At the Seventh Comintern Congress in July, the Japanese and Germans were openly called “fascist enemies” and a resolution demanded opposition to them by the Soviet Union and the “popular fronts.” At the same time, the Soviet diplomatic position was improved by entry into the League of Nations and consummation of a major pact with France. The Japanese called the years 1935-36 a period of medium-scale border disputes characterized by a doubling of Russian violations, which were “more systematic and more flagrant” than before. Soviet reconnaissance efforts seem to have been accelerated at the same time that the Russians sought to secure strategic locations on the frontier. Since Kwantung Army and Manchukuoan border guard forces had also been reinforced, the confrontations became increasingly violent.”

– *Nomonhan: Japan Against Russia, 1939* by Alvin D. Coox, p. 93-94



Japanese army troops appear in a paddy near Halha River during the battle of Nomonhan against the Soviet Russian army in 1939. One of the soldiers is seen using field periscope binoculars. (Photo: <http://carl.army.mil/resources/csi/drea2/drea2.asp>)



Japanese Type 95 Ha-Go captured by soviet troops after the Battle of Khalkhin Gol in 1939  
(Photo: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ha-Go\\_Khalkin-Gol.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ha-Go_Khalkin-Gol.JPG))





The Soviet Red Army go on the offensive at Khalkhyn Gol [also known as Nomonhan] in August 1939.



A photo showing a street scene in the border town of Manzhouli, near the Mongolian and Russian borders, during the 1930s. Manzhouli is located near Nomonhan.





Soviet Red Army soldiers supervise captured Japanese army soldiers at Khalkhyn Gol [Nomonhan] in August 1939. The Japanese government and the Soviet government agreed to a non-aggression treaty prior to Adolf Hitler's invasion of Poland in September 1939. Japan did not wage war on the Soviet Union in June 1941 after Nazi Germany invaded the western part of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union waged war on Japan beginning on August 9, 1945 shortly after the U.S. Army Air Force dropped the atomic bomb on Nagasaki.

(Photo: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Khalkhin\\_Gol\\_Captured\\_Japanese\\_soldiers\\_1939.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Khalkhin_Gol_Captured_Japanese_soldiers_1939.jpg))



Left: Japanese army soldiers cross Khalkhyn Gol river [Nomonhan] in 1939 as they prepare to the fight the Soviet Red Army.  
 Right: The location of the Nomonhan Incident





U.S. Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Grew chats with Kichisaburo Nomura, the designated Japanese Ambassador to the United States of America, at the Tokyo train station in Tokyo, Japan in January 1941 as Nomura leaves for America. Joseph C. Grew was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, an internationalist organization in New York City, at the time this photograph was taken. (Provided by Mainichi Newspaper) <http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichibei/negotiation/index5.html>



Left photo: Imperial Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka (left) visits Adolf Hitler in March 1941



Right photo: Yosuke Matsuoka signs the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact in Moscow on April 25 1941 with Soviet Commissar Josef Stalin and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov watching in the background.



Soviet Commissar Josef Stalin and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov watch Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka sign the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact in Moscow on April 13, 1941. (Photo: [http://victory.rusarchives.ru/index.php?p=31&photo\\_id=996](http://victory.rusarchives.ru/index.php?p=31&photo_id=996))



Adolf Hitler talks to Imperial Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka during the latter's recent visit to the German capital in Berlin on April 21, 1941, with Dr. Schmidt (in uniform) acting as interpreter. Joachim von Ribbentrop, the German foreign minister, looks on (extreme left). (CORBIS)





Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Yosuke Matsuoka visits Berlin, Germany on April 19, 1941. (Provided by Keiyosha) <http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichibei/negotiation/index5.html>



Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Yosuke Matsuoka appears with Fascist Italy's Prime Minister Benito Mussolini in Venice, Italy on April 27, 1941. (Provided by Keiyosha) <http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichibei/negotiation/index5.html>





Left to right: Prime Minister of Japan Prince Fumimaro Konoe, Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka, Minister of the Navy Admiral Zengo Yoshida, and Minister of War General Hideki Tojo meet privately in Tokyo, Japan on August 6, 1940. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)

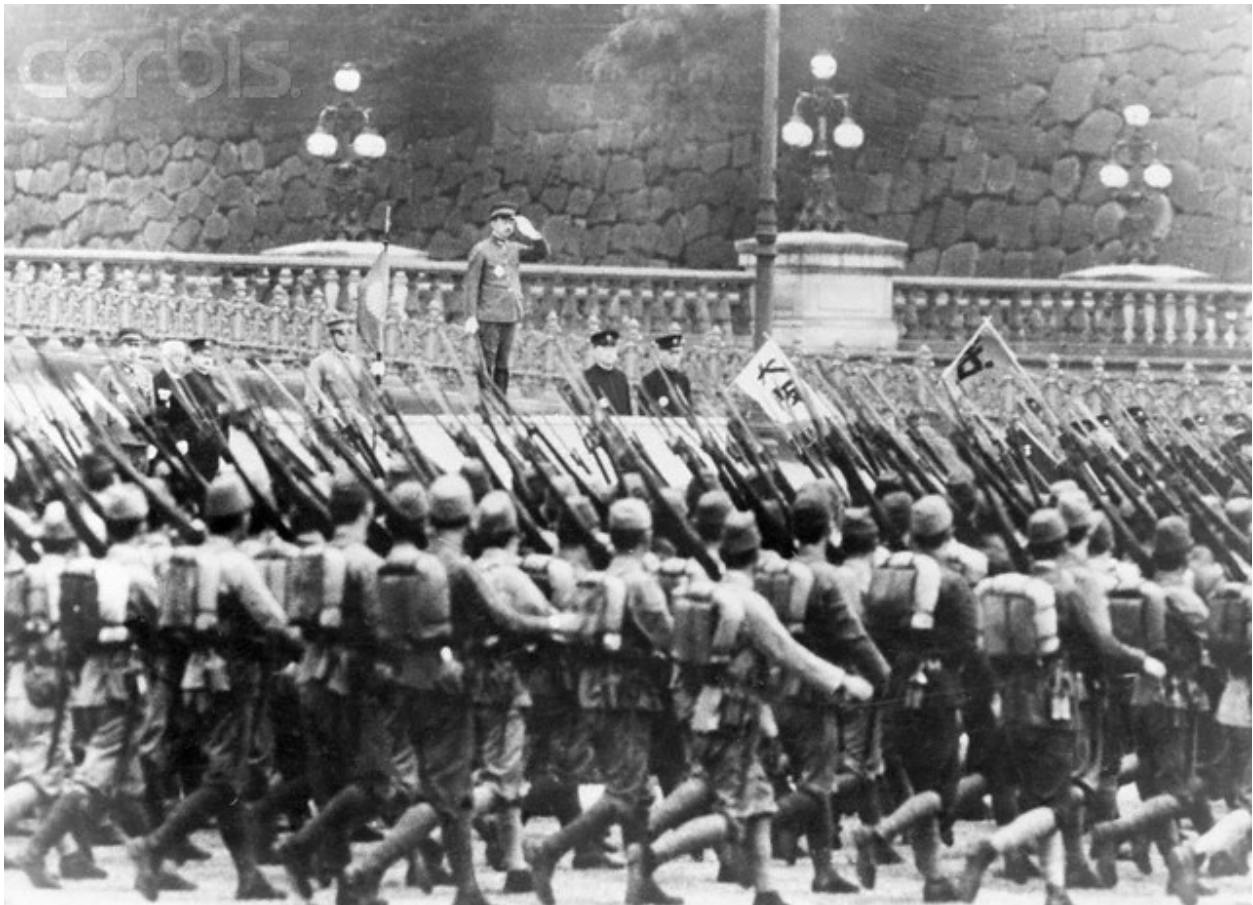


Dignitaries participate in the signing ceremony of the Japan-Germany-Italy Triple Alliance in September 1940. From left to right: Japanese Ambassador to Germany Saburo Kurusu, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ciano, and Germany's "Chancellor" Adolf Hitler. (Provided by Mainichi Newspaper) <http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichihei/negotiation/index5.html>





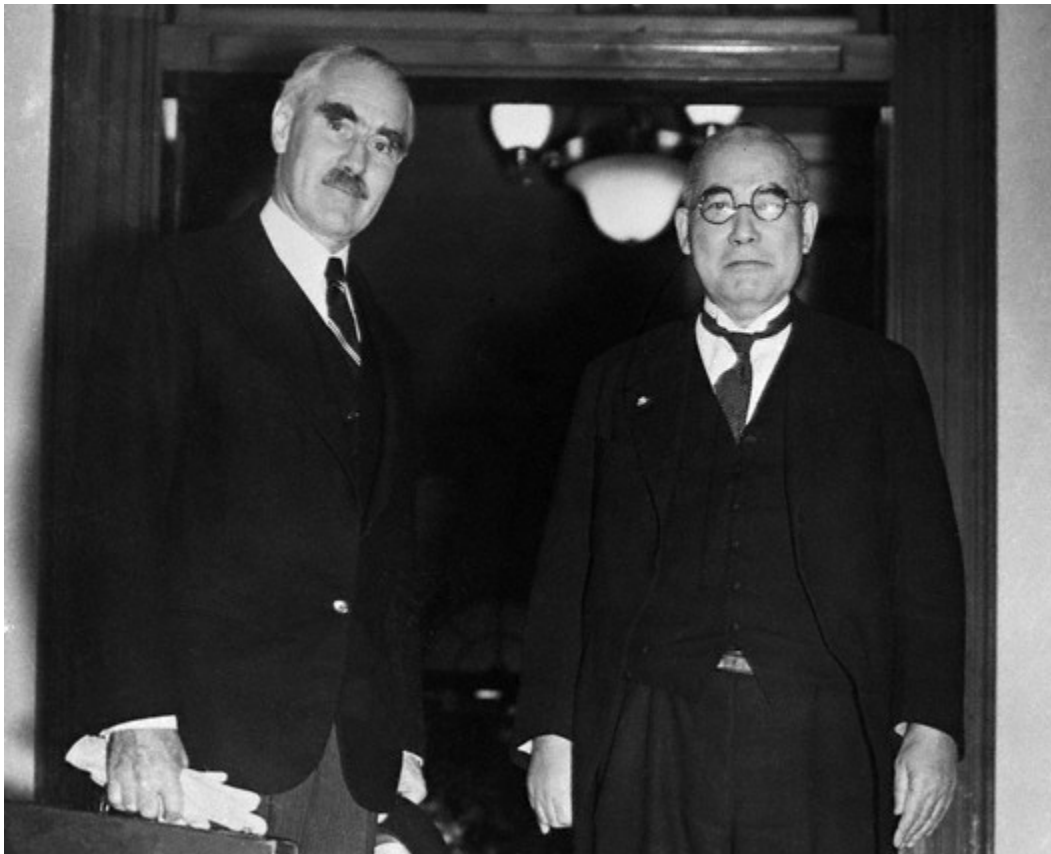
Emperor Hirohito of Japan delivers his message to War Minister Lieutenant General Hideki Tojo, following the military parade held on the Yoyogi Parade Grounds in Tokyo, Japan on October 21, 1940 to mark the 2600th anniversary of the founding of the Japanese Empire. Chief Aide-de-Camp General Ban Hasunuma stands behind the emperor. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Emperor Hirohito of Japan reviews his troops during the imperial inspection in Tokyo, Japan on June 12, 1941. The inspection featured the fifteenth anniversary of the establishment of the Young Peoples' Schools in Japan. More than 30,000 Peoples' representatives gathered in Tokyo for the celebration. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



United States Ambassador to Japan, Joseph Clark Grew (left) and new Foreign Minister of Japan, Teijiro Toyoda, smile for camera on October 2, 1941 when Minister Toyoda made the customary call upon the dean of the Tokyo diplomatic Corps after he assumed office. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



United States Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Grew (right) pictured with Foreign Minister Kichisaburo Nomura at the time Grew visited the Ministry in Tokyo, Japan on November 4, 1939. The captain accompanying this picture from Japan says "No important conversations were held, it is reported." Dispatches from American correspondents in Tokyo the same day, told that Grew had told Nomura that Japan was in danger of economic pressure from the United States if it was the first of many scheduled, to determine what Japanese-American Commercial Treaty Expires January 26, 1940. (Bettmann/CORBIS)





Prince Fumimaro Konoe is seen riding in a limousine in Japan on October 19, 1941, a day after he resigned as Prime Minister of Japan. Fumimaro Konoe and his entire Cabinet resigned after Konoe opposed the Imperial Japanese Army's proposal to attack Pearl Harbor and wage war on the United States of America. (Provided by Keiyosha)  
<http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichibei/negotiation/index5.html>



Imperial Japanese Army General Hideki Tojo (front row, center) appears with his Cabinet in Tokyo, Japan on October 21, 1941. (Provided by Keiyosha) <http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichibei/negotiation/index5.html>



Imperial Japanese Ambassador to America Kichisaburo Nomura (left), U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull (center), and Imperial Japanese envoy Saburo Kurusu stroll on White House grounds in Washington, D.C. in November 1941 during the failed Japan-America peace mediations previous to the attack on Pearl Harbor. (Thomas D. McAvoy/Time Life)



Japanese navy officers announce the outbreak of war between Japan and the U.S. at the Ministry of the Navy in Tokyo, Japan on December 8, 1941. (Provided by Mainichi Newspaper) <http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichibei/negotiation/index5.html>



“With one notable exception, Japan’s background for aggression presented a strong parallel to that of Germany. The exception was the industrial strength of the two Powers. Japan was really a “have not” nation, lacking most of the natural resources to sustain a great industrial system. It lacked much of the necessary basic materials such as coal; iron, petroleum, alloy minerals, waterpower, or even food. In comparison, Germany's claim to be a “have not” nation was merely a propaganda device. Other than this, the similarity of the two countries was striking: each had a completely cartelized industry, a militaristic tradition, a hardworking population which respected authority and loved order, a national obsession with its own unique value and a resentment at the rest of the world for failure to recognize this, and a constitutional structure in which a facade of parliamentary constitutionalism barely concealed the reality of power wielded by an alliance of army, landlords, and industry. The fact that the Japanese constitution of 1889 was copied from the constitution of Bismarck goes far to explain this last similarity. We have already mentioned the acute problem presented to Japan by the contrast between their limited natural resources and their growing problems. While their resources did not increase, their population grew from 31 million in 1873 to 73 million in 1939, the rate of growth reaching its peak in the period 1925-1930 (8 percent increase in these five years). With great ingenuity and tireless energy, the Japanese people tried to make ends meet. With foreign exchange earned from merchant shipping or from exports of silk, wood products, or seafoods, raw materials were imported, manufactured into industrial products, and exported to obtain the foreign exchange necessary to pay for imports of raw materials or food. By keeping costs and prices low, the Japanese were able to undersell European exporters of cotton textiles and iron products in the markets of Asia, especially in China and Indonesia. The possibility of relieving their population pressure by emigration, as Europe had done earlier, was prevented by the fact that the obvious colonial areas had already been taken in hand by Europeans. English-speaking persons, who held the best and yet unfilled areas, slammed the door on Japanese immigration in the period after 1901, justifying their actions on racial and economic arguments. American restrictions on Japanese immigration, originated among laboring groups in California, were a very bitter pill for Japan, and injured its pride greatly.

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 561-562

“The steady rise in tariffs against Japanese manufactured goods after 1897, a development which was also led by America, served to increase the difficulties of Japan’s position. So also did the slow exhaustion of the Pacific fisheries, the growing (if necessary) restrictions on such fishing by conservationist agreements, the decrease in forestry resources, and political and social unrest in Asia. For a long time, Japan was protected from the full impact of this problem by a series of favorable accidents. The First World War was a splendid windfall. It ended European commercial competition in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific; it increased the demand for Japanese goods and services; and it made Japan an international creditor for the first time. Capital investment in the five years 1915-1920 was eight times as much as in the ten years 1905-1915; laborers employed in factories using over five workers each increased from 948 thousand in 1914 to 1,612 thousand in 1919; ocean shipping rose from 1.5 million tons in 1914 to 3 million tons in 1918, while income from shipping freight rose from 40 million yen in 1914 to 450 million in 1918; the favorable balance of international trade amounted to 1,480 million yen for the four years 1915-1918. Social life, the economic structure, and the price system, already dislocated by this rapid change, received a terrible jolt in the depression of 1920-1921, but Japan rapidly recovered and was shielded from the full consequences of her large population and limited resources by the boom of the 1920’s. Rapid technological advance in the United States, Germany, and Japan itself, demand for Japanese goods (especially textiles) in southern and southeastern Asia, American loans throughout the world, large American purchases of Japanese silk, and the general “boom psychology” of the whole world protected Japan from the full impact of its situation until 1929-1931. Under this protection the older authoritarian and militaristic traditions were weakened, liberalism and democracy grew slowly but steadily, the aping of Germanic traditions in intellectual and political life (which had been going on since about 1880) was largely abandoned, the first party government was established in 1918, universal manhood suffrage was established in 1925, civilian governors replaced military rule for the first time in colonial areas like Formosa, the army was reduced from 21 to 17 divisions in 1924, the navy was reduced by international agreement in 1922 and in 1930, and there was a great expansion of education, especially in the higher levels. This movement toward democracy and liberalism alarmed the militarists and drove them to desperation. At the same time, the growth of unity and public order in China, which these militarists had regarded as a potential victim for their operations, convinced them that they must act quickly before it was too late. The world depression gave this group their great opportunity. Even before its onset, however, four ominous factors in Japanese political life hung like threatening clouds on the horizon. These were (a) the lack of any constitutional requirement for a government responsible to the Diet, (b) the continued constitutional freedom of the army from civilian control, (c) the growing use of political assassination by the conservatives as a means for removing liberal politicians from public life, as was done against three premiers and many lesser persons in the period 1918-1932, and (d) the growing appeal of revolutionary Socialism in laboring circles. The world depression and the financial crisis hit Japan a terrible blow. The declining demand for raw silk in competition with synthetic fibers like rayon and the slow decline of such Asiatic markets as China and India because of political disturbances and growing industrialization made this blow harder to bear. Under this impact, the reactionary and aggressive forces in Japanese society were able to solidify their control of the state, intimidate all domestic opposition, and embark on that adventure of aggression and destruction that led ultimately to the disasters of 1945.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 562-563

“These economic storms were severe, but Japan took the road to aggression because of its own past traditions rather than for economic reasons. The militarist traditions of feudal Japan continued into the modern period, and flourished in spite of steady criticism and opposition. The constitutional structure shielded both the military leaders and the civilian politicians from popular control, and justified their actions as being in the emperor’s name. But these two branches of government were separated so that the civilians had no control over the generals. The law and custom of the constitution allowed the generals and admirals to approach the emperor directly without the knowledge or consent of the Cabinet, and required that only officers of this rank could serve as ministers for these services in the Cabinet itself. No civilian intervened in the chain of command from emperor to lowly private, and the armed services became a state within the state. Since the officers did not hesitate to use their positions to ensure civilian compliance with their wishes, and constantly resorted to armed force and assassination, the power of the military grew steadily after 1927. All their acts, they said, were in the name of the emperor, for the glory of Japan, to free the nation from corruption, from partisan politicians, and from plutocratic exploitation, and to restore the old Japanese virtues of order, self-sacrifice, and devotion to authority. Separate from the armed forces, sometimes in opposition to them but generally dependent upon them as the chief purchasers of the products of heavy industry, were the forces of monopoly capitalism. These were led, as we have indicated, by the eight great economic complexes, controlled as family units, known as *zaibatsu*. These eight controlled 75 percent of the nation’s corporate wealth by 1930 and were headed by Mitsui, which had 15 per cent of all corporate capital in the country. They engaged in openly corrupt relationships with Japanese politicians and, less frequently, with Japanese militarists. They usually cooperated with each other. For example, in 1927, the efforts of Mitsui and Mitsubishi to smash a smaller competitor, Suzuki Company of Kobe, precipitated a financial panic which closed most of the banks in Japan. While the Showa Bank, operated jointly by the *zaibatsu*, took over many smaller corporations and banks which failed in the crisis and over 180,000 depositors lost their savings, the Cabinet of the militarist General Tanaka granted 1,500 million yen to save the *zaibatsu* themselves from the consequences of their greed. The militaristic and nationalistic traditions were widely accepted by the Japanese people. These traditions, extolled by the majority of politicians and teachers, and propagated by numerous patriotic societies, both open and secret, were given a free hand, while any opposing voices were crushed out by legal or illegal methods until, by 1930, most such voices were silenced. About the same date, the militarists and the *zaibatsu*, who had previously been in opposition as often as in coalition, came together in their last fateful alliance. They united on a program of heavy industrialization, militarization, and foreign aggression. Eastern Asia, especially northern China and Manchuria, became the designated victim, since these seemed to offer the necessary raw materials and markets for the industrialists and the field of glory and booty for the militarists. In aiming their attack at Manchuria in 1931 and at northern China in 1937, the Japanese chose a victim who was clearly vulnerable.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 563-564

“Though the Japanese seizure of Manchuria in the autumn of 1931 was an independent action of the Japanese military forces, it had to be condoned by the civilian leaders. The Chinese retaliated by a boycott of Japanese goods which seriously reduced Japan’s exports. To force an end to this boycott, Japan landed forces at Shanghai (1932) and, after severe fighting in which much Japanese abuse was inflicted upon Europeans, the Chinese forces were driven from the city and compelled to agree to a termination of the economic boycott against Japan. About the same time, Manchuria was set up as a Japanese protectorate under the rule of Henry P’ui, who had abdicated the Chinese throne in 1912. As early as January 1932, the United States notified all signers of the Nine-Power treaty of 1922 that it would refuse to accept territorial changes made by force in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact to Outlaw War. An appeal to the League of Nations for support, made by China on September 21, 1931, the same day that England went off the gold standard, passed through an interminable series of procedural disputes and finally led to a Commission of Enquiry under the Earl of Lytton. The report of this commission, released in October, 1932, sharply condemned the actions of Japan but recommended no effective joint action to oppose these. The League accepted the Stimson Doctrine of Nonrecognition, and expressed sympathy for the Chinese position. This whole affair has been rehashed endlessly since 1931 to the accompaniment of claims and counterclaims that effective league action was blocked by the absence of the United States from its councils, or by Stimson’s delay in condemning Japanese aggression, or by British refusal to support Stimson’s suggestions for action against Japan. All these discussions neglect the vital point that the Japanese army in Manchuria was not under the control of the Japanese civil government, with which negotiations were being conducted, and that these civil authorities, who opposed the Manchurian attack, could not give effective voice to this opposition without rising assassination. Premier Yuko Hamaguchi had been killed as recently as November 1930 for approving the London Naval Agreement to which the militarists objected, and Premier Ki Inukai was dealt with the same way in May 1932. Throughout, the League discussions were not conducted with the right party. Except for its violation of nationalist feelings and the completely objectionable means by which it was achieved, the acquisition of Manchuria by Japan possessed many strategic and economic advantages. It gave Japan industrial resources which it vitally needed, and could, in time, have strengthened the Japanese economy. Separation of the area from China, which had not controlled it effectively for many years, would have restricted the sphere of Chiang’s government to a more manageable territory. Above all, it could have served as a counterpoise to Soviet power in the Far East and provided a fulcrum to restrain Soviet actions in Europe after the collapse of Germany. Unfortunately, the uncompromising avarice and ignorance of the Japanese militarists made any such solution impossible. This was made quite certain by their two major errors, the attack on China in 1937 and the attack on the United States in 1941. In both cases the militarists bit off more than they could chew, and destroyed any possible advantages they might have gained from the acquisition of Manchuria in 1931. In the seven years after the first attack on Manchuria in September 1931, Japan sank 2.5 billion yen in capital investments in that area, mostly in mining, iron production, electric power, and petroleum. Year after year this investment increased without returning any immediate yield to Japan, since output from this new investment was immediately reinvested. The only items of much help for Japan itself were iron ore, pig iron, and certain chemical fertilizers. The Manchurian soy-bean crop, although it declined under Japanese rule, was exchanged with Germany for needed commodities obtainable there. For Japan’s other urgent material needs, such as raw cotton, rubber, and petroleum, no help could be found in Manchuria. In spite of costly capital investment, it could produce no more than its own needs in petroleum, chiefly from liquefaction of coal. The failure of Manchuria to provide an answer to Japan’s economic problems led the Japanese military leaders toward a new act of aggression, this time directed toward North China itself.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 566-568



“The rivalry between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang broke out intermittently in 1938-1941, but Japan was unable to profit from it in any decisive way because of its economic weakness. The great investment in Manchuria and the adoption of a policy of wholehearted aggression required a reorganization of Japan's own economy from its previous emphasis on light industry for the export market to a new emphasis on heavy industry for armaments and heavy investment. This was carried out so ruthlessly that Japan's production of heavy industry rose from 3 billion yen in 1933 to 8.2 billion yen in 1938, while textile production rose from 2.9 billion yen to no more than 3.7 billion yen in the same five years. By 1938 the products of heavy industry accounted for 53 percent of Japan's industrial output. This increased Japan's need for imports while reducing her ability to provide the exports (previously textiles) to pay for such imports. By 1937 Japan's unfavorable balance of trade with the “non-yen” area amounted to 925 million yen, or almost four times the average of the years before 1937. Income from shipping was reduced by military demands as well, with the result that Japan's unfavorable balance of trade was reflected in a heavy outflow of gold (1,685 million yen in 1937-1938). By the end of 1938, it was clear that Japan was losing its financial and commercial ability to buy necessary materials of foreign origin. The steps taken by the United States, Australia, and others to restrict export of strategic or military materials to Japan made this problem even more acute. The attack on China had been intended to remedy this situation by removing the Chinese boycott on Japanese goods, by bringing a supply of necessary materials, especially raw cotton, under Japan's direct control, and by creating an extension of the yen area where the use of foreign exchange would not be needed for trading purposes. On the whole, these purposes were not achieved. Guerrilla activities and Japanese inability to control the rural areas made the achievement of a yen area impossible, made trade difficult, and reduced the production of cotton drastically (by about one-third). Export of iron ore from China to Japan fell from 2.3 million tons in 1937 to 0.3 million in 1938, although coal exports rose slightly. In an effort to increase production, Japan began to pour capital investment into the still-unpacified areas of North China at a rate which rivaled the rate of investment in Manchuria. The Four-Year Plan of 1938 called for 1,420 million yen of such investment by 1942. This project, added to the need for Japan to feed and clothe the inhabitants of North China, made that area a drain on the whole Japanese economy, so that Japanese exports to that area rose from 179 billion yen in 1937 to 312 million in 1938. To make matters worse, the people of this occupied territory refused to accept or use the newly established yen currency because of guerrilla threats to shoot anyone found in possession of it. All this had an adverse effect on Japan's financial position. In two years of the China war, 1936-1937 to 1938-1939, the Japanese budget rose from 2.3 to 8.4 billion yen, of which 80 percent went for military purposes. Government debt and commodity prices rose steadily, but the Japanese people responded so readily to taxation, government loans, and demands for increased production that the system continued to function. By the end of 1939, however, it was clear that the threefold burden of a conversion to heavy industry, which ruined the export trade, a heavy rate of investment in Manchuria and North China, and an indecisive war with Nationalist China could not be borne forever, especially under the pressure of the growing reluctance of neutral countries to supply Japan with necessary strategic goods. The two most vital needs were in petroleum products and rubber. To the militarists, who controlled Japan both politically and economically after 1939, it seemed that the occupation of the Dutch Indies and Malaya could do much to alleviate these shortages. The occupation of the Netherlands itself by Hitler's hordes in 1940 and the involvement of England in the European war since 1939 seemed to offer a golden opportunity for Japan to seize these southern regions. To do so would require long lines of communications from Japan to Indonesia. These lines would be exposed to attack from the American bases in the Philippines or from the British base at Singapore. Judging the American psychology as similar to their own, the Japanese militarists were sure that in such circumstances America would not hesitate to attack these vulnerable lines of communication. Thus, it seemed to them that a Japanese attack on the Dutch Indies would inevitably lead to an American war on Japan. Facing this problem, the Japanese militarists reached what seemed to their minds to be an inescapable decision. They decided to attack the United States first. From this decision came the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 568-570

“Traditionally, American policy in the Far East had sought to preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of China and to maintain an “Open Door” for China’s foreign trade. These goals became increasingly difficult to achieve in the course of the twentieth century because of the growing weakness of China itself, the steady growth of aggression in Japan, and the deepening involvement of other Powers with Far Eastern interests in a life-or-death struggle with Germany. After the fall of France and the Low Countries in the summer of 1940, Britain could offer the United States little more than sympathy and some degree of diplomatic support in the Far East, while the Netherlands and France, with rich colonial possessions within reach of Japan's avid grasp, could provide no real opposition to Japan's demands. After Hitler's attack on Russia in June 1941, the Soviet Union, which had actually fought Japanese forces in the Far East in 1938 and again in 1939, could exert no pressure on Japan to deter further Nipponese aggression. Thus, by the summer of 1941, Japan was ready for new advances in the Far East, and only the United States was in a position to resist... The Japanese had been supremely confident of their ability to conquer all China, if necessary, even as late as 1939. As a consequence, their advance had been accompanied by brutality against the Chinese, by various actions to drive all Europeans and all European economic enterprises out of China, and by insults and humiliations to Europeans found in China, especially in Shanghai. By 1939 all of this was beginning to change. The attack on China had bogged down completely. The Japanese economy was beginning to totter under a combination of circumstances, including the exhausting effort to strangle China and to administer a fatal blow to the retreating Chinese government by octopus tactics, the reorganization of Japan’s home industry from a light basis to a heavy industrial plant (for which Japan lacked the necessary resources), the gigantic capital investment in Manchuria and North China, the growing restrictions on Japanese trade imposed by Western countries, and, finally, the combination of a rapidly growing population with acute material shortages. Problems such as these might have driven many nations, even in the West, to desperate action. In Japan the situation was made more critical by the large-scale diversion of manpower and resources from consumption to capital formation at a very high rate. And, finally, all this was taking place in a country which placed a high esteem on military arrogance.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 731-732

“In theory, of course, Japan might have sought to remedy its material shortages in a peaceful way, by seeking to increase Japan's foreign trade, exporting increasing amounts of Japanese goods to pay for rising Japanese imports. In fact, such a policy had obvious weaknesses. The world depression after 1929 and the growth of economic autarchy in all countries, including the United States, made it very difficult to increase Japanese exports. The excessively high American Smoot-Hawley tariff of 1930, although not so intended, seemed to the Japanese to be an aggressive restriction on their ability to live. The “imperial preference” regulations of the British Commonwealth had a similar consequence. Since Japan could not defend itself against such economic measures, it resorted to political measures. To do otherwise would have been contrary to Japanese traditions. But, by embarking on this course, Japan was heading in a direction which could hardly have a favorable outcome. If Japan adopted political measures to defend itself against economic restrictions, the Western Powers would inevitably defend themselves with even greater economic restrictions on Japan, driving Japan, by a series of such stages, to open war. And, in such a war, in view of its economic weakness, Japan could hardly hope to win. These stages were confused and delayed over a full decade of years (1931-1941), by indecision and divided counsels in both Japan and the Western Powers. **In the process Japan found a considerable advantage in the parallel aggressions of Italy and Germany. It also found a considerable disadvantage in the fact that Japan’s imports were vital necessities to her, while her exports were vital necessities to no one. This meant that Japan's trade could be cut off or reduced by anyone, to Japan’s great injury, but at much smaller cost to the other nation.** The steps leading to open war between Japan and the Western Powers were delayed by the long-drawn indecision of the Sino-Japanese War. For years Japan hoped to find a solution for its economic and social problems in a decisive victory over China, while in the same years the Western Powers hoped for an end to Japanese aggression by a Japanese defeat in China. Instead, the struggle in that area dragged on without a decision. The Western Powers were too divided at home and among themselves, too filled with pacifism and mistaken political and economic ideas to do anything decisive about China, especially when open war was impossible and anything less than war would injure China as well as Japan. Thus, no sanctions were imposed on Japan for its aggression on Manchuria in 1931 or for its attack on North China in 1937. The American Neutrality Act was not applied to this conflict because President Roosevelt adopted the simple legalistic expedient of failing to “find” a war in the Far East. But the mere existence of laws which might have imposed economic sanctions or economic retaliation on Japan revealed to that country the basic weakness of its own position.” – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 732-733

“In 1937 Japan received a series of lessons in the precarious state of its strategic-economic position. In the first half of that year, as background for its growing military pressure on China, Japan bought a record amount of American scrap iron and steel, 1.3 million metric tons in six months. Agitation to curtail this supply, either by applying the Neutrality Act to the Sino-Japanese conflict or by some lesser action, was growing in the United States. **Early in October 1937, President Roosevelt caused a controversy by a speech suggesting a “quarantine” of aggressor nations.** Isolationist sentiment in the United States, especially in the Midwest, was too strong to allow the administration to take any important steps toward such a “quarantine.” Nevertheless, Stimson, who had been American secretary of state at the time of the Manchurian crisis in 1931, made a public appeal for an embargo on the shipment of war materials to Japan. A month later, November 3-24, 1937, a conference of the signers of the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, which guaranteed the integrity of China, met at Brussels to discuss what steps might be taken to end Japan's aggression in China. There was considerable talk of economic sanctions, but no Great Power was willing to light the fuse on that stick of dynamite, so the occasion lapsed, and nothing was done. But the lesson was not wasted on Japan; it intensified its efforts to build up Japanese power to a position where it could use political action to defend itself against any economic reprisals. Naturally, the political actions it took in this direction served only to hasten economic reprisals against itself, especially by the United States, the world's most devoted defender of



the status quo in the Far East and the only Great Power in any position, especially after Hitler's attacks, to adopt an active policy against Japan.” – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 733-734

“Japan could have achieved little toward a political solution of its problems if it had not been for the aggressions of Italy and Germany on the other side of the world. A full year before the Brussels Conference, on November 25, 1936, Japan had joined the league of aggressors known as the Anti-Comintern Pact. Discussions seeking to strengthen this arrangement into a full German-Japanese alliance went on for years, but were not concluded until September 1940. Hitler was not sure whether he wanted Japanese support against the Western democracies or against the Soviet Union, and, accordingly, sought an agreement which could be swung either way, while Japan was interested in a German alliance only if it ran against the Soviet Union. At the same time, Germany objected to the Japanese war on China, since this prevented Japan's strength from being directed against either of Germany's possible foes, and jeopardized German economic interests in China. All these difficulties continued, although Ribbentrop's advent to the post of foreign minister in Berlin in February 1938 inaugurated a period of wholehearted cooperation with Japan in China, replacing Neurath's earlier efforts to maintain some kind of neutral balance in the Sino-Japanese War. The German military advisers with Chiang Kai-shek were withdrawn, although some of them had been in their positions for ten years and were likely to be replaced by Soviet advisers; the German ambassador was withdrawn from China, and the protection of German interests was generally left to lesser officials, using Japanese officials in areas under Japanese occupation; the Japanese regime in Manchukuo was explicitly recognized (20 February 1938); all shipments of German war materials to China (which reached a value of almost 83 million marks in 1937) were ended, and in-completed contracts totaling 282 million marks were canceled; the Japanese claim that their attack on Nationalist China was really an anti-Communist action, although recognized as a fraud in Berlin, was tacitly accepted; and the earlier German efforts to mediate peace between China and Japan ceased. In spite of these concessions, Japan continued its efforts to curtail German economic enterprises in China, along with those of other Western nations. The alienation of these two aggressor countries by the summer of 1939 can be judged by the fact that the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of August 1939 was made in flagrant violation of the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement of November 1936, since this latter document bound the signers to make no political agreements with the Soviet Union without the previous consent of the other signatory state. This was regarded in Tokyo as such a blow to the prestige of the Japanese government that the prime minister resigned.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 734-735

“In the meantime the American government began to tighten the economic pincers on Japan just as Japan was seeking to tighten its military pincers on China. In the course of 1939 Japan was able to close all the routes from the outside into China except through Hong Kong, across French Indochina, and along the rocky and undeveloped route from Burma to Chungking. The American government retaliated with economic warfare. In June 1938 it established a “moral embargo” on the shipment of aircraft or their parts and bombs to Japan by simply requesting American citizens to refuse to sell these articles. Early in 1939 large American and British loans to China sought to strengthen that country's collapsing financial system. In September 1939 Washington gave the necessary six-month notice to cancel the 1911 commercial treaty with Japan; this opened the door to all kinds of economic pressure against Japan. At the same time, the “moral embargo” was extended to eleven named raw materials which were vital to Japan's war machine. In December this embargo was extended to cover light metals and all machinery or plans for making aviation gasoline. In general, there was considerable pressure in the United States, both inside the administration and elsewhere, to increase American economic sanctions against Japan. Such a policy was opposed by the isolationists in the country, by our diplomatic agents in Tokyo, and by our quasi-allies, Britain, France, and the Netherlands. These diverse opinions agreed that economic sanctions could be enforced, in the long run, only by war. To put it bluntly, if Japan could not get petroleum, bauxite, rubber, and tin by trade, it could be prevented from seizing areas producing these products only by force. To avoid this obvious inference, Cordell Hull sought to make America's economic policy ambiguous so that Japan might be deterred from evil actions by fear of sanctions not yet imposed and won to conciliatory actions by hopes of concessions not yet granted. Such a policy was a mistake, but it obtained President Roosevelt's explicit approval in December 1939. It was a mistake, since it paralyzed the less aggressive elements in Japanese affairs, allowing the more aggressive elements to take control, because the uncertainty it engendered became so unbearable to many, even of the less aggressive, that any drastic action seeking to end the strain became welcome; there was no real faith in America's intentions, with the result that the period of sustained uncertainty came to be interpreted in Japan as a period of American rearmament preliminary to an attack on Japan, and the ambiguity of American commercial policy toward Japan was, over the months of 1940-1941, slowly resolved in the direction of increasing economic sanctions. There was a steady increase in America's economic pressure on Japan by extensions of the “moral embargo,” by the growth of financial obstacles, and by increasing purchasing difficulties, presumably based on America's rearmament program. Japan continued to advance in China with brusque disregard of Western interests, citizens, or property. By the end of 1939, Japan controlled all the chief cities, river valleys, and railroad lines of eastern China, but faced constant guerrilla opposition in rural areas and had no control over the deep interior of China, which remained loyal to Chiang Kai-shek's government in far-off Chungking on the Upper Yangtze in southwestern China. In March 1940 the Japanese set up a puppet Chinese government at Nanking, but the reality of its power deceived no one. In the winter of 1939-1940, Japan began to make vigorous commercial demands on the Netherlands East Indies. These demands, chiefly concerned with petroleum and bauxite, were increased after the German victories in France and the Low Countries.” – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 735-736



“From these victories and from Hull’s doctrinaire refusal to encourage any Japanese hope that they could win worthwhile American concessions from a more moderate policy, the advocates of extremism in Japan gained influence. A Japanese demand was made on France, following the latter’s defeat by Germany, to allow Japanese troops to enter northern Indochina, in order to cut off supplies going to China. This was conceded at once by the Vichy government. At the same time (June 1940), Britain received a demand to withdraw its troops from Shanghai and close the Burma Road to Chinese imports. When Hull refused to cooperate with Britain, either in forcing Japan to desist or in any policy aiming to win better Japanese behavior by concessions, Britain withdrew from Shanghai and closed the Burma Road for three months. Just at that moment a powerful new weapon against Japan was added to the American arsenal, by an amendment to the National Defense Act giving the President authority to embargo the export of supplies which he judged to be necessary to the defense of the United States. The first presidential order under this new authority required licenses for many goods which Japan needed, including aluminum, airplane parts, all arms or munitions, optical supplies, and various “strategic” materials, but left petroleum and scrap iron unhindered. As France was falling in June 1940, Roosevelt, for reasons of domestic policy, added to his Cabinet two leaders of the Republican Party, Henry L. Stimson and Frank C. Knox; both of these were interventionists in behalf of Britain, while Stimson, for years, had been demanding economic sanctions against Japan, assuring the more cautious of his audience that such a policy would bring about a Japanese retreat rather than any war. The error in this point of view was clearly revealed at Pearl Harbor in December 1941, but the exact nature of the error is not always recognized.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 736-737

“By the beginning of 1941, the Japanese attack on China had bogged down and was in such imminent danger of collapse that something drastic had to be done. But there was no agreement within Japan as to what direction such drastic action should take. A timid majority existed, even within the Japanese government itself, which would have been willing to withdraw from the Chinese “incident” if this could have been done without too great “loss of face.” On the whole, this group was timid and ineffectual because of the danger of assassination by the extreme militarists and hyper-nationalist groups within Japan. Moreover, it was impossible to reach any agreement with the Chinese Nationalist government which would allow Japan to retain its “face” by covering a real withdrawal from China with an apparent diplomatic triumph of some sort. The advocates of an aggressive policy in Japan were divided among the insignificant group who still believed that an all-out assault on China could be brought to a successful conclusion and the more influential groups who would have sought to redeem the stalemate in China by shifting the offensive against either Soviet Siberia or the rich Anglo-Dutch possessions of Malaysia and Indonesia. In the long run, the group which advocated a drive to the south was bound to prevail, because Malaysia and Indonesia were obviously weak and rich, while Soviet Siberia lacked those items (such as petroleum, rubber, or tin) which Japan most urgently needed, and it had demonstrated its power in the battles of 1938-1939. Germany, which originally encouraged the Japanese to move southward against British Malaysia and then, when it was too late, sought to redirect the Japanese blow against Siberia, played an insignificant role in Japan’s policy. The decision to move southward, where the defense was weaker and the prizes so much greater, was made in an ambiguous and halfhearted way in the summer of 1941. The critical turning point was probably during the last week in July. During the six-week period, March 12-April 22, Matsuoka, the fire-eating foreign minister, was absent from Tokyo on a visit to Berlin and to Moscow. In the German capital he was advised to make no political agreements with the Soviet Union, because of the imminent approach of war between that country and Germany. Matsuoka at once went to Moscow, where he signed a Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact on April 13, 1941. In the meantime, in March, Japanese diplomats won special economic concessions in Siam, while in June the nine-month-old trade discussions with the Netherlands East Indies broke down without Nippon obtaining any of the concessions it desired. These agreements, if obtained, might have put Japan in a position where it could have withstood a total American petroleum embargo. Failure to obtain these meant that Japan’s large oil reserves would continue to decrease to the point where Japan would be militarily helpless from total lack of oil. America could accelerate this process either by curtailing the supply of oil or by forcing Japan into actions which would increase the rate of its consumption. Japanese oil production in 1941 was only three million barrels a year compared to a consumption rate of about 32 million barrels a year. Reserves, which had been 55 million barrels in December 1939, were below 50 million in September 1941, and fell to about 43 million by Pearl Harbor. On July 21, 1941, Japan’s threats won from Vichy France the right to move troops into southern Indochina. This was a threat to British Malaya rather than to the Burma Road in China. Within a week, on July 26, 1941, the United States froze all Japanese financial assets in the United States, virtually ending trade between the two countries. The members of the British Commonwealth issued similar orders, while the Netherlands Indies established special licenses for all exports to Japan. No licenses were issued for vital commodities like oil or bauxite. In the same week, an American military mission went to China, and the Philippine Army was incorporated into the American Army. As a result of these pressures, Japan found itself in a position where its oil reserves would be exhausted in two years, its aluminum reserves in seven months. The chief of the General Staff of the Japanese Navy told the emperor that if Japan resorted to a war to break this blockade it would be very doubtful that it could win. The president of the Japanese Planning Board confirmed this gloomy opinion. The armed forces insisted that Japan had a choice between a slow decline to extinction under economic pressure or war which might allow it to break out of its predicament. The navy had little hope of victory in such a war, but agreed with this analysis. It was also agreed that war, if it came, must begin before the middle of December, when weather conditions would become too adverse to permit amphibious belligerent operations; it was clear that economic pressure was too damaging to allow Japan to postpone such operations until the resumption of good weather in 1942. Accordingly, the decision was made to make war in 1941, but to continue negotiations with the United States until late October. If an agreement could be reached by that date, the preparations for war could be suspended; otherwise the negotiations would be ended and the advance to open war continued. Matsuoka, the foreign minister, who was opposed to continuing the negotiations with the United States, was dropped from the Cabinet on July 16th; from that date on, the civilian portion of the Cabinet desperately sought to reach an agreement in Washington, while the military portion calmly prepared for war.”

"In the course of 1941, Japan's preparations for war were gradually expanded from a project to close the southern routes into China by an attack on Malaya, to an attack on the United States. The decision to close the Burma Road by force meant that Japan must move into French Indochina and Siam, and cross British Malaya, after neutralizing the British naval base at Singapore. Such a movement had numerous disadvantages. It would mean war with Britain; it would leave the Japanese lines of communication southward open to a flank attack from American bases in the Philippines; it was doubtful if China could be defeated even when all Western supplies were cut off (after all, these supplies were so insignificant that in 1940 American arms and munitions to China were worth only \$9 million); even a total defeat of China would leave Japan's material shortages acute, especially in respect to the greatest material need, petroleum products. In view of these disadvantages, under which Japan would expend so much to gain so little, it seemed to many Japanese leaders that very considerable gains could be obtained with only a slight additional effort if an attack on the rich Netherlands Indies were combined with the attack on Malaya and the Burma Road. Such an advance to the tin and bauxite of Malaya and to the oil of the Dutch Indies had every advantage over any alternative possibility, such as an attack on eastern Siberia, especially as the Japanese Army (but not the Navy) had a higher opinion of Soviet power than they had of Anglo-American strength. Having given the attack on Malaya and Indonesia the preference over any possible attack on Siberia, the Japanese leaders accepted the fact that this would mean war with Britain and the United States. In this they were probably not wrong, although some Americans have claimed that America would not have gone to war if Japan had passed by the Philippines and left other American territories untouched on its road to the south. It is certainly true that such actions would have touched off a violent controversy within the United States between the isolationists and the interventionists, but it seems almost certain that the policies of the Roosevelt Administration would have been carried out, and these policies included plans for war against Japan's southern movement even if American areas were not attacked. In any case, judging American reactions in terms of their own, the Japanese decided that an American flank attack from an untouched Philippines on their extended communications to the southward would be too great a risk to run; accordingly, an attack on the Philippines to prevent this was included in the Japanese plans for their southern movement. This decision led at once to the next step, the project to attack the American fleet at Pearl Harbor on the grounds that an inevitable war with the United States could be commenced most effectively with a surprise attack on the American Navy rather than by waiting for an intact American fleet to come to seek out the Japanese in their zones of active operations in the southwestern Pacific. It must be recognized that one of the chief factors impelling the Japanese to make the attack on Pearl Harbor was that few Japanese (and these mostly in the army) had any hope that Japan could defeat the United States in any war carried to a decisive conclusion. Rather, it was hoped that, by crippling the American fleet at Pearl Harbor, Japan could conquer such a large area of the southwestern Pacific and southeastern Asia that peace could be negotiated on favorable terms."

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

ALASKA

CANADA

16

UNITED STATES

Pacific Ocean Areas (POA) included Central, South, Southeast and Northern Pacific Areas.

North Pacific Area  
Central Pacific Area

POA NIMITZ

JAPANESE OUTER PERIMETER 2 July 1942

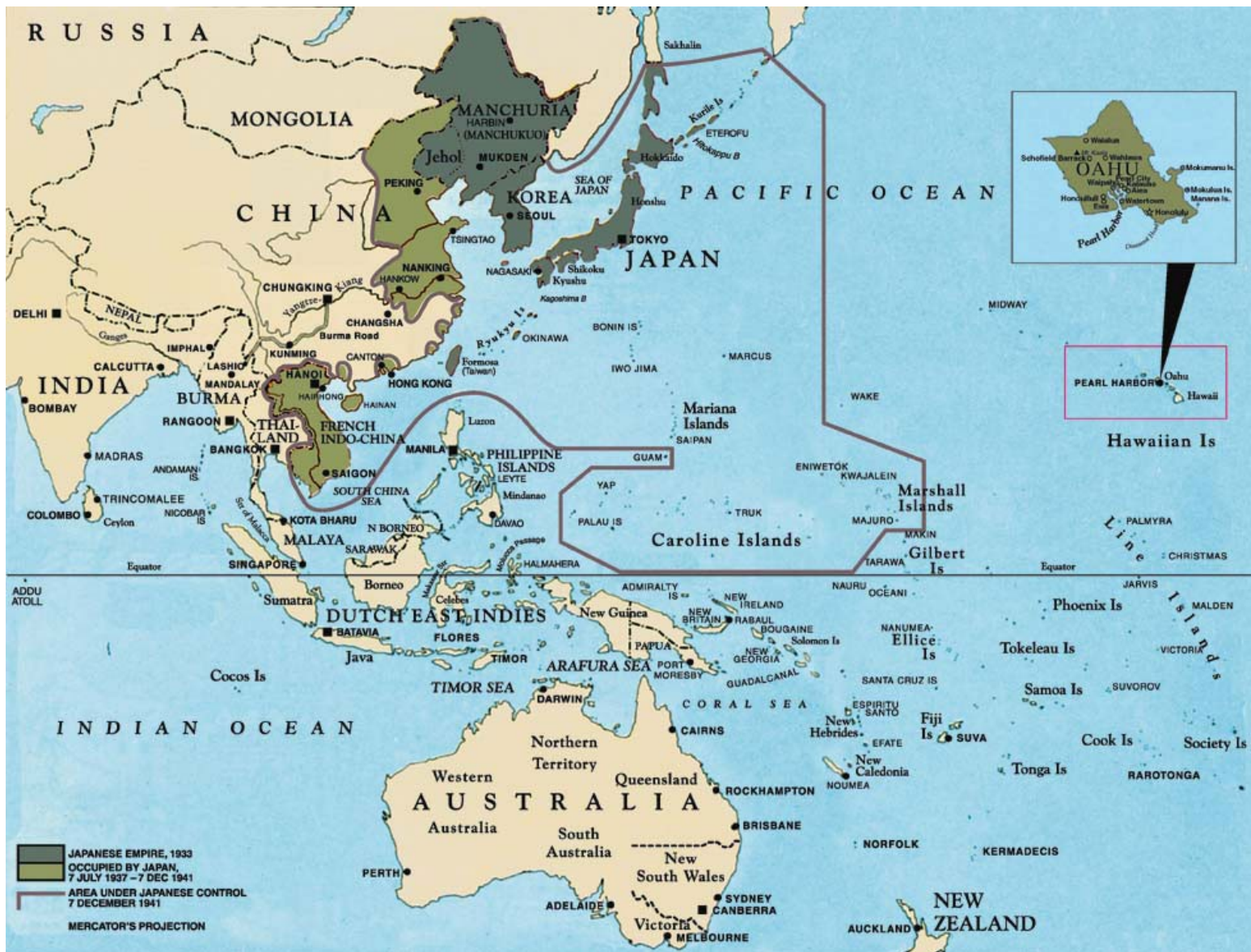
POA and SWPA under UNITED STATES STRATEGIC DIRECTION

THE FAR EAST AND THE PACIFIC, 1941 STATUS OF FORCES and ALLIED THEATER BOUNDARIES, 2 July 1942

SCALE OF MILES

A map of Imperial Japan during World War II (as of July 1942)





A map of the Japanese Empire circa December 7, 1941

## Heads of Mitsubishi and Bank of Japan



Yataro Iwasaki  
(1835-1885)  
President of Mitsubishi  
(1873-1885)



Yanosuke Iwasaki  
(1851-1908)  
President of Mitsubishi  
(1885-1893); Governor of  
the Bank of Japan  
(November 11, 1896-  
October 20, 1898)



Hisaya Iwasaki  
(1865-1955)  
President of Mitsubishi  
(1893-1916); B.S. U. of  
Pennsylvania



Koyata Iwasaki  
(1879-1945)  
President of Mitsubishi  
(1916-1945); B.A.  
University of Cambridge  
(Pembroke College) 1905



Toyotaro Yuki  
Governor of the Bank of  
Japan (1937-1944)

Note: First Sino-Japanese War occurred from August 1, 1894 to April 17, 1895.  
Note: Spanish-American War occurred from April 25, 1898 to August 12, 1898.  
Note: Russo-Japanese War occurred from February 8, 1904 to September 5, 1905.  
Note: Second Sino-Japanese War occurred from July 7, 1937 to September 2, 1945.





Captured Japanese image shows Imperial Japan's Prime Minister General Hideki Tojo (center, in uniform) visiting the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, Japan in October 1941. (Photo: [Time Life](#))





**Gunboat Diplomacy?:** A navy photographer snapped this photograph of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on Sunday, December 7, 1941, just as the USS Shaw exploded. Imperial Japan's dependence on foreign oil and raw material, including American oil and steel, led Japan to conquer mainland China and Dutch East Indies. Imperial Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in an attempt to prevent the United States from sabotaging Imperial Japan's desire to acquire foreign oil and other raw material (i.e. rubber, steel, lumber). (National Archives)



Joseph C. Grew

“My Peruvian Colleague told a member of my staff that he had heard from many sources including a Japanese source that **the Japanese military forces planned, in the event of trouble with the United States, to attempt a surprise mass attack on Pearl Harbor using all of their military facilities.**”

– Joseph C. Grew, U.S. Ambassador to Japan, in a diplomatic cable message to the U.S. State Department on January 27, 1941

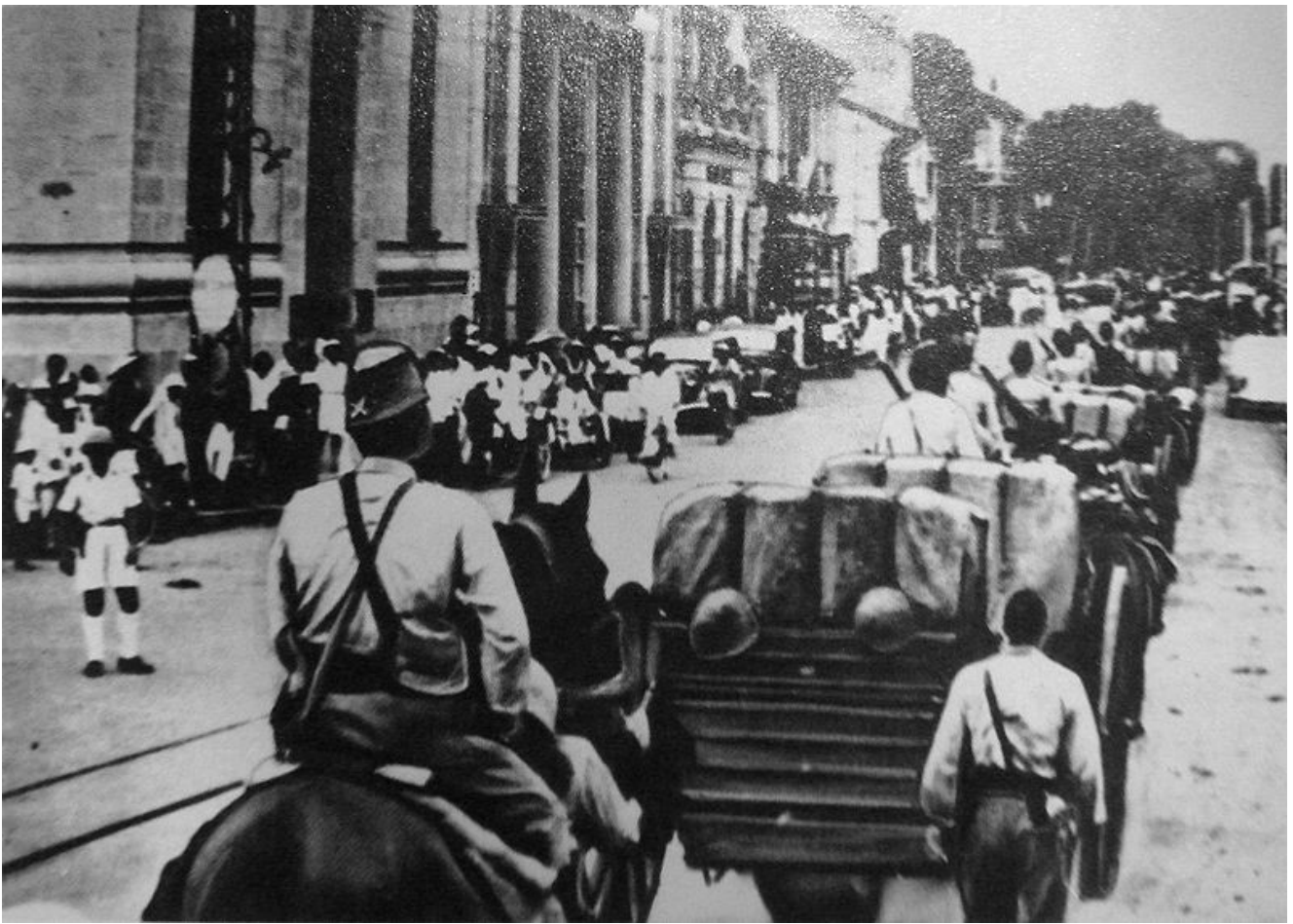


Three German generals and a Japanese general (right) examine a globe during a meeting in Germany on March 29, 1941. (Photo: © CORBIS)



The famous Mori Unit of the Imperial Japanese Army pushes its way forward around the Honan Battlefront in China in an area north of the Yangtze River on November 27, 1941, in pursuit, says the Japanese caption, of "the fast dwindling remnants of Chiang's once mighty army." (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)





Imperial Japanese Army troops enter Saigon in 1941.

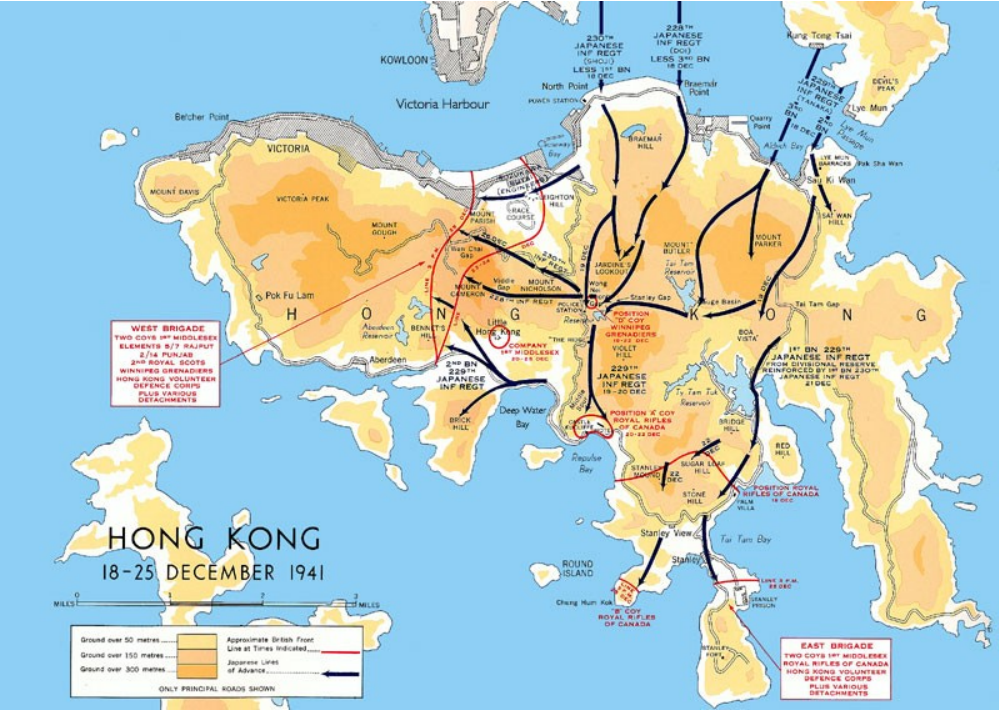


Japanese troops led by Lieutenant General Takashi Sakai and Vice Admiral Masaichi Niimi enter Hong Kong on December 26, 1941.  
(Photo: Mainichi Newspaper)



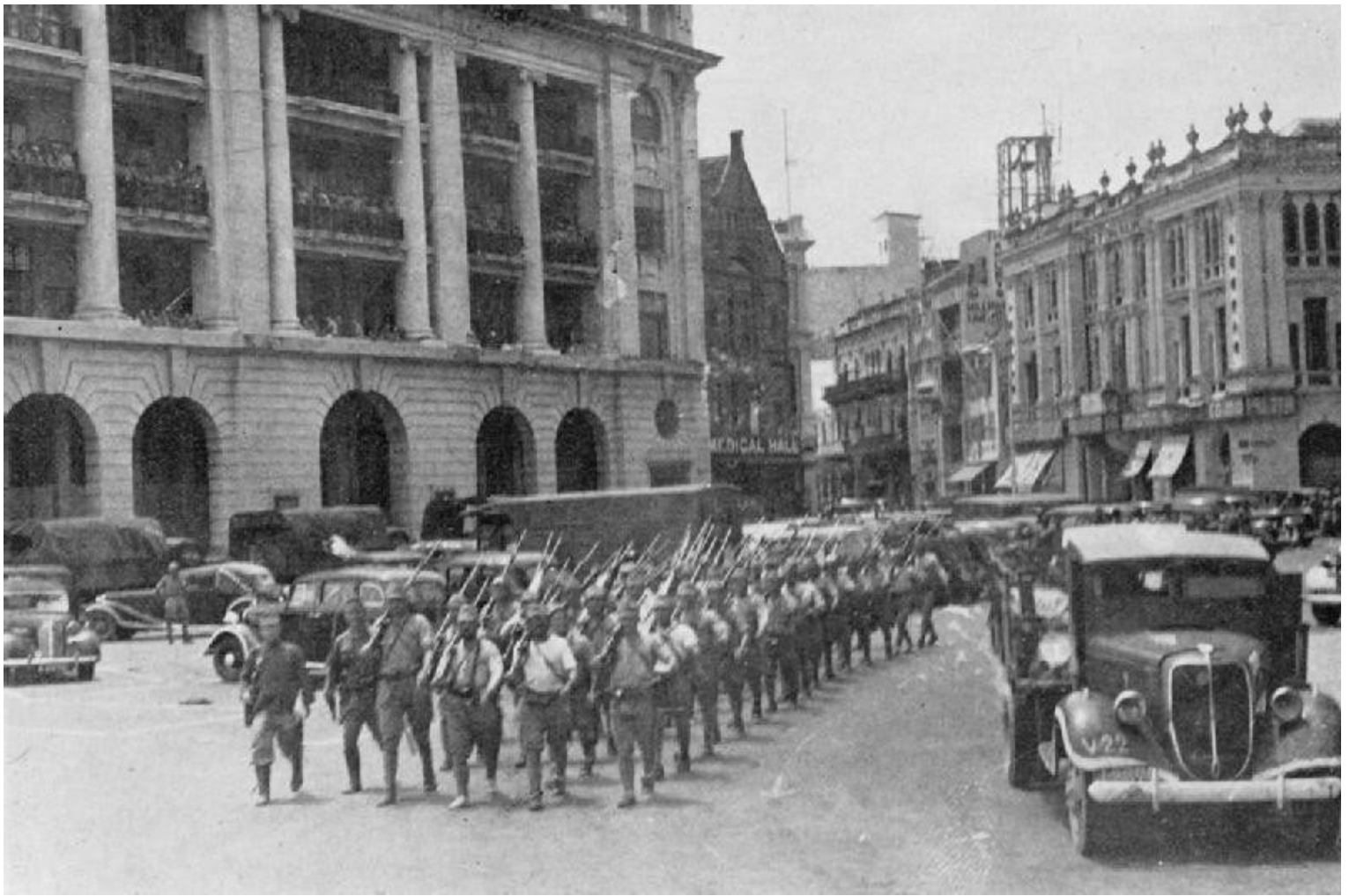


Japanese troops enter Hong Kong on December 26, 1941 led by Lieutenant General Takashi Sakai and Vice Admiral Masaichi Niimi. (Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205195081>)



Map of Hong Kong in December 1941





Right: Imperial Japanese Army soldiers march through Fullerton Square in downtown Singapore in February 1942. The Imperial Japanese Army exterminated up to 50,000 Chinese men during the first month of occupation of Singapore; the incident is known as the "Sook Ching massacre". (Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205195094>)



The Japanese Campaign and Victory 8 December 1941 - 15 February 1942: Lieutenant General Yamashita Tomoyuki and Lieutenant General A E Percival discuss surrender terms at the Ford Works Building near the Bukit Timah Road, Singapore. (Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205194839>)

シンガポール市街を行進  
する97式中戦車



Imperial Japanese Army soldiers patrol the streets of Singapore with tanks in 1942.



マニラ市中行進

Imperial Japanese Army soldiers patrol the streets of Manila, Philippines with tanks in 1942.





Imperial Japanese troops run for cover during mop up operations in Kuala Lumpur (British Malaya, later Malaysia) in January 1942. (Photo courtesy the Imperial War Museum) <http://www.city-data.com/forum/history/854697-day-history-january-1-31-a-2.html>



A Malayan Dollar Note (promissory note) issued by the Imperial Japanese government during World War II





Japanese military forces land on Java (Dutch East Indies) in early 1942. Japan conquered the Dutch East Indies in an attempt to acquire oil [petroleum], rubber, and other raw materials that existed within the Dutch colony; petroleum and rubber were vital to the Imperial Japanese military-industrial complex. Imperial Japan possessed no oil fields within mainland Japan, and oil produced in Manchuria was inadequate to meet the needs of the Japanese industry. In 1941, the Dutch East Indies was the fourth-largest exporter of oil in the world; the other three primary oil exporters in 1941 were America, Iran, and Romania. The capital of the Dutch East Indies in 1941 was Batavia, a city that was renamed Jakarta after the Indonesians declared their independence from the Netherlands on August 17, 1945. (Photo: [Wikipedia](#))



A One Gulden Note (promissory note) for the Dutch East Indies issued by the Imperial Japanese government during World War II.







Taken during the March of Death from Bataan to the prison camp march at Cabanatuan.

Source: National Park Service (U.S. Department of Defense, USMC 114,540, National Archives)

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:March\\_of\\_Death\\_from\\_Bataan\\_to\\_the\\_prison\\_camp\\_-\\_Dead\\_soldiers.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:March_of_Death_from_Bataan_to_the_prison_camp_-_Dead_soldiers.jpg)



Map of Bataan Death March





After defending the island for nearly a month, American and Filipino soldiers surrender to Japanese invasion troops on Corregidor Island, Philippines in May 1942. This photograph was captured from the Japanese during Japan's three-year occupation. (AP Photo)



Beginning of Bataan Death March after the fall of Corregidor in the Philippines, near Manila, in 1942  
(Photo: <http://blog.newsok.com/worldwartwo/2007/10/10/the-japanese-had-no-mercy-on-us/>)



Imperial Japan’s “invasion money” for the Philippines





Prisoners in the prison camp in the Philippines in May 1942, after the Bataan Death March. (Photo: [National Archives](#))



Imperial Japan's "invasion money" for Singapore and British Malaya (Malaysia)

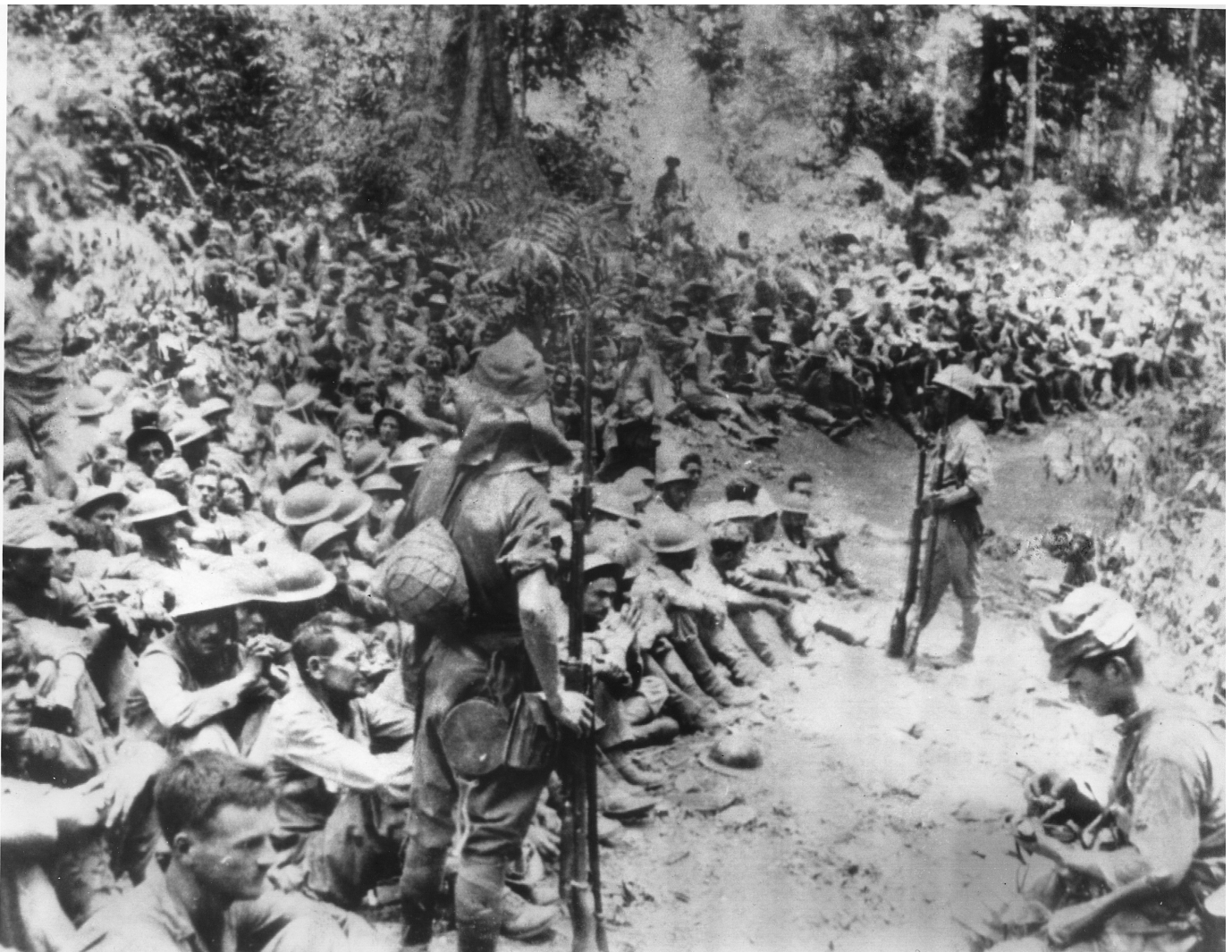


American prisoners carry the remains of their comrades on burial detail at Camp O'Donnell in the Philippines in May 1942, weeks after the Bataan Death March. This photograph, captured from the Japanese, shows American prisoners using improvised litters to carry those of their comrades who, from the lack of food or water on the march from Bataan, fell along the road. The Imperial Japanese Army prohibited American prisoners-of-war from resting and eating during the forced march from Bataan to the nearby prison camps. (Photo: [National Archives](#))





Bataan Death March (Photo: <http://blog.newsok.com/worldwartwo/2007/10/10/the-japanese-had-no-mercy-on-us/>)



Bataan Death March (Photo: <http://blog.newsok.com/worldwartwo/2007/10/10/the-japanese-had-no-mercy-on-us/>)



Japanese soldiers are seen shooting Sikh prisoners who are sitting blindfolded in a rough semi-circle about 20 yards away in circa 1941 or 1942. (Photo: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_war\\_crimes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_war_crimes))





Left photo: The photo shows a captured Australian Sergeant Leonard G. Siffleet being beheaded by Yasuno Chikao in Aitape, New Guinea on October 24, 1943; from the Australian War Memorial, original caption: "Aitape, New Guinea. 24 October 1943. A photograph found on the body of a dead Japanese soldier showing NX143314 Sergeant (Sgt) Leonard G. Siffleet of "M" Special Unit, wearing a blindfold and with his arms tied, about to be beheaded with a sword by Yasuno Chikao. The execution was ordered by Vice Admiral Kamada, the commander of the Japanese Naval Forces at Aitape. Sgt. Siffleet was captured with Private (Pte) Pattiwahl and Pte Reharin, Ambonese members of the Netherlands East Indies Forces, whilst engaged in reconnaissance behind the Japanese lines.



Right photo: Imperial Japanese Army soldier prepares to murder a Chinese prisoner.  
(Source: [http://www.princeton.edu/~nanking/html/image\\_7.html](http://www.princeton.edu/~nanking/html/image_7.html))





A Japanese newspaper report of the [Contest To Cut Down 100 People](#).

This news was originally reported by the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* in [December 13, 1937](#). Both soldiers were extradited to China after the war, tried for their actions in Chinese court, and were executed on [January 28, 1948](#).

An estimated 200,000 Chinese people died in Nanking following the Japanese conquest of the capital city.



A picture of "comfort women", including women from Korea, Manchuria, and China, who were forced into sexual slavery by the Imperial Japanese military during World War II. (Source: <http://english.chosun.com/w21data/html/news/200609/200609140014.html>)





Former "comfort woman" Lee Yong-Soo (L) appears with her supporters holding portraits of Chinese, Philippine, South Korean and Taiwanese comfort women who were sex slaves for Japanese soldiers during World War II, at a protest held in front of the Japanese parliament in Tokyo, in this 14 June 2007 file photo. Japan on June 27, 2007 brushed aside calls from American lawmakers for a fresh apology to wartime sex slaves, even as the former "comfort women" renewed their demands for Tokyo to acknowledge their plight. Japan said the U.S. move to pass a resolution calling for an "unambiguous" apology from Japan for the coercion of women into army brothels during World War II would not damage relations between the two allies. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



Former "comfort women," Jan Ruff O'Herne, 83, (L) and Yong Soo Lee, 78, speak during a news conference at the office of Amnesty International February 16, 2007 in Washington, DC. There were and estimated 200,000 so-called "comfort women" who were sexually enslaved by the Imperial Japanese Army before and during World War II. The women have worked since 1945 "to hold the Japanese government accountable for the Japanese military's actions in World War II." Jan Ruff O'Herne, born in what is now Indonesia, was imprisoned by the Japanese military when she was 21-years-old in 1942. Separated from her family, O'Herne was taken to a "comfort station" where she was abused, beaten and raped day after day for three months. Yong was kidnapped in her home country of Korea by the Japanese at the age of 14 and taken to a ship where she was beaten, tortured and raped. Her imprisonment lasted two years during which time she was given a Japanese name. The women are now seeking an official apology and compensation from the Japanese government. ([Photo by Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images](#))



Imperial Japanese plane shot down as it attempted to attack USS KITKUN BAY." Near Mariana Islands, June 1944. (Photo: [National Archives](#))



October 25, 1944: Imperial Japanese Kamikaze pilot in a Mitsubishi Zero A6M5 Model 52 crash-dives on escort carrier USS *White Plains* (CVE-66). The aircraft is missing the flight deck and impacts the water just off the port quarter of the ship a few seconds later. ([U.S. Navy photo/National Archives](#))





Japanese schoolgirls in Chiran Air Base, Japan, an Imperial Japanese military base located south of Kagoshima, cheer a kamikaze pilot in 1945 as the pilot, a young Japanese conscript, prepares to engage in a suicide mission to defend Imperial Japan against the American “barbarians”. Japanese soldiers, sailors, and pilots were trained to defend their nation at all costs and to honor “God and Country”, including the Emperor of Japan.



A group of Japanese pilots pose for a group photo before engaging in a kamikaze mission against American sailors and ships in the Pacific Ocean. **A Korean kamikaze pilot named Fumihiro Mitsuyama (Tak Kyong-Hyong), who was trained at Chiran Air Base near Kagoshima, was killed in action in 1945.**



U.S. Marine reinforcements wade ashore to support the beachhead on Okinawa, Japan on March 31, 1945.



A group of Japanese (or Korean) prisoners in Okinawa, Japan who preferred capture to suicide wait to be questioned by American officers. (Photo: <http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/okinawa/chapter18.htm#p4>)





At 1443 on 11 April 1945, one of the most famous photos of the Pacific War was taken. This image shot aboard USS MISSOURI freezes the moment in time that Setsuo Ishino struck USS MISSOURI; it came to symbolize the desperate nature of the fighting against Kamikaze attacks. The plane broke apart in a glancing impact and threw debris onto the deck, igniting a fire forward. (U.S. Navy photo reproduced from Wikimedia Commons, [http://mighty90.com/Kikusui\\_Number\\_2.html](http://mighty90.com/Kikusui_Number_2.html))



Surrender instructions to surviving Japanese soldiers were broadcast by this “converted” Japanese from an LCI standing off the rocky cliff near Hill 89 in Okinawa, Japan in 1945. (Photo: <http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/okinawa/chapter18.htm#p4>)



American soldiers raise the American flag in Okinawa, Japan on June 22, 1945 as organized Japanese resistance ended that day.  
(Photo: <http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/okinawa/chapter18.htm#p4>)



Photo # 80-G-490226 Third Fleet planes attack Japanese battleship Haruna, 28 July 1945



**Third Fleet Raids on Japan, July 1945.** U.S. Navy carrier aircraft attack the Japanese battleship *Haruna* at her moorings near Kure, Japan on July 28, 1945. Photographed from a USS *Intrepid* (CV-11) plane.  
(Official U.S. Navy Photograph, now in the collections of the National Archives.)  
<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/sh-fornv/japan/japsh-h/haruna.htm>

# The Atomic Bombs & Nuclear Holocaust



Japanese children in Hiroshima huddle together shortly after the U.S. Army Air Forces dropped an atomic bomb on August 6, 1945. The photos and films taken immediately after the blast were confiscated and suppressed by the U.S. government for more than 60 years. The 1945 atomic bomb in the Japanese city of Hiroshima, one of the only times that nuclear weapons were used in warfare, instantly killed an estimated 100,000 people and injured thousands more, with the majority of its victims being civilians. Casualties of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki included ethnic Korean migrant workers, American and British prisoners-of-wars, Roman Catholic nuns (primarily in Nagasaki), and women and children.

(Source: [http://www.flatrock.org.nz/topics/history/stalins\\_wife\\_and\\_other\\_tales.htm](http://www.flatrock.org.nz/topics/history/stalins_wife_and_other_tales.htm))



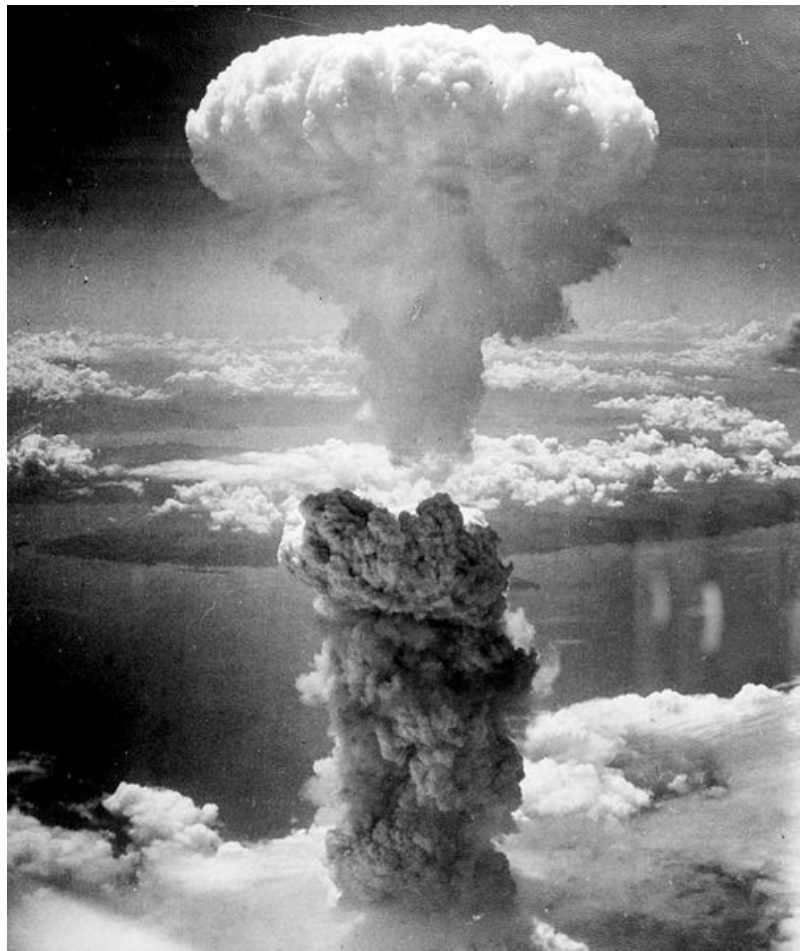


The exact moment of detonation of the atomic bomb at Nagasaki, Japan is captured in this photograph on August 9, 1945. (Photo: <http://picdit.wordpress.com/2008/07/21/8-insane-nuclear-explosions/>)



The remains of Urakami Cathedral (left) appear on a hill in Nagasaki, Japan in late 1945, months after the atomic bomb destroyed most of Nagasaki. (Photo: U.S. National Archives)





Left photo: Japanese burn victims from the atomic bombs Right: A mushroom cloud produced by an atomic bomb.



Left photo: Japanese burn victims from the atomic bombs  
Right photo: Only a small part of a Roman Catholic cathedral is left standing in its own ruins after the bombing of Nagasaki, Japan in 1945. Catholic nuns were among the casualties of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. (CORBIS)



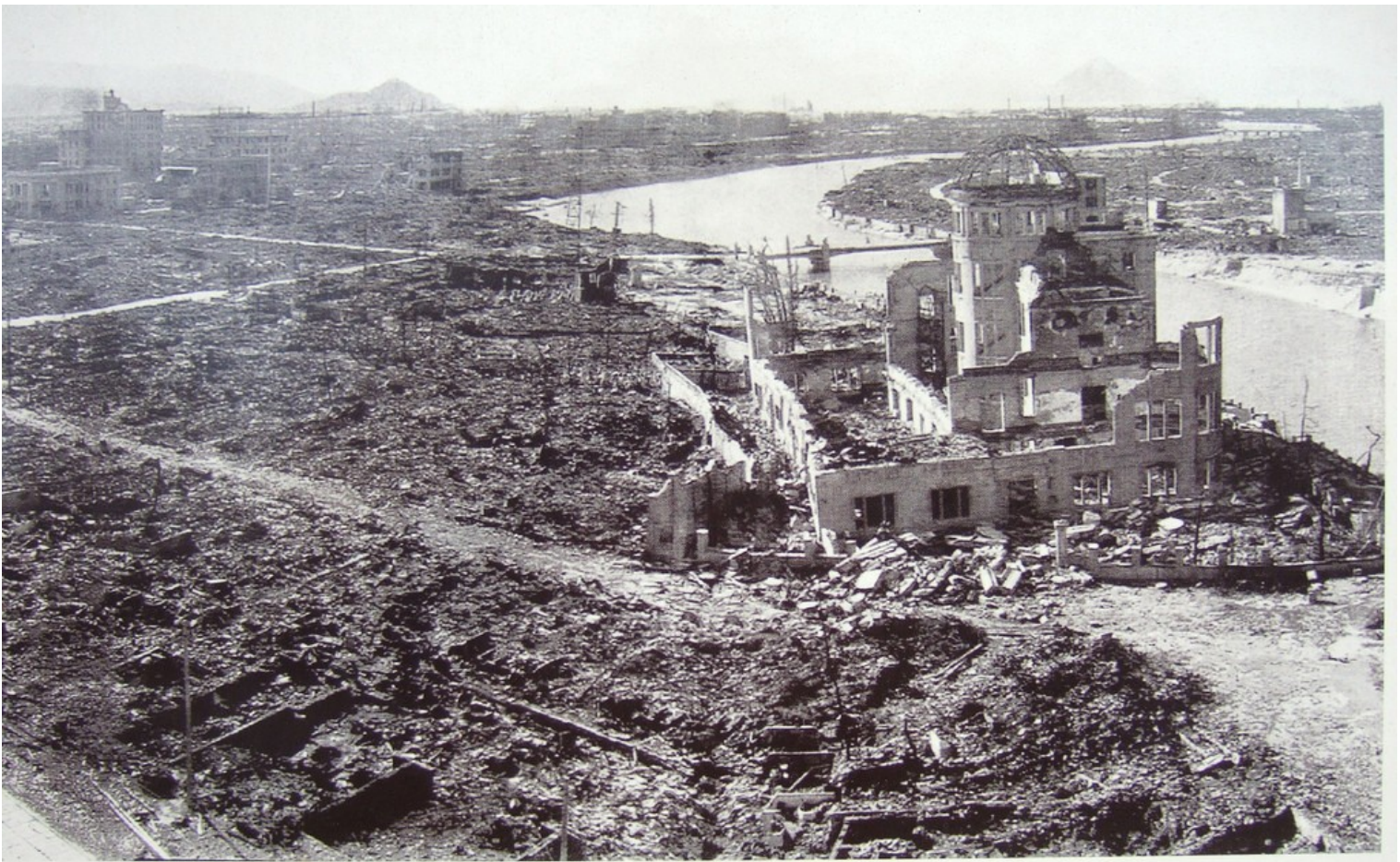
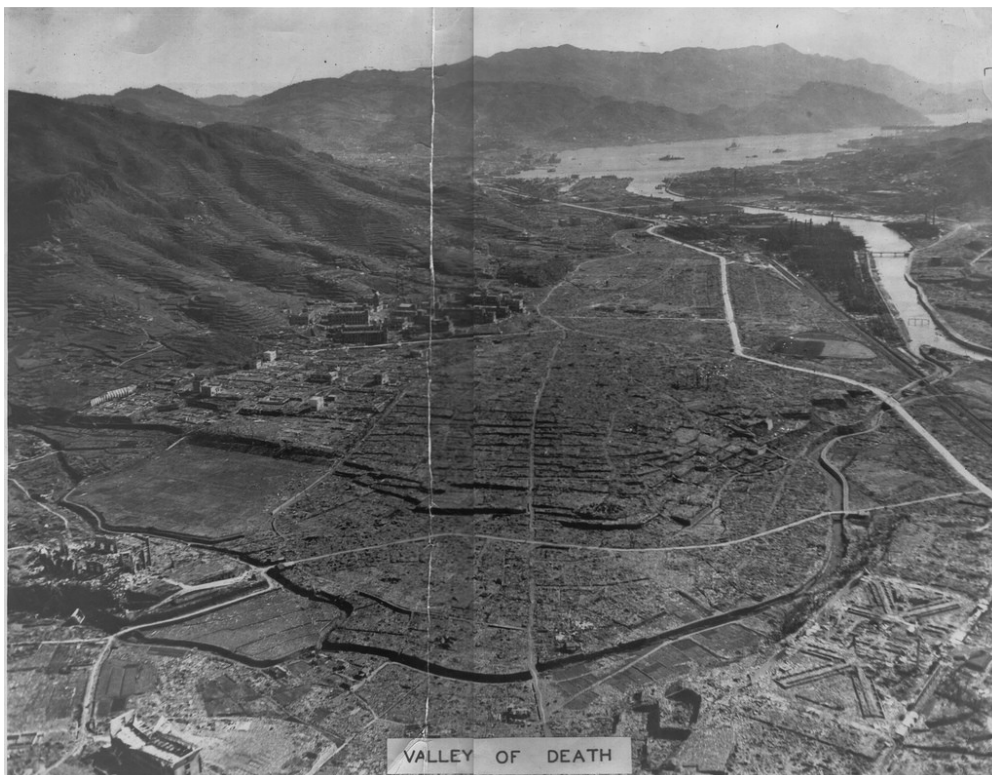


写真 広島商工会議所屋上から猿楽町通りを見下ろす 1945年10月初旬 林 重男氏撮影  
 Photo: Looking over Sarugaku-cho from the roof of the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry, early October 1945. Photo by Shigeo Hayashi.



The "Valley of Death" – Nagasaki, Japan in 1945 (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/afigallo/1460427731/in/set-72157602132535519/>)





Battered religious figures stand watch on a hill above a tattered valley. Nagasaki, Japan on September 24, 1945, six weeks after the city was destroyed by the world's second atomic bomb attack.  
(Photo by Corporal Lynn P. Walker, Jr., U.S. Marine Corps, [National Archives](#))



Nagasaki in August 1945





Aerial view showing ruins of the Mitsubishi factory, which produced munitions, torpedoes and armor, amid the devastation of Nagasaki, Japan on September 6, 1945. (Photo: George Silk/[Time Life](#))





Color photograph of the ruins of central Hiroshima in autumn of 1945. (U.S. National Archives)



An American correspondent views the Atomic Dome in Hiroshima on September 8, 1945. (AP Photo)



SECRET

WAR DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON

*B.F.  
War*

*25  
file*

April 24, 1945.

*Saw  
4-25-45*

Dear Mr. President:

I think it is very important that I should have a talk with you as soon as possible on a highly secret matter.

I mentioned it to you shortly after you took office but have not urged it since on account of the pressure you have been under. It, however, has such a bearing on our present foreign relations and has such an important effect upon all my thinking in this field that I think you ought to know about it without much further delay.

*x386*

Faithfully yours,

*Henry L. Stimson*

Secretary of War. *x25*



The President,  
The White House.

*Ho H*  
*Put on list tomorrow, Wed. 25, H.H.*

DECLASSIFIED

E. O. 11632, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (F)

OSD letter, April 12, 1974

By NLT *HC*, NARS Date *2-2-76*

SECRET



A group of American army officers examine the remains of an airframe assembly line at a Mitsubishi aircraft plant in Nagoya, Japan on September 12, 1945. The factory was reduced to rubble by repeated bombings by B-29 bombers based at the Marianas during the latter part of World War II. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



Charred remains of Japanese civilians after a firebombing





Tokyo, Japan in 1945 after a series of American air raids



Emperor Hirohito surveys damage from bombing in Tokyo, Japan on March 18, 1945. (Carl Mydans /Time Life)



Japanese Prime Minister Gen. Kuniaki Koiso (third from the left, front row), Minister of War Gen. Hajime Sugiyama (left on first row), and Navy Minister Adm. Mitsumasa Yonai (right on front row), and other Cabinet members stand together on the inaugural day of the Koiso administration on July 22, 1944.



The cabinet of Japanese Prime Minister Kantaro Suzuki on June 9, 1945. Cabinet ministers pictured include: Tadahiko Okada, Hiromasa Matsuzaka, Kantaro Suzuki, Mitsumasa Yonai, Genki Abe, Heigoro Sakurai, Sadajiro Toyada, Fujihara Yasui, Tadaatsu Ishiguro, Kozo Ohta, Shigenori Togo, Seizo Sakonji, Naoto Kobiyama, Hosaku Hirose, Tsukizo Akinaga, Hisatsune Sakomizu, Naoyasu Murase, Korechika Anami (Photo: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Suzuki\\_cabinet.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Suzuki_cabinet.jpg))





Japanese Prisoners of War at Guam, with bowed heads after hearing Emperor Hirohito make announcement of Japan's unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945. ([National Archives](#))



A Soviet Red Army officer watches defeated Imperial Japanese Army soldiers turn in their firearms in August-September 1945.



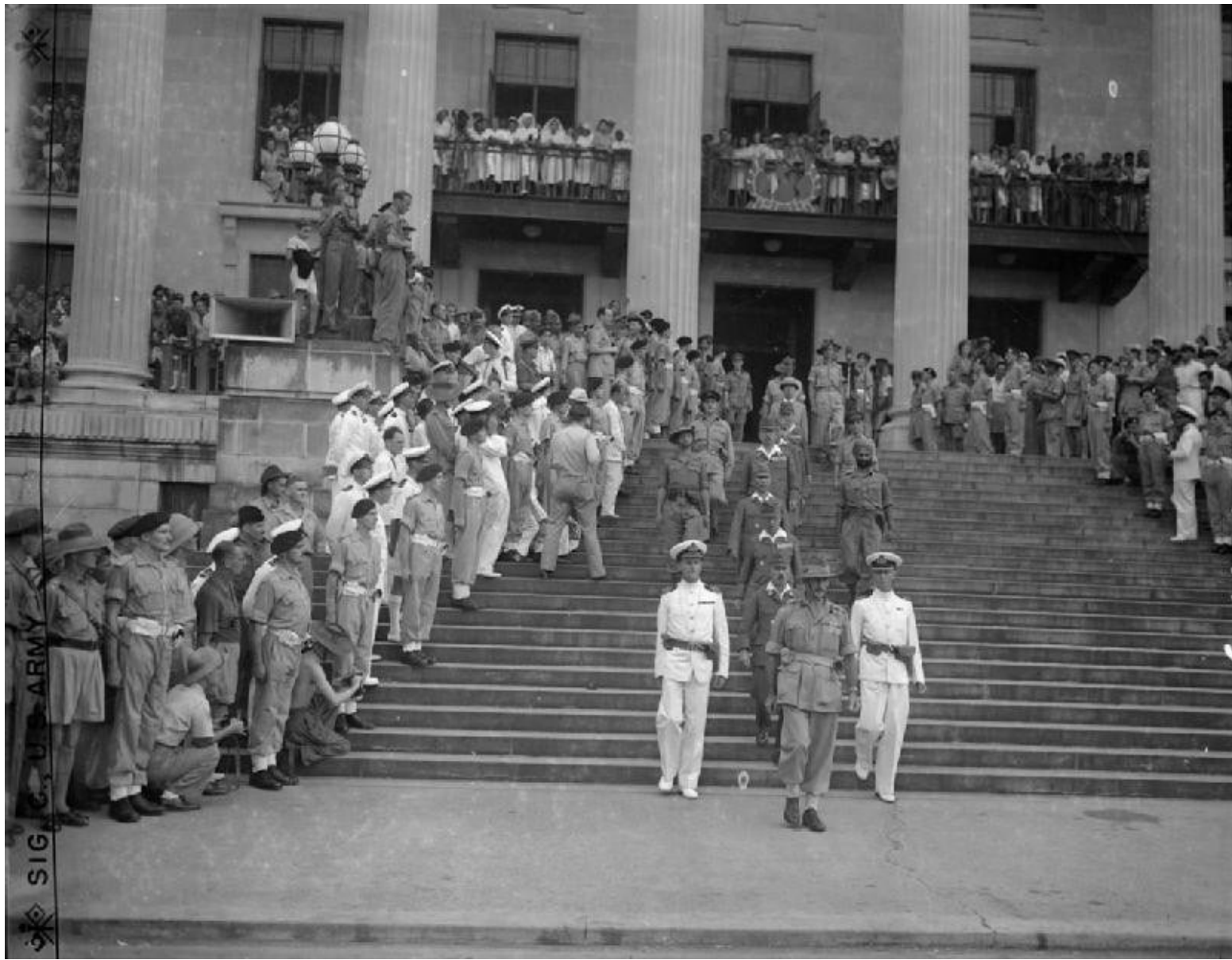
Imperial Japanese Army soldiers surrender their rifles to American soldiers in Korea in September 1945.  
(Photo: <http://demons.swallowthesky.org/post/29208782741>)





American soldiers watch as the Japanese flag is lowered from a flag pole during surrender ceremonies in Seoul, Korea on September 9, 1945. The United States government acquired Yongsan Garrison, a military garrison located in downtown Seoul, from the Imperial Japanese Army in 1945. The U.S. government also assumed control of all Imperial Japanese army, navy, and air force bases in mainland Japan in September 1945.

(Taken by a USS San Francisco (CA-38) photographer; Official U.S. Navy Photograph, National Archives)



The Japanese party are escorted out of the Municipal Building in Singapore after General Seishiro Itagaki signed the document for the absolute surrender of the Japanese armies in South-East Asia, 12 September 1945.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205205591>)





Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia, reads the Order of the Day, announcing the surrender of all Japanese southern armies, from the steps of Municipal Building in Singapore in September 1945.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208296>)



Japanese prisoners of war at work in the docks at Singapore moving concrete blocks. This was just one of many tasks given to Japanese prisoners to assist with reconstruction in the city.

(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208306>)





Japanese prisoners of war are taken to work at the double in Singapore where they were made to clear up the city.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208240>)



General view of the court in session with the accused Japanese soldiers standing in the dock of the Singapore Supreme Court.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208260>)



Disarmed Japanese soldiers leave the city of Singapore for prisoner of war camps as men of the 5th Indian Division arrive by lorry.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208232>)



Men of the 5th Indian Division watch disarmed Japanese soldiers leave the city of Singapore for prisoner of war camps.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208234>)





A Japanese officer who has just surrendered is searched by an officer of the 3rd Commando Brigade in Hong Kong.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208361>)



Members of the Japanese delegation arrive at Government House, Hong Kong, under armed escort, in September 1945.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208358>)





British prisoners of war marching to captivity in Hong Kong.

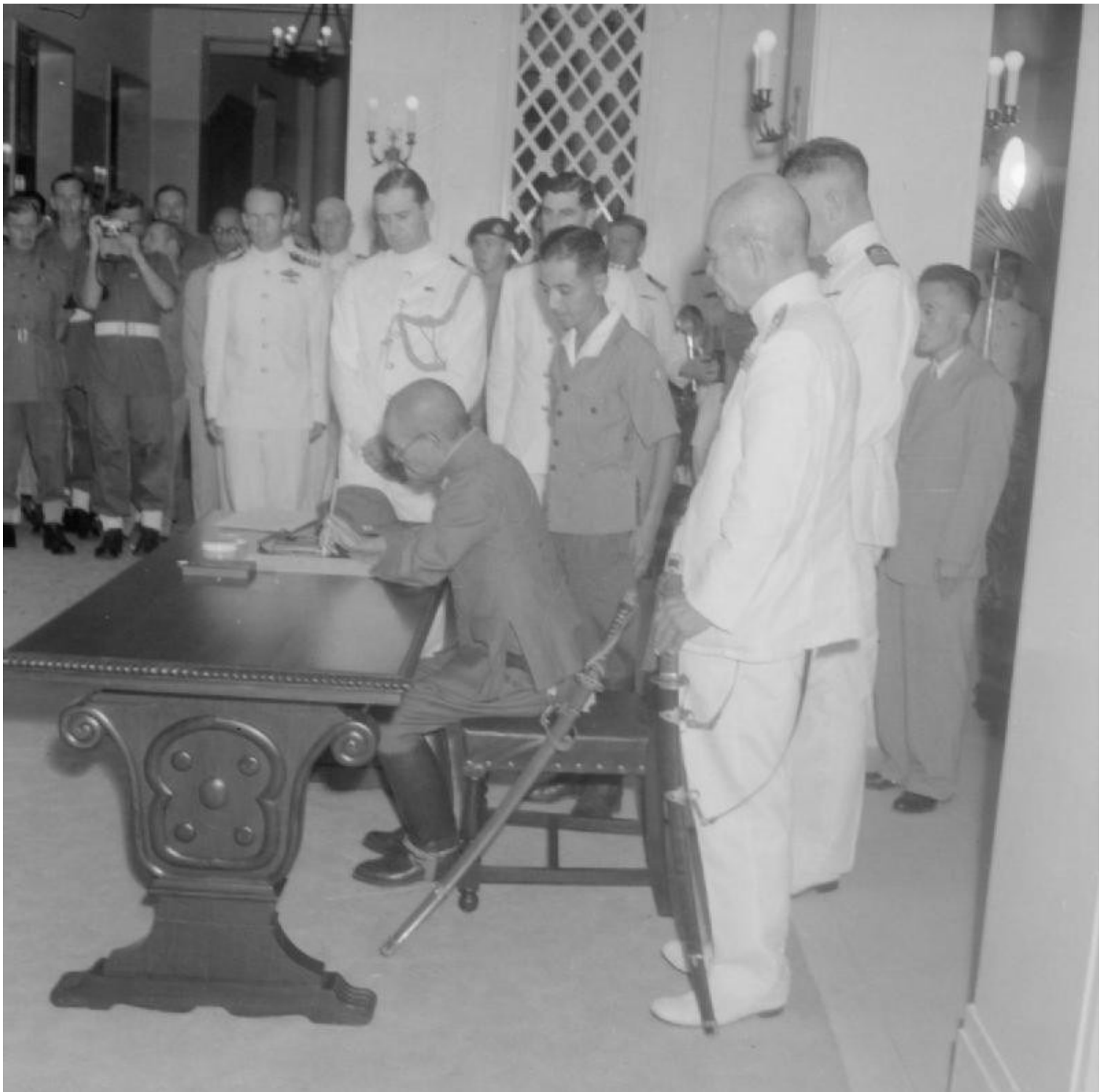
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205087121>)



Japanese representatives Major General Unekichi Okada and Vice Admiral Uitaaro Fujita at Government House, Hong Kong, for the signing of the surrender document.

(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205207396>)





Major General Okada signs the surrender document at Government House, Hong Kong, on behalf of the Japanese Army.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205195097>)



Japanese soldiers, now prisoners of war, are marched to work at Hong Kong docks in 1945.  
(Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205195100>)





Colonel Esao Tokunaga, held as a war criminal at Stanley Jail, Hong Kong. Tokunaga had been in charge of all prisoner of war camps in the Hong Kong area. (Photo: Imperial War Museums; <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205208385>)



A Japanese naval officer surrenders his sword to a British Lieutenant in Saigon, French Indochina (Vietnam) on September 13, 1945.





Japanese soldiers salute a group of Free French 6th Commando Corps Léger d'Intervention (CLI) in Saigon in November 1945. Japanese soldiers, under the command and supervision of the British and French armies, participated in the military occupation of Saigon and southern Vietnam in late 1945 and early 1946.

# Data Show Park Chung-hee Pledged Allegiance to Japanese Army

By Cho Jae-hyon  
Staff Reporter

A research institute specializing in studies of modern Korean history has released a Japanese newspaper's historic article showing that the late former President Park Chung-hee (1917-1979) made a pledge of allegiance written in blood to the Japanese army in 1939.

The release of the report by the Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities came just several days after Park Ji-man, the only son of the late President, filed for an injunction with a Seoul court to get his father's name removed from a new list of collaborators with the Japanese colonial government. The court, however, turned down the injunction, Friday.

The institute plans to release on Sunday three books containing the names of about 4,300 Koreans who the institute says cooperated with Japan before and during the colonial period (1910-1945).

According to the released copy of the newspaper named the "Manchurian Daily," published on March, 31, 1939, in the Chinese area, which was also occupied by Japan at that time, Park filed an application to become an officer of the Manchurian military unit controlled by the Japanese army while he was working as a teacher at a provincial school in Korea.

After his first failure to join the army because of his age, he filed a second application bearing a pledge of allegiance written in his own blood — "I pledge allegiance with my own life, Park Chung-hee."

On his third attempt, he was approved to enter a Japanese military school in 1940 and thanks to his outstanding performance there, he was transferred to the Japanese Military Academy in 1942. He graduated from the academy in 1944 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Manchurian military unit that year. In July 1945, he was promoted to first lieutenant.

The institute said it had decided to release the data as it had been bombarded with threatening calls from supporters of the late President in the wake of the news that his son filed an injunction to remove his father's name from the list of pro-Japanese figures. An official from the institute said that the Manchurian daily was published by Japanese people in their mother tongue mainly for those living in the region.

"A Korean teacher's pledge of allegiance in blood to the Japanese army must have been big news even for Japanese people and that's why it made a headline at that time," the official said.

He said the Manchurian military unit was under the control of the Japanese Kwantung Army and had been regarded as a stepping stone to move higher in the social hierarchy during the colonial period.

The official said the institute unveiled the data to help block the unnecessary expansion of disputes surrounding Park's pro-Japanese acts and instead open a new ground for reasonable discussions.

Park's son, the brother of former chairwoman of the ruling Grand National Party, Park Geun-hye, demanded on Wednesday that the court suspend publication of the books, denying that his father served in the Japanese army or persecuted independence fighters.

It's been 30 years since the former President was shot to death by his subordinate. People remain poles apart in their evaluations of the late President because of his mode of dictatorship. He was a ruthless military general who led a bloody coup d'etat, but also initiated industrialization programs in the 1960s and '70s to pull the nation out of the lasting effects of the war.



A copy of a daily published on March, 31, 1939, in Manchuria, which reports that the late former President Park Chung-hee made a pledge of allegiance written in blood to the Japanese army in 1939. (Courtesy of Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities)






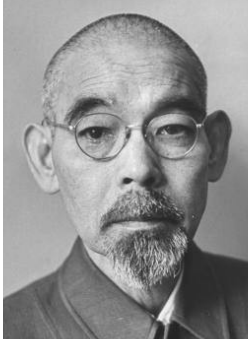





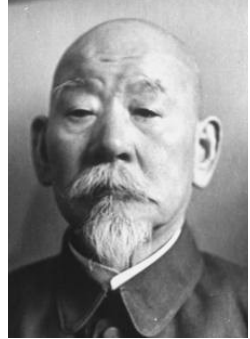


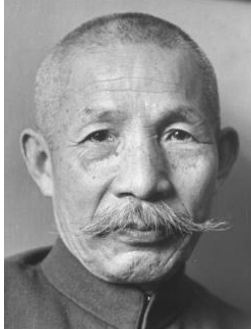
Left photo: Park Chung-hee as an officer in the Japanese Kwantung Army during World War II.

Right photo: Park Chung-hee as the President of South Korea.

Source: [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/special/2009/11/178\\_55034.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/special/2009/11/178_55034.html)



Japanese War Profiteers, Enemy Collaborators, and Perpetrators:

 <p>Gen. Hiroshi Oshima Japanese Ambassador to Nazi Germany (1938- 1939, 1941-1945)</p>	 <p>Toyotaro Yuki Governor of the Bank of Japan (1937-1944)</p>	 <p>Koyata Iwasaki President of Mitsubishi (1916-1945); B.A. University of Cambridge (Pembroke College) 1905</p>	 <p>Okinori Kaya Finance Minister of Japan (1941-1944)</p>	 <p>Koichi Kido Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal (1940-1945)</p>
 <p>Koki Hirota Prime Minister of Imperial Japan (1936-1937); Foreign Minister of Japan (1933-1936, 1937-1938)</p>	 <p>Yosuke Matsuoka Foreign Minister of Japan (1940-1941); President of South Manchuria Railroad (1935-1939)</p>	 <p>Gen. Hideki Tojo Prime Minister of Imperial Japan (1941-1944); War Minister of Japan (1940- 1944); Chief of Staff of the Kwangtung Army (1937)</p>	 <p>Gen. Kuniaki Koiso Prime Minister of Imperial Japan (1944-1945); Japanese Governor- General of Korea (1942- 1944)</p>	 <p>Adm. Shigetaro Shimada Minister of the Navy (October 18, 1941-July 17, 1944); Commander of Yokosuka Naval Station (1941)</p>
 <p>Gen. Seishiro Itagaki Minister of War (1938- 1939); Chief of Staff of the China Expeditionary Army (1939-1941); Commander of the Chosen [Korean] Army (1941-1945)</p>	 <p>Field Marshal Shunroku Hata Minister of War (1939- 1940); Commander-in- Chief of the China Expeditionary Army (1941)</p>	 <p>Naoki Hoshino Vice Minister of Financial Affairs of Manchukuo (circa 1938); director of State Opium Monopoly Bureau in Manchukuo</p>	 <p>Gen. Jiro Minami Japanese Governor- General of Korea (1936- 1942); Governor-General of Kwantung Leased Territory (1934-1936)</p>	 <p>Shigenori Togo Foreign Minister of Japan (1941-1942, April 1945- August 1945); Japanese Ambassador to the Soviet Union (1938-1940)</p>
 <p>Adm. Osami Nagano Chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy General Staff (1941-1944); Minister of the Navy (1936-1937)</p>	 <p>Gen. Akira Muto Chief of Staff of the Japanese Fourteenth Area Army under General Tomoyuki Yamashita in the Philippines</p>	 <p>Gen. Kenji Doihara Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Seventh Area Army in Singapore (1944-1945); Commander of Japanese 5th Army [Manchuria](1939-1940)</p>	 <p>Gen. Iwane Matsui Commander of the Shanghai Expeditionary Force during the Battle of Shanghai in 1937</p>	 <p>Gen. Sadao Araki War Minister of Japan (1931-1934)</p>

# Postwar American Occupation of Japan



Photo # USA C-2719 Japanese delegation on USS Missouri, 2 Sept. '45

Japanese representatives appear on board *USS Missouri* (BB-63) in Tokyo Bay during the surrender ceremonies on September 2, 1945. (Photograph from the Army Signal Corps Collection in the U.S. National Archives.)

Standing in front are: Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu (wearing top hat and holding a cane), and General Yoshijiro Umezu, Chief of the Army General Staff.

Behind them are three representatives each of the Foreign Ministry, the Army and the Navy. They include, in middle row, left to right: Major General Yatsuji Nagai, Army; Katsuo Okazaki, Foreign Ministry; Rear Admiral Tadatoshi Tomioka, Navy; Toshikazu Kase, Foreign Ministry, and Lieutenant General Suichi Miyakazi, Army.

In the back row, left to right (not all are visible):

Rear Admiral Ichiro Yokoyama, Navy; Saburo Ota, Navy, and Kazuyi (Kazui?) Sugita, Army.

(Identities those in second and third rows are from an annotated photograph in Naval Historical Center files.)

The U.S. government assumed control of all Japanese military bases, including Yokosuka Naval Station, Sasebo Naval Station, and Yongsan Garrison (in Seoul, South Korea), after World War II. American military bases in Japan include: Yokota Air Base, Misawa Air Base, Kadena Air Base (Okinawa), U.S. Fleet Activities Sasebo, Yokosuka, and Iwakuni (Marines). American military bases in Japan that have been transferred to Japan include Haneda Air Base (now Haneda International Airport), Narita Air Base (now Tokyo-Narita International Airport), and Tachikawa Air Base.





**Photo # USA C-1732 Gen. MacArthur arrives at Atsugi, 30 Aug. 1945**

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, U.S. Army (second from right), appears with other senior Army officers, upon his arrival at Atsugi airdrome near Tokyo, Japan on August 30, 1945. Among those present are: Major General Joseph M. Swing, Commanding General, 11th Airborne Division, (left); Lieutenant General Richard K. Sutherland (3rd from right); General Robert L. Eichelberger (right). Aircraft in the background is a Douglas C-54.

(Photograph from the Army Signal Corps Collection in the U.S. National Archives)



**Photo # SC 213700 Foreign Minister Shigemitsu signs Japanese surrender instrument**

Japanese Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu signs the Instrument of Surrender on behalf of the Japanese Government on board USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945. U.S. Army Lieutenant General Richard K. Sutherland () watches from the opposite side of the table. Foreign Ministry representative Toshikazu Kase (right) is seen assisting Mr. Shigemitsu.  
(Photograph from the Army Signal Corps Collection in the U.S. National Archives)

<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/images/s200000/s213700c.htm>





Gen. Douglas MacArthur signs as Supreme Allied Commander during formal surrender ceremonies on the *USS Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945. Behind Gen. MacArthur are Lt. Gen. Jonathan Wainwright and Lt. Gen. A. E. Percival. Lt. C. F. Wheeler.  
[\(National Archives\)](#)



U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur (left) stands beside Emperor Hirohito of Japan at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, Japan on September 27, 1945.



Emperor Hirohito of Japan greets the Japanese people during a goodwill tour in 1946.





Emperor Hirohito of Japan greets the Japanese people during a goodwill tour in 1946.



Left: The Dai-Ichi Mutual Insurance Company Building (above) in Tokyo, Japan served as U.S. Army occupation force's General Headquarters Building (GHQ) from 1945 to 1952.

Right: Mamoru Shigemitsu (重光 葵) served as Foreign Minister of Japan (Apr 1943–Apr 1945, Aug 1945–Sept 1945, Dec 1954–Dec 1956), Japanese Minister to the Republic of China (1931-1932), Japanese Ambassador to the Soviet Union (1936-1939); Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain (1940-1941), and Japanese Representative to the United Nations (1956)





Imperial Japanese Army soldiers congregate on the platform of Sasebo Train Station in Sasebo, Japan shortly after the end of World War II in 1945. The U.S. Navy maintains a navy base at Sasebo, Japan.

(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/captainpandapants/5309548244/in/photostream>)



A group of postwar Japanese police officers pose for a group photo.

(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/captainpandapants/5286302820/in/photostream>)





A Black Market in Shinbashi district of Tokyo, Japan in late 1945, operated by Kanto Matsuda Gang

“By October 1945, an estimated seventeen thousand open-air markets had blossomed nationwide, mostly in the larger cities. Only months later, there were many as seventy-six thousand stalls, each averaging over forty customers a day, in Tokyo’s numerous markets alone. With this came organizational rationalization, a sometimes brutal process commonly led by Yakuza gumi – gangster gangs headed by godfather-type individuals. In Tokyo, the division of black-market territories among various gangs was fairly clear cut. The market in the Shinbashi district was controlled by the Matsuda gang, Asakusa by the Shibayama gang, the Ginza area by the Ueda gang, Ikebukuro by the Sekiguchi gang, and Shinjuku by the Ozu and Wada gangs. Gang control of the Osaka “free market” followed similar lines.”

– *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* by John W. Dower, p. 140-141

“In addition to the black market per se, the Matsuda organization was also involved in construction and supplied and supervised daily laborers requested by the occupation forces. Fierce rivalries accompanied these activities. In June 1946, for example, two months after grandly proclaiming the creation of the “Shinbashi New Life Market,” Matsuda Giichi, the gang’s boss, was assassinated by a former gang member. Territorial conflicts were seriously exacerbated, moreover, by racial tensions. Like the world of prostitution, the black market had a large representation of “third-country people” who had chosen not to be repatriated to their native lands. Well-organized Korean and Formosan gangs vied with Japanese gangs, and in July these simmering tensions erupted in spectacular violence. A fight involving hundreds of Formosan vendors and over a thousand Matsuda-gumi toughs spilled over into the neighboring Shibuya district, culminating in a gunfight outside the Shibuya police station that left seven Formosans dead and thirty-four injured. One policeman was killed and another critically injured. Repercussions from the “Shibuya incident” extended in many directions. The hostility that already existed between the police and the Formosan and Korean communities was rubbed rawer.”

– *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* by John W. Dower, p. 143

“The group cohesion and discipline of the military hierarchy had not been built, as its propagandists intoned, on some idealized notion of “loyalty” or “harmony” but on a structure of authoritarian coercion that transferred oppression downward. Superior officers commonly commanded fear rather than respect even in the best of times, and defeat unleashed deep, hitherto repressed resentments. In extreme cases, such hatred led to the murder of former officers.”

– *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* by John W. Dower, p. 58

“The stereotypes that Japanese accept about foreigners are legion and are perpetuated by a rigid educational system. The early Meiji leaders were looking Westward for the qualities that made other nations great. They adapted aspects of the German educational system, selected parts of a French system of civil law, and established a quasi-British style parliament and cabinet system.” – *Chrysanthemums and Thorns: The Untold Story of Modern Japan* by Edwin M. Reingold, p. 177



Thousands of unemployed Japanese people participate in May Day demonstration in Tokyo, Japan on May 7, 1946. These are some of the many thousands who took part in Tokyo's first May Day demonstration since 1936. Approximately 300,000 persons took part. They carried banners with slogans such as: "Form a Democratic government; Join the International Workers Union; and Feed us for Our Work." (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Former U.S. President Herbert Hoover arrives at Atsugi Airport near Tokyo, Japan on May 5, 1946 to study the food situation in Japan. On hand to greet him as he deplaned are (left to right) George Atcheson, Jr., Chairman of the Allied Council for Japan, and U.S. Army Major General William Marquat. Hoover arrived from the Republic of China where he conferred with Chinese officials on the food situation there. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)





U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur (second from left) greets Assistant U.S. Secretary of War John McCloy (right) and U.S. Army Lieutenant General Robert L. Eichelberger (center) in Japan in 1945. John McCloy was a member of the **Council on Foreign Relations**, a private organization in New York City. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)



Averell Harriman (right) visits U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur (left) in Tokyo, Japan some time after World War II. Averell Harriman was a member of the **Council on Foreign Relations**, a private organization in New York City. (Photo: *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin, 1941-1946* by W. Averell Harriman and Elie Abel)



Kyuichi Tokuda, the head of the Japanese Communist Party, delivers a speech in Tokyo, Japan in 1947. Kyuichi Tokuda established the Japanese Communist Party in 1922 following his visit to Soviet Russia. (Photo: John Florea/Time Life)



Kyuichi Tokuda, the Japanese Communist leader who spent 17 years in prison before and during World War II, casts his ballot in the election box at a polling station in Tokyo, Japan on April 16, 1946. Tokuda organized the Communist Party in Japan in 1922; Tokuda campaigned for a seat in the Diet (Japanese parliament) in April 1946. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)





Left: Isō Abe (安部 磯雄, 1865-1949) was a Japanese Christian and Socialist who was a member of the Japanese Diet [House of Representatives] from 1928 to 1940; Abe opposed Japan's war with Russia during the Russo-Japanese War and opposed Japan's war with America. Abe was a former president of the Japanese Fabian Society.

Right: Tetsu Katayama (片山 哲, July 28, 1887-May 30, 1978), a Japanese Christian and a member of the Socialist Party, served as the Prime Minister of Japan from May 24, 1947 to March 10, 1948. Taro Aso, who served as the Prime Minister of Japan from 2008 to 2009, is a Roman Catholic.



Following the resignation of his cabinet and his subsequent appointment as leader of the Progressive Party, Baron Kijuro Shidehara (right) confers with Tetsu Katayama, Chairman of the Socialist Party, on in Tokyo, Japan on April 30, 1946. At center is Wataru Narahashi of the Socialist Party. The meeting was held in connection with the forming of a coalition government. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Members of the governing board of the Socialist Party pose for a group portrait in Tokyo in 1946. Front row, left to right: Tetsu Katayama (President) and Inejiro Asanuma, who was stabbed to death in 1960. (Photo: Alfred Eisenstaedt/Time Life)





Members of the Japanese Parliament meet with Emperor Hirohito to present the new Japanese constitution during a meeting in Tokyo, Japan on November 6, 1946. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



A map of American military bases in postwar Japan



Emperor Hirohito (higher dais) of Japan officially promulgated the new constitution of Japan in a ceremony held in the Chamber of Peers at the Diet Building in Tokyo, Japan on November 3, 1946. On the lower dais, Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida has turned to face the Emperor, whose message set forth an organic law proclaiming the sovereignty of the people and renouncing forever the maintenance of armed force in Japan. (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Left: Japanese farmers plant rice in the rice fields in the Japanese countryside in 1948. (Image: © Horace Bristol/CORBIS)



Right: Chinese Communists carry the Nationalist Chinese flag as they pass the war-shattered Navy Building during May Day Parade in Tokyo, Japan on May 7, 1949. More than 250,000 workers of both right and left wing groups took part in the demonstration. Most Communists in Japan were hopeful that Shanghai would fall by May 1. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)





Japanese workers stage May Day demonstration in Tokyo, Japan on May 1, 1948.  
(Image: © Maynard Owen Williams/National Geographic Society/Corbis)



A group of Japanese Communists participate in a rally in Tokyo, Japan on June 12, 1949. U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur accused Soviet Russia of inciting Japanese minority elements to violence; MacArthur declared that Soviet General Kuzma Derevyanko's protest against Japanese police action at a riot in the Tokyo City Hall, during which a demonstrator died, "completely unmasks the Soviet role as the inciter of disorder in an otherwise orderly Japanese society."  
(Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)





U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), watches American occupation troops march in Imperial Palace Plaza in Tokyo, Japan on July 4, 1949. (Image: © J. Baylor Roberts/National Geographic Society/Corbis)



Japanese people gather near a billboard in Maizuru, Japan, a town located near Kyoto, in 1950 as they welcome home prisoners of war. (Image: © J. Baylor Roberts/National Geographic Society/Corbis)





U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur chats with Detroit banker Joseph M. Dodge at Haneda Airport in Tokyo, Japan on November 23, 1949 while awaiting the arrival of U.S. Secretary of Treasury John Snyder for talks on Japan's economy. Joseph M. Dodge drew up the blueprint for Japan's budget-balancing economy; Joseph M. Dodge was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization in New York City. (Image: © Bettmann/Corbis)



General Douglas MacArthur greets John Foster Dulles, Wall Street lawyer and Republican Consultant to the U.S. State Department, at the Haneda Air Force Base in Tokyo, Japan on June 21, 1950. John Foster Dulles was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization in New York City. (Photo: [Truman Presidential Library](#))



A photo of the Tokyo Post Exchange (PX), located on the sight of present-day Wako Department Store, in the Ginza district of Tokyo, Japan, in 1949.



U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur (left) is seen leaving SCAP headquarters in Tokyo, Japan on in May 1950. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)





American, United Nations, and Japanese Flags fly atop Dai-Ichi Mutual Insurance Company Building in Tokyo, Japan during Japan's first day of peace in May 1952. The Dai-Ichi Mutual Insurance Company Building served as U.S. Army's General Headquarters Building (also known as SCAP) from 1945 to 1952. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



A group of Japanese people suffer from gunshot wounds and other physical injuries during May Day Riots held in Tokyo, Japan on May 1, 1952. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Left-wing Japanese trade union members in Tokyo, Japan march past Japan's National Parliament (Diet) building on March 17, 1953 with a huge portrait of the late Soviet dictator Josef Stalin. During the parade the marchers shouted anti-American slogans. Inside the diet, the government of liberal Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida hung in the balance on a non-confidence vote. Josef Stalin died on March 5, 1953. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



Otoya Yamaguchi (center), a 17-year-old Japanese college student, stabs and murders Japanese Socialist Party leader Inejiro Asanuma (right) in Tokyo, Japan on October 12, 1960. Japan and America signed the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan on January 19, 1960.



# The Cold War Explodes in Kobe—The 1948 Korean Ethnic School “Riots” and US Occupation Authorities

By Mark E. Caprio

## Summary

**In March and April 1948 Koreans across Japan rose up in protest after the Japanese government began to enforce an order handed down to them by the American Occupation administration to close Korean ethnic schools. One such protest took place in Kobe on April 24 when Koreans stormed the Hyogo Prefecture offices in an attempt to get the governor to rescind the order to close the four Korean ethnic schools in the prefecture. American and Japanese administrations reacted harshly to the Korean actions. Police arrested thousands of Koreans and inflicted stiff penalties on the incident’s leaders. As was often the case, the Occupation administration misinterpreted Korean intention to keep the schools open as a leftist attempt to disrupt U.S. occupations in Korea and Japan. Here the incident is examined through the eyes of one Occupation employee, Elizabeth Ryan, a 31-year old court reporter who included detailed information on the incident and its participants in personal letters that she sent to her family in the United States.**

At around 10:30 on the morning of April 24, 1948 four men, three Koreans and one Japanese, stormed into the Hyogo Prefecture Building (**kenchō**) and demanded an audience with Governor Kishida Yukio. Their purpose remained unchanged from previous attempts to see the governor—to discuss his April 10 order that the four Korean ethnic schools in his jurisdiction cease operations and that the students be transferred to Japanese schools. Kishida, who was at another meeting, informed their Japanese spokesman, Horikawa Kazutomo, that he would see them later. One half-hour later, the governor was told that about one hundred Koreans had forced their way into the building. He soon heard them yelling “Open up, open up. We will kill you,” as they destroyed one of his outer offices. Then 50 to 60 Koreans forced their way into Kishida’s office by breaking down the wall that separated his office from the outer office they had been destroying. They cut his telephone lines, trashed his furniture, and began roughing up the governor and the mayor of Kobe, who had been meeting with Kishida.

The intruders then sat the governor at his desk and the three negotiators, Kim Daisam [T’aesam], Kim Yongho, and Ryang Minseo [Minsō], presented their demands. Kishida was to rescind his order to close the Korean schools, release the 65 Koreans arrested during a previous incident at the assistant governor’s office, and see to it that no one involved in the present incident faced prosecution. At 12:30 three United States Military Police officers arrived and attempted to escort Kishida to safety. However, a crowd of Koreans who had gathered in the building prevented them from doing so. The crowd also roughed up the Military Policemen, lifting one “off his feet.” When one of the policemen drew his pistol a Korean woman bared her chest and baited him to “shoot here.” Negotiations finally ended around 17:00 when the governor agreed in writing to release those arrested during the previous incident.



**Koreans surround Governor Kishida in his office**

Throughout the day a crowd had been assembling outside the prefecture building. Captain Roy M. Johnson reported that by 11:30 these people, who numbered over 3000, “had ceased to be a crowd; [they had formed] a mob.” Their presence prevented help from entering the building until a team of 150 policemen succeeded in physically dragging “actively resisting” people away and roped off the area. When at 17:00 one of the intruders announced from a window that the governor had rescinded his order to close the schools “the mob went crazy” and “marched down Illinois Avenue” waving the Korean flag. [1]



**Korean residents march on the Hyogo Prefectural Office**

Their jubilation was short-lived. That evening, SCAP [Supreme Commander Allied Powers], which had ordered the schools closed in the first place, issued its first (and only) state of emergency during its seven-year tenure in Japan. From midnight the Kobe police, acting on orders from Eighth Army Commander General Robert Eichelberger, went on a “Korean hunt” (**Chōsenjin gari**) that aimed to arrest anyone who “looked Korean.” The hunt rounded up 1,732 people, including Okinawans, Taiwanese, and Japanese, of whom 39 were tried for “leading demonstrations.” [2] Later that day, Japanese police entered the Korean ethnic schools, physically removed the students, and nailed shut their doors.

Eichelberger also rescinded the promises that the governor had made to the Koreans on April 24. In total, 75 people (including one Japanese) were brought to trial and, save for four acquitted Koreans, all were found guilty of one or more of the following charges: unlawfully entering the governor’s office, destroying office furnishings, threatening the governor, detaining the governor, interfering with Occupation and Hyogo Prefecture communications, and assaulting Occupation force members. The four people who initiated the incident, along with three other Koreans, were tried by the U.S. Military Commission and received sentences ranging from 10 to 15 years of hard labor. Nine other Koreans, tried by the General Provost Court of Kobe, received sentences that ranged from three months to four years and nine months of hard labor. Fifty-two Koreans were fined 50 yen. [3]



**Koreans on trial in Kobe**

The court summary provided explicit details of the destructive and violent actions of the Korean participants, but failed to adequately consider the anger and frustration that fueled them. We learn of the intruders’ primary motivation—to make the governor rescind his order to close the schools—only through the demands that they issued to the governor. The court summary did not explain the reasons why SCAP ordered the schools’ closures. Nor did it offer explanation as to why the Korean people might react to this order as they did. It also neglected to note the attempts that Koreans had made to gain audiences with the governor prior to April 24, or the governor’s stonewalling—his office had told the Koreans that the governor was out of town—to avoid having to meet them. [4]

The tone of the court summary reflected the negative attitudes that Americans and Japanese directed toward “uncooperative” elements in Japan at the time, among whom included Koreans residing in both Japan and Korea. As today, the over 650,000 Japan-based Koreans then represented the country’s largest alien population. The arrogant attitude that many Koreans had adopted at the war’s end toward their former colonial masters had gained them a reputation as troublemakers in the eyes of both American and Japanese authorities. Their insistence on educating their children in Korean ethnic schools irked particularly the U.S. administration in at least two ways. Americans first saw their recalcitrance as an insult to U.S. authority as it blatantly defied SCAP orders that they integrate their children into the Japanese school system. Secondly, it demonstrated again the generally uncooperative behavior that Koreans had displayed throughout the duration of the Occupation to date, be it through working in black markets or collaborating with the Japanese Communist Party. To many, the obvious solution to the Korean problem was that they all be sent “home.” Yet, this was not easy for a number of reasons, including the fact that many younger Japan-based Koreans knew of no other home than Japan.

Letters sent by Elizabeth Ryan, a court reporter stationed in Kobe from 1947-1948, to her family in Milwaukee, Wisconsin expanded on the court summary’s descriptions of the Kobe “riots” by articulating general impressions that Americans and Japanese held toward the incident, the Korean participants, as well as the Korean people in general. [5] Her writing thus provides a window that enhances



our understanding of the incident from the Japan-based American perspective. Ryan's letters also suggest outside influence from her colleagues. Their content thus informs us of the general conceptions (and misconceptions) that Occupation and Japanese administrations held toward Koreans in Japan, but also in southern Korea. Furthermore, these perspectives contribute to our understanding of how the United States viewed long-held conflicts between Japanese and Koreans, and the growing political unrest in southern Korea that contributed to the outbreak of civil war in 1950.



**Elizabeth Ryan (left) with friends in Kobe**

### **The Korean “Rioters” Slapped Uncle Sam in the Face**

The details that Elizabeth Ryan entered into her letters reflected positively those recorded in the court summary outlined above, though she admitted that her information came primarily from a shortwave broadcast out of Los Angeles. [6] She first addressed the “riots” in an April 27, 1948 letter that she sent to alert her family of her safety. Here Ryan described the incident and accused the Koreans of insulting the United States—they slapped Uncle Sam's face—by refusing to send their children to Japanese schools as required by Japan's recently promulgated constitution.

“What it boils down to is this. The Japanese constitution, under which they are now to run their country, was set up by SCAP (Supreme Commander Allied Powers, the organization revolving around Mac [MacArthur]) and it called for a certain schools system with a certain curriculum, etc. The Japanese have accepted it and are putting it into effect, which means closing the 4 Korean schools in Kobe. The Koreans don't want their children to go to Japanese schools and have protested. While that may be well and good, it is really not the Japanese idea in the school but the American, and so indirectly a slap in the face for Uncle Sam because the Koreans have rejected the school system. On Saturday morning 70 Koreans visited the Prefecture headquarters and really tore things apart. The Governor had them put in jail—and that set off the fire.”

The incident spread concern, as indicated by the power display that SCAP demonstrated in its immediate aftermath, that it would spread throughout Japan. Ryan wrote that General Menoher's declaration of “minor state of emergency” brought the Occupation's top officials to Kobe. Soon after, orders went out to arrest “every last Korean.” Her observations here reflect the seriousness with which SCAP viewed the incident, perhaps because of its generally negative impression of Japan's Korean population. She writes:

“Headquarters Kobe Base (Shinko Bldg) looked for all the world like it might be the gold deposit for the world—all the cars lined up in front in “stand by”, guards with helmets and guns patrolling every 10 feet—an air of excitement all over. The order went out from the “brains” that every last Korean was to be arrested and by 4 o'clock last evening they had 1500 of them in jail.”

Ryan predicted that the Koreans would be tried fairly, but then suggested that they may be made scapegoats so as to discourage the outbreak of similar incidents in the future.

“Special courts and staffs of lawyers are coming down from Tokyo and Yokohama to assist in the speedy trial of these people. They will be tried in our Provost Court instead of the Japanese court—and they probably will get it, but good. I have heard from some of the officers who were in the conference that it really wasn't too bad, but if we let it go by unnoticed, the way things have gone in the rest of the world, this could be only the beginning.”

Ryan returned home just as the trials reached their conclusion and thus she does not comment further on the actual sentencing of those involved. Her short reports of the incident are as informative for what they contain as they are for what they omit. Her suggestion that the Kobe incident might serve as the first of a series of riots across Japan curiously ignores the fact that the Kobe incident was just the most recent of a series of similar incidents that took place in Yamaguchi (March 31), Okayama (April 8), Hyogo (April 10), Osaka (April 12), and Tokyo (April 20). [7] A second Osaka demonstration held on April 26 attracted 30,000 people.

Also striking is her contention that the Koreans violated United States, rather than Japanese, law—by rejecting the constitutionally authorized Japanese school system they slapped Uncle Sam's face. She elaborated on this point in a May 4 letter where she wrote “SCAP...set up a constitution which was accepted by the Japanese and the allied powers as workable. In the constitution it stated that

a certain school system would be set up—the whole curriculum has to be changed to weed out their former teachings against democracy, etc. The Koreans had their own schools, 4 of which were in Kobe, and would not move out of their school buildings.”

Her claim that Japan’s postwar constitution legitimized closing the Korean ethnic schools is problematic in a number of ways. First, this document had much to say about promoting a democratic education system but nothing to say about the curriculum that would guide this education. The constitution’s “education clause,” Article 26, reads as follows:

“All people shall have the right to an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided for by law. 2) All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.” [8]

If anything, this document, in requiring “equal education correspondent to their ability” legitimized the Korean ethnic schools’ continued existence. Indeed, after receiving orders to close these schools Japanese lawmakers debated whether this action would constitute a violation of this very document. [9]

The Fundamental Law of Education (**Kyōiku kihonhō**) passed in March 1947 reinforced the rights guaranteed by Japan’s postwar constitution. Sometimes described as a revision of the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, this legislation’s preamble declared as Japan’s intention to build “a democratic and cultural state” dependent on the “power of education.” It stipulated in Article 5 that Japan’s education system would be compulsory (**gimu**), and that “nationals” (**kokumin**) would be guaranteed free access to this education. It further stipulated in Article 4 that this education would provide “nationals” with “equal opportunities without discrimination by race, creed, sex, social status, economic position, or family origin.”

It was not until later that year, when the Japanese government passed the School Education Act (**Gakkō kyōikuhō**) that we find any mention of the language or content that this education was to assume. Article 21, no. 5 of this legislation stipulated as a goal students being able to “correctly understand the national language (**kokugo** or Japanese) as necessary for their daily lives,” and to understand the present conditions and history of their country and villages. It was the formation of the postwar Ministry of Education, rather than legislation, which established the curriculum to which, in SCAP’s eyes, the Korean schools should adhere. In January 1947 the Ministry, acting under SCAP orders, notified prefectural governors of their inclusion. This order it had to repeat one year later after the prefectures refused to enforce it. [10]

These documents specifying that their regulations applied to “nationals” (**kokumin**) further complicated Ryan’s argument that the Koreans violated the constitution by refusing to send their children to Japanese schools. Her neglect alerts us to the precarious position that Koreans in Japan faced, particularly regarding their legal status. Ryan might have been aware that in May 1947, just months prior to SCAP’s January 1948 announcement that Koreans would be treated as “Japanese nationals,” SCAP reversed course by subjecting Japan-based Koreans and Taiwanese to its Alien Registration Ordinance. Mirrored after the U.S. Alien Registration Act of 1940, it required all non-Japanese over the age of 14 to register their alien status and carry with them at all times their alien registration passbook. It further stipulated that violators would face deportation. This legislation served as the forerunner for the more comprehensive Alien Registration Act of 1952 that introduced mandatory fingerprinting of foreign residents. [11]

The Koreans’ options were limited. To avoid having their children enrolled in Japanese schools, the Kobe schools could have joined other Korean schools in applying for private school status. This would have permitted their children to study with their Korean, rather than Japanese, counterparts. They would have remained subjected to a Japanese-based curriculum as private schools, as well, were subject to Ministry of Education regulations. Their other option perhaps met the general intentions of the two seemingly contradictory legislative actions by SCAP—to rid Japan of its Korean problem. American residents in Japan, like Ryan, justified this response by claiming that Koreans had no desire to assimilate into Japanese society—they were simply interested in causing trouble—and thus had no business remaining in Japan.

### **Koreans have been “Pains in the Neck”**

The harsh reaction by SCAP to the riots was partially fueled by their generally negative attitude toward the Korean people. Since the beginning of the occupation they had been rather uncooperative. Soon after the war’s end they, along with Japan-based Taiwanese, became active in black market activities. Many Koreans joined the left-wing **Chaeil chosŏnin yŏnmaeng** (League of Koreans in Japan) that maintained ties with the Japanese Communist Party. Reports on the Kobe incident emphasized that its leaders belonged to this group, and that their followers, being people of limited intelligence, were easily swayed by this wayward influence. Elizabeth Ryan echoed these views in her letters. On April 27 she remarked that these troublemakers, who were driven by leftist agitators, provided the Japanese police with a test to prove their capacity to maintain law and order:

“The Koreans have been a pain in the neck all along. They have some strange notion that they are the Occupationaires, and really give these Japs a hard time. They go into shops and board street cars with no intention of paying. The poor Jap was scared to do anything about it because he got beat up. So finally, we had to tell them to settle the thing with their own law enforcement agencies (have to let them stand on their feet) and we would back them up to quell rioting, etc. All this Korean business is Communist-instilled.” [12]



In an undated letter she repeated the claim that “much [Korean] activity is Communistic” adding that the recent “uprising...among Japanese and Koreans” was hardly unusual—“It happened all the time.”

American images of Koreans had never been overly positive. Their negative views were evident in the U.S. being one of the first to recognize Japan’s paramount position on the peninsula in 1905, and among the first to bless its annexation of Korea five years later. Even after the U.S. went to war with Japan, calls could still be heard for Japan to be allowed to keep Korea. [13] A report titled “Aliens in Japan,” completed before the end of the war, incorporated many negative attitudes frequently seen in Japanese writing on Koreans:

“The Koreans in Japan are, for the most part, a distinct minority group with a low social and economic position. Koreans generally live apart from Japanese, do not intermarry, and are not assimilated into Japanese life to any great extent. The traditional pattern of Korean migration was based on the seasonal need for labor in Japan and the migrants’ desire to return to Korea for the New Year holidays.”

The report also borrowed images used by the Japanese (and other colonizers) to justify colonial annexation: The people lacked the “Japanese fever for hard work [and] appear to be slow-moving and lazy.” [14]

American Consul Douglas Jenkins, who was stationed in Kobe, also viewed Koreans as left-wing troublemakers, and suggested that they marched to Moscow’s orders.

“There are between 60,000 and 70,000 Koreans in Kobe. The great majority of them were imported by the Japanese during the war for manual labor. They are of the low type generally, poorly educated and include among their number a high number of thugs and roughnecks.... This large, boisterous and dissatisfied, alien group in the population of the city is an easy prey to organizers and agitators. They are known to include among their leaders a number of communists and quasi-communists who probably receive instructions from Northern Korea or, if not that closely associated, certainly follow the party line.” [15]

Ryan and Jenkins’ appraisals of this minority suggest misconceptions of the people’s purpose for both coming and remaining in Japan. The contention that the “great majority” of them came as forced laborers is probably inaccurate. Among the estimated 2.4 million Koreans in Japan at the end of the war, about one-third (or 700,000) were forced to come to Japan to perform hard labor. [16] After the war these people were given high repatriation priority. They thus lacked many of the reasons that prevented Koreans with a more established existence from returning: their inability to bring their entire estate to Korea and their insufficient knowledge of the Korean language and culture. Those who characterized the participants in the incident as “thugs” or “roughnecks” emphasized their actions over their general purpose, to say nothing of their frustrations. Korean frustrations stemmed from having endured forced assimilation during the four decades of colonial rule. To this people, SCAP’s education policies mirrored this colonial-era policy as they forced Koreans to accept a Japanese-centered existence while treating them and the Koreans and their culture as inferior to the Japanese.

The belief that the “rioters” were “communists and quasi-communists [who toed] the party line” also reflected an impression that SCAP officials had developed soon after the war’s end in southern Korea, as well. In mid-September 1945, just weeks after the U.S. had established its Military Government in southern Korea, Political Adviser H. Merrell Benninghoff included the following in his “brief analysis of conditions in Korea.”

“There is little doubt that Soviet agents are spreading their political thought throughout southern Korea, and several parades and demonstrations in Seoul have admittedly been communist-inspired. Communists advocate the seizure **now** of Japanese properties and may be a threat to law and order. It is probable that well-trained agitators are attempting to bring about chaos in our area so as to cause the Koreans to repudiate the United States in favor of Soviet “freedom” and control. Southern Korea is a fertile ground for such activities because USAFIK lacks sufficient troops to expand its area of control rapidly.” [17]

The connection with Japan came with the smuggling operations that Koreans and Japanese carried out across the East Sea/Japan Sea. Occasionally concerns were voiced in government documents as to whether these operations, in addition to illegally transporting rice, weapons, money, and even people, were solidifying Soviet-North Korea-Japan leftist connections. [18]

These slurs on Korean character neglected to consider why this people objected so strongly to decisions that forced them to live under Japanese jurisdiction despite the hardships they endured under colonial rule. The majority had not been brought to Japan against their will, as Ryan claimed. While, as the “Aliens in Japan” article explained, many of Japan’s Korean minority had resisted assimilation over the last four decades, the actions and attitudes of Japanese had also discouraged those Koreans who wished to live as Japanese. Koreans attending Japanese schools faced discrimination, and upon graduating were generally limited to lower status jobs and positions. After the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake the Japanese police spread baseless rumors that Koreans were committing acts of terror (such as polluting the well water) that encouraged the senseless slaughter of over 7,000 Japan-based Koreans. Koreans were also prohibited from entering their family registers in Japan and had to return to their Korean hometown whenever changes to this document were required.

Regardless of whether they planned to remain in Japan, as most eventually did, or return to Korea, for many, the most attractive short-term option was to enroll their children in the ethnic schools. Yet, this decision made little sense to American occupation

administrators who saw the most efficient means of encouraging Korean assimilation (or repatriation) to be their studying alongside their Japanese counterparts. SCAP refused to see the Korean efforts for what they were—attempts to protect the aspiration that their children develop or maintain a sense of identity as Koreans. Rather, SCAP interpreted them as efforts to encourage a larger cause—international communist revolution. Ryan joined other American officials in tying the “riots” to the upcoming elections scheduled for May 10 in southern Korea. She wrote that SCAP had even drawn up evacuation plans should Korean actions threaten American residents.

“The Korean elections certainly have been watched from here with much interest for a long time. The outbreak has been confined to the Communists and the Koreans, but for a time there was a great fear that the attack would be made on Americans and we were ready for it. Right after the first of the year hush-hush arrangements went on with preparations to evacuate all Americans from Korea if a riot broke out prior to the elections. Kobe naturally would be the first haven for them. Ships came over from the States loaded down with food and it was stored here.... A month ago all petroleum products were cut off so that in case of evacuation there would be nothing left for the Reds to take over. Then Mrs. Keeney and her baby...got out of there the last part of March as did many others. Many ships were out at sea ready to put in at Seoul and other ports in case evacuation became necessary even at the 11<sup>th</sup> hour.”

She expressed relief that her suspicions this time came to naught: after “the elections have passed that fear is over for the time being at least.”

Ryan’s opinions again reflected those of her peers in Japan, as we see in Douglas Jenkins’ letter to William J. Sebald. Jenkins suggested that Koreans were not especially concerned over the future of their ethnic schools, but saw SCAP’s actions as an opportunity to protest a more important issue, the upcoming elections.

“With the elections in Southern Korea imminent, any clash between Koreans in Japan and the Occupation forces, which could be played up as demonstrating the Occupation supporting the Japanese against the Koreans, would serve as useful propaganda ammunition in Southern Korea, and could also be used throughout the world as a further example of ‘American imperialism.’

The Korean leaders were presented with a ready made cause for mass protest by the closing of Korean schools by the Japanese authorities for the failure of the schools to comply with recently enacted education legislation. No doubt, had this eminently satisfactory cause for protest not come to hand, the leaders would have invented another to obscure their underlying motive.” [19]

SCAP officials might be excused for considering this possibility. The days leading up to the May 10 elections were filled with violence between left and right-wing factions. The G-II Periodic Reports of April 28, the day Ryan penned her first letter on the Kobe incident, listed the following acts of “civil unrest” in southern Korea. A “mob of unknown size threw a homemade hand grenade into the home of a local election candidate”; the “South Korean Labor Party (SKLP) has issued instructions that all **myŏn** (village) offices, police boxes and registration offices must be burned to destroy election records. SKLP has also promised that arms sent by the North Korean Labor Party will be available by 10 May”; and “three members of the local election committee were killed and one seriously injured when attacked by a mob of 20 terrorists armed with spears and shotguns.” This report also carried news of mob attacks on school principals, village heads, leaders of right-wing groups, and police officers. [20] In addition, Violent confrontations on a mass scale also broke out from April 1948 on the island of Cheju that left an estimated 25,000 to 30,000 of the islanders dead, and forced as many as 40,000 people to flee to Japan. [21]

While acts of violence committed by leftists against rightists received much more publicity in the U.S. reports, this bias probably better reflects the conservative tone of the reports than the actual situation. Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC), for example, included in its report similar acts of sabotage and violence that were instigated from both sides. [22] The violence by left-wing groups no doubt also reflected U.S. general oppression of this element from as early as February 1946, when the Military Government passed the Political Party Registration Act (**Chŏngdang tungnok bŏp**), a law that Kim Kut’ae compares favorably to the colonial-era Peace Preservation Act.[23] This oppression, and the fact that the election was limited to southern Korea strengthened the political divide between the two Koreas, led many left-wing groups to boycott them altogether.

Occupation officials interpreted the Korean actions as communist inspired. Koreans on the peninsula addressed the incident from a much different perspective. A CIC report noted that both left- and right-wing Koreans viewed this “oppression of Koreans in Japan” as U.S. backing for a renewal of Japanese expansion in East Asia. It paraphrased one left-wing newspaper article that reported “innocent Koreans [being] oppressed and murdered not only by the Japanese but also by the US Army Forces in Japan.” The report continued: “US leniency toward the Japanese is responsible for the renewal of brutality directed at the Korean people.” The future president of the Republic of Korea (ROK), Syngman Rhee added that Koreans would have no difficulty in choosing sides on this issue. [24]

### “Send them all Back to Korea”

Elizabeth Ryan’s solution to the problem—send them all back to Korea, and if they do not want to return have them take out Japanese citizenship—was a simplistic solution to a much more complex problem. Yet, it was one frequently offered by many in the Occupation



and Japanese governments. Upon arriving in Kobe, General Robert L. Eichelberger remarked that he wished he “had the **Queen Elizabeth** here to ship the whole lot of them [Koreans] to Korea.”[25] Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru suggested in a letter to Douglas MacArthur that the U.S. administration forcefully return all Koreans who were unable to “contribute to [Japan’s] reconstruction.” MacArthur, sympathized with Yoshida’s general aim to rid Japan of this problem, but was unwilling to force them to do so. He lamented that should he do so they “would have their heads cut off” by the South Korean government as they were all “North Koreans,” in other words, communists. [26]



**MacArthur and Yoshida, 1954**

**Such suggestions were impractical for a number of reasons. First, the idea that Koreans should “return” to Korea made little sense to this people, many of whom had been born and raised in Japan. The Japan-based Korean population consisted of a large number of first-generation Koreans, but perhaps even more second- and third-generation Koreans. For these latter people Japan was the only “home” they knew. [27] They had little or no knowledge of their ancestral language and culture. Indeed, some who had been raised as Japanese during the prewar and wartime periods did not learn that they were of Korean ancestry until after Korea’s liberation. These deficiencies complicated the efforts of many repatriated Koreans to integrate into Korean society, leading them to once again cross over (now illegally) into Japan. The 1947 Alien Registration Ordinance categorized all Japan-based Koreans as “foreigner” (or alien), even though SCAP expected the people to go to schools of “Japanese nationals.” [28] Feeling unaccepted in both Korean and Japanese culture, the ethnic schools provided Koreans with an opportunity to reorient their children to their ancestral culture.**

Ryan and Eichelberger might have recognized that U.S. policy also complicated their return to Korea. Occupation policy severely limited the amount of belongings returnees (both Korean and Japanese) could bring. One provision restricted them to bringing back just up to 1,000 yen in currency, not enough to survive a few weeks much less to restart their lives in a new environment. [29] Additional problems awaited them upon arrival in southern Korea. The war’s end and Korea’s division interrupted economic networks that Japan had nurtured throughout its East Asian Empire. This caused acute shortages in food, energy, and natural resources in southern Korea, which further curtailed the ability of all Koreans to procure basic living essentials (housing and food), and critically limited their opportunities for employment. U.S. Military Government projections for improvement in these areas remained gloomy over its initial few years of its administration of southern Korea. In addition, Koreans in Japan also received news of political unrest in southern Korea and military confrontation with northern Korea increased that also caused them to think twice before returning to the Korean peninsula. [30]

### **The Kobe “Riots” and SCAP’s “Reverse Course”**

The question foremost on the minds of the Korean protesters—why the Japanese and Occupation administrations decided to close the schools at this particular time—was the question that Elizabeth Ryan and others failed to address in their commentaries. The Korean situation in Japan represents one example where SCAP’s otherwise farsighted decision to funnel its orders through a Japanese administration worked to its disadvantage. Having the Japanese government order the ethnic school to close only rekindled in Korean minds painful memories of Japan’s colonial rule, and the troubles that this regime had inflicted on this people over the past four decades.

The context under which these schools were closed cannot be divorced from other actions then taking place in Japan. From 1947 SCAP initiated what has come to be known as the “reverse course,” the U.S. rolling back occupation policies that promoted democracy and demilitarization in Japan to concentrate efforts on Japan’s economic and political development. These changes were influenced by the Truman Doctrine of March 1947. Truman vowed to “help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes.” [31] In Japan, the Truman Doctrine was manifested in SCAP’s purging thousands of suspected leftists from positions of influence, and returning purged Japanese to these positions, including a number of Class A war criminals. It also ended plans to dismantle Japanese conglomerates (**zaibatsu**) and initiated discussions urging Japanese rearmament. The fear driving these changes was expressed by Director of the Policy Planning Staff

George Kennan, who during a March 1948 visit to Japan questioned whether “Japan’s powers of resistance to Communism could be taken for granted.” [32] As China slipped into communism, the United States came to realize the paramount position that Japan would play in East Asian political affairs. SCAP’s order to the Japanese to close Korean ethnic schools, which it believed served as a breeding ground for communist indoctrination, reflected the spirit of this policy reversal.

The upcoming elections in southern Korea may also have factored in the timing of the schools’ closing. The formation of a democratically elected national assembly, and the anticipated establishment of a Korean government, would offer Japan-based Koreans the opportunity to register as South Korean nationals, which in turn might expedite their repatriation. This scenario was anticipated in the “Staff Study Concerning Koreans in Korea” dated August 16, 1948, one day after the South Korean government was officially inaugurated. This study began by outlining the problem: “There are about 600,000 Koreans in Japan; most of them were born in Korea or in Japan of Korean parents. It is estimated that on a monthly average 650 Koreans enter Japan illegally and that 400 are repatriated or deported to Korea.” It then summarized the efforts that SCAP had made to repatriate Japan-based Koreans:

“SCAP policy toward Koreans in Japan has been twofold: a) ...Koreans have been treated as liberated people and therefore strenuous efforts have been made to repatriate to Korea all Koreans in Japan who wished to return; b) Koreans who voluntarily continued to reside in Japan have been presumptively considered for purposes of treatment as retaining their Japanese nationality and are to be considered until such time as a duly established Korean Government accords them recognition as Korean nationals.”

However, those Koreans who remained in Japan were reluctant to return to Korea due in part to the uncertain prospects in both halves of the peninsula. Yet, at the same time their continued presence in Japan caused a number of problems.

“Politically, Koreans have attempted to establish a large degree of autonomy in Japan. Many of them have tended more and more to participate in communist activity, so that now the League of Koreans Residing in Japan, the principal Korean organization in Japan, is largely dominated by communists. Koreans move illegally between Japan and Korea serve as the link between Japanese communists and those on the continent of Asia—Korean, Chinese, and Russian....Socially the Koreans represent a group which does not readily assimilate to the Japanese both because of the long-standing prejudice of the latter and because of the uneducated and generally underprivileged character of most of the Koreans in Japan....The recent riots in Osaka and Kobe arising from refusal by the Koreans to comply with orders of the Japanese Government afforded a test of the extent of Korean autonomy in Japan....The riots have of course increased the bitterness between Japanese and Koreans, and it is undeniable that the Japanese would be only too happy to see all Koreans leave Japan.”

The study then recommended changes to facilitate Korean repatriation that included increasing the amount of currency with which they could return to 100,000 yen, offering better protection for the part of their estate that exceeded this amount, and providing more convenient transportation and better terms for repatriation. At the same time the Staff Study report acknowledged that these measures alone would be insufficient to encourage complete repatriation. Those who remained in Japan, it advised, should be treated as Japanese nationals even if they registered as Koreans and held dual nationality, or if they reentered Japan after resettling in Korea. The study did little to resolve the problems of Korean residents. With the lone exception of the recommendation to increase the amount of their estate with which Koreans could return to Korea, SCAP made no changes in policy. It washed its hands of the problem, leaving it for South Korean and Japanese governments to negotiate after Japan regained its sovereignty. It would be 1965 before Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK or South Korea) signed both a treaty to normalize their diplomatic relations and an agreement that set conditions for Japan-based Koreans to meet should they seek permanent residence in Japan. Japan-North Korea relations have yet to be normalized. The shock of the violent response by Koreans to SCAP’s order to close the schools initially led to its harsh reaction. Yet, it also awakened SCAP to the need to negotiate with Korean leaders. On May 5, 1948 the **Asahi Shinbun** declared the problem solved when the Osaka and Kobe schools agreed to apply for authorization (**ninka**) as private schools. [33] The Korean population could only view this result as defeat, a compromise that benefited the Japanese as it created separate Koreans and Japanese schools. Koreans, on the other hand, did gain the right to educate their children in a Korean environment and to offer them a limited Korean ethnic program. But it was also an education that remained subjected to Japanese Ministry of Education directives.

Tension heightened after the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea) was established in September 1948. SCAP soon banned display of the DPRK flag at rallies, subjugating violators to arrest and deportation to the ROK. Exactly one year later SCAP began enforcing its April 1949 order for the League of Koreans to disband. On September 9, 500 Japanese police officers locked the doors of the organization’s headquarters. The Japanese government again targeted ethnic schools by ordering 350 of them to close. Of those that applied for private school status, only three were accepted. Other schools gained recognition as “miscellaneous schools” that were freed from Japanese influence, and thus able to develop a Korean-based curriculum. [34] A half-century later 90 percent of all Japan-based Korean children received their education as minorities in Japanese schools, many obscured by the use of Japanese names, fluent Japanese language abilities, and familiarity with Japanese culture and mannerisms. [35]

[END]

**Mark E. Caprio is a professor of history at Rikkyo University in Tokyo and a Japan Focus associate. He has recently completed a manuscript titled The Japanese Assimilation of Koreans, 1910-1945, which will be published by the University of**



Washington Press in early 2009. He can be reached at [caprio@rikko.ac.jp](mailto:caprio@rikko.ac.jp). The author would like to thank Mark Selden for suggesting this topic, Katalin Ferber for comments on an earlier version of this paper, Lim Chol for valuable insights to questions about the incident and Japan-based Koreans in general, and Ken Alley for permission to use the pictures of Elizabeth Ryan and the Kobe court scene. He wrote this article for Japan Focus. Posted at Japan Focus on November 24, 2008.

Recommended citation: Mark E. Caprio, "The Cold War Explodes in Kobe—The 1948 Korean Ethnic School “Riots” and US Occupation Authorities," **The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus**, Vol. 48-2-08, November 24, 2008.

## Notes

- [1] Unless specified otherwise, information on the riots is taken from “United States of America vs. Kim Dai Sam [T’aesam] et al: Review of the Staff Judge Advocate,” Records of the U.S. Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Japan, 1945-1949, reel 3 (Tokyo: Japanese Diet Library, microfilm).
- [2] Pak Kyonsik, **Kaihō-go zainichi Chōsenjin undōshi** [The history of post-liberation Japan-based Korean demonstrations] (Tokyo: San’ichi shoten, 1989), 195.
- [3] “Sentences Imposed as Results of Kobe-Osaka Riots in April 1948,” Records of the U.S. Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Japan, 1945-1949, reel 3 (Tokyo: Japanese Diet Library, microfilm).
- [4] Changsoo Lee, “Koreans Under SVAP: An Era of Unrest and Repression,” in **Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation**, edited by Lee and De Vos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 81.
- [5] These letters, which totaled over 1000 pages, were recently discovered in a used bookstore in Nebraska. **Japan Times** staff writer Reiji Yoshida has written a series of articles on them. I am indebted to him for sharing with me the letters involving the Kobe riots along with other documents that he collected involving the incident. His articles can be found at
- [6] This was probably due to her and “the boys” being restricted to camp, as she reported in her April 27, 1948 letter.
- [7] Yi Wōlsun, “Zainichi Chōsenjin no minzoku kyōiku to zainichi Chōsenjin kyōiku” (Japan-based Korean ethnic education and Japan-based Korean education) in Pak Chongmyōng, **Zainichi Chōsenjin no rekishi to bunka** (Japan-based Korean history and culture) (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2006), 221.
- [8] “The Constitution of Japan,” Japan Institute of Congressional Law, at
- [9] Hiromitsu Inokuchi, “Korean Ethnic Schools in Occupied Japan, 1945-52,” in **Koreans in Japan: Critical voices from the Margin**, edited by Sonia Ryang (London: Routledge/Curzon, 200), 150.
- [10] Both orders were originated by SCAP. Takemae Eiji, **GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy**, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2001), 462.
- [11] Ibid., 450.
- [12] In another undated letter Ryan writes that the massive “Korean hunt” was a demonstration to the Russians (who were suspected as “behind all this unrest”) to make them, as she put it, “stay out of our play pen here.”
- [13] For example, Hugh Byas, **Government By Assassination** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 359-360.
- [14] Office of Strategic Services, “Aliens in Japan” (June 29, 1945), “Occupation of Japan” United States Planning Documents, 1942-1945, Volume III of set located in the Japanese National Library, pp. 2, 15.
- [15] Letter from Douglass Jenkins to U.S. Political Adviser William Sebald (May 4, 1948). Records of the U.S. Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Japan, 1945-1949, reel 15 (Tokyo: Japanese Diet Library, microfilm).
- [16] See William Underwood, “[New Era for Japan-Korea History Issues: Forced Labor Redress Efforts Begin to Bear Fruit](#),” **Japan Focus**.
- [17] H. Merrell Benninghoff, “The Political Adviser in Korea (Benninghoff) to the Secretary of State,” **Foreign Relations of the United States VI** (September 15, 1945), 1051. This attitude may have been influenced by communications sent by the Japanese to Okinawa, where the occupying army prepared for its new assignment prior to arrival. See Kobayashi Tomoko, “GHQ no zainichi Chōsenjin ninshiki ni kan suru ikkōsatu” (One consideration of GHQ’s perception of Koreans), **Chōsenshi kenkyūkai ronbunshū 32** (October 1994), 165-192. for a summary of U.S. suspicions of communist influence in southern Korea. Bruce Cumings found little evidence to support the often-heard contention that Soviet or North Korean sources were supplying southern guerrillas. Cumings, **Korea’s Place in the Sun: A Modern History** (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 245. He writes that although from around the time of Syngman Rhee’s 1948 election southern communists began receiving guidance from North Korean communists, it “cannot be said [they] were mere creatures of Kim Il Sung” (ibid., 218).
- [18] For discussion on the smuggling operations see Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “An Act Prejudicial to the Occupation Forces: Migration Controls and Korean Residents in Post-Surrender Japan,” **Japan Studies** 24, no. 1 (May 2004): 5-28.
- [19] “Letter from Jenkins to Sebald,” May 4, 1948. In **Records of the U.S. Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Japan, 1945-1949** (Microfilm, Reel 15, Japan Diet Library). For similar views see “General Dean’s Answer to Written Press Questions of May 6, 1948,” in ibid.
- [20] G-2 Periodic Reports (April 28, 1948).
- [21] Cumings, **Korea’s Place in the Sun**, pp. 220-221.
- [22] CIC Reports carried statistics that suggested these acts to have been more balanced than the information included in G-II reports, which did not list right-wing acts against left-wing groups. In its May 16 report it recorded 162 deaths of which 43 were members of left-wing groups, and 59 members of right-wing groups. Counter Intelligence Corps Semi-Monthly Report (May 16, 1948), CIC Pogoso (1945.9 – 1949.1) 3 (Seoul: Hallym University, 1995), 406-407, 424.

- [23] Kim Kut'ae, **Migunchǒng ũi Hanguk t'ongch'i** (U.S. military administration's rule in Korea) (Seoul: Pagyǒngsa, 1992), 151-152. The Peace Preservation Act acted as a model for South Korea's National Security Law that is most frequently applied to anyone who demonstrates sympathy to communism or to North Korea.
- [24] Counter Intelligence Corps Semi-Monthly Report (April 23-30, 1948), 15.
- [25] Lee, "Koreans Under SCAP, p. 82.
- [26] Changsoo Lee, "The Legal Status of Koreans in Japan," in Lee and De Vos, eds., **Koreans in Japan**, p.138.
- [27] Richard H. Mitchell quotes Ministry of Justice figures to estimate that in 1950 just under half (49.9 percent) of Japan-based Koreans were second generation in his **The Korean Minority in Japan** (Berkeley: University of California, 1967), 159.
- [28] Lee, "The Legal Status of Koreans in Japan," p. 138. This was in part a decision based on practicalities. Had SCAP granted Koreans the special status they demanded, they would have been eligible for special food rations and other privileges afforded peoples of United Nations states. The sheer size of the Japan-based Korean population made this option rather impractical. See Mark E. Caprio, "Resident Aliens: Forging the Political Status of Koreans in Occupied Japan." In Mark E. Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita, eds. **Democracy in Occupied Japan: The U.S. Occupation and Japanese Politics and Society** (London: Routledge, 2007), 178-199.
- [29] As I describe in "Resident Aliens," more entrepreneurial returnees were able to circumvent this restriction by exchanging money en route to Korea with Japanese returning to Japan. As we shall see below, even SCAP officials recognized this restriction as a formidable barrier to Korean repatriation.
- [30] Bruce Cumings offers a more complete description of this violence. See his two-volume **Origins of the Korean War** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, 1990). I reflect on the effect that this violence had on Japan-based Koreans in "Resident Aliens.
- [31] Truman delivered this speech before Congress to request \$100 million in aid for Greece and Turkey. Quoted in Warren I. Cohen, **The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Vol. IV: America in the Age of Soviet Power, 1945-1999** (Cambridge: UK, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 38-39.
- [32] George F. Kennan, **Memoirs, 1925-1950** (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1967), Chapter 16. For a summary of this "reverse course" see Mark E. Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita, "Introduction: The U.S. Occupation of Japan—Innovation, Continuity, and Compromise," in Caprio and Sugita, eds., **Democracy in Occupied Japan: The U.S. Occupation and Japanese Politics and Society**, pp.12-17.
- [33] "Shiritsu de ninka shinsei: Chōsen gakkō mondai wa kaiketsu" (Korean school problem is solved: They will apply for authorization as private schools), **Asahi shinbun** (May 5, 1948). Schools in Tokyo remained open but were absorbed by the Japanese schools system that supplied the schools with Japanese staff and teachers. (Inokuchi, "Korean ethnic schools," p. 154.
- [34] See Inokuchi, "Korean ethnic schools," p. 153-155.
- [35] See Eriko Aoki, "Korean Children, Textbooks, and Educational Practices in Japanese Primary Schools," in Ryang, **Koreans in Japan**, p. 157.

Source: [http://old.japanfocus.org/\\_mark\\_e\\_caprio-the\\_cold\\_war\\_explodes\\_in\\_kobe\\_the\\_1948\\_korean\\_ethnic\\_school\\_riots\\_and\\_us\\_occupation\\_authorities](http://old.japanfocus.org/_mark_e_caprio-the_cold_war_explodes_in_kobe_the_1948_korean_ethnic_school_riots_and_us_occupation_authorities)



## Modern Japan and International Affairs



Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida (seated) signs the Bilateral Security Treaty during the postwar peace conference in San Francisco, California on September 8, 1951. The Security Treaty, which was signed shortly after the signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty, permits American military to remain in and around Japan after the Peace Treaty becomes effective. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Shigeru Yoshida (吉田 茂, September 22, 1878–October 20, 1967) served as the Prime Minister of Japan on two separate occasions (May 22, 1946–May 24, 1947, October 15, 1948–December 10, 1954). Shigeru Yoshida served as Consul General in Tientsin (1922–1925), Consul General in Mukden (1925–1928), Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs (1928–1930), Japanese Ambassador to Fascist Italy (1930–1932), Japanese Ambassador to the British Empire (1936–1939), and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1945–1947, 1948–1954). Taro Aso (麻生 太郎), the former Prime Minister of Japan, is the grandson of Shigeru Yoshida.

# 1

---

## The Unfolding Tragedy

This personal account of the background of the climactic events which stemmed from the Japanese Army's expansionist policies in Manchuria and China in the thirties and led inexorably to Pearl Harbor and the Pacific War and its tragic aftermath, may appropriately begin by recounting a fateful warning addressed to me by Colonel Edward House, the famous personal adviser on international affairs to President Woodrow Wilson during the First World War, when I met the veteran presidential envoy while on an official tour of inspection of Japanese diplomatic missions abroad in 1932–1933.

Colonel House was at that time widely known and respected in Japan. Count Makino Nobuaki, my father-in-law, who had been a member of the Japanese delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference that ended the First World War, had become acquainted with him in Paris during the conference and had given me an introduction to him. Thus it happened that I was the recipient of a warning that, had it been heeded, would have saved my country and its people an infinity of human misery and loss.

At our meeting, Colonel House opened the conversation by saying that a people devoid of "diplomatic sense" could never get along. I took this statement to mean that a faculty to understand the international situation at any given moment was vital to the formulation of sound foreign policies. The colonel went on to say that shortly before the outbreak of the First World War he had visited Europe at the instance of President Wilson and there met with Kaiser Wilhelm. The kaiser was at the time reviewing the German grand fleet in the North Sea, and the interview took place on his imperial yacht. The colonel did his best to convince Germany's ruler of the dangers inherent in the belligerent policy that country was pursuing at the time and



stated that so long as Germany avoided war she would continue to prosper as one of the world's great powers, but that, if international tensions were pushed to the point of hostilities, the result would not be war between Germany and France but a world war—a conflict in which Germany would be faced with encirclement by Great Britain and other powers that would come to the aid of France, and which might well mean the loss of the position which Germany had managed to attain in the world at the cost of so much effort. The kaiser and the Germans then in power, however, did not listen, and the result turned out exactly as Colonel House had foretold.

Before the war Germany had been a power to be reckoned with both economically and strategically, and a serious rival to Great Britain, and at the time when I met Colonel House, Japan occupied an international position akin to that of all eastern "Germany." The colonel, speaking with great earnestness, went on to say that he would like to give the same advice to Japan that he had given earlier to Germany—that should Japan become involved in war, that country would forfeit all the advantages of her status as a modern power which she had so painstakingly built up; whereas, if she chose to follow peaceful policies and made it her sole aim to maintain and extend the prosperity of the nation and its people, the future was bright indeed. Colonel House added that, as an old man of experience, he hoped the Japanese people would consider his words.

Following my return to Japan I did my best to convey the colonel's message to as many people as possible. When Prince Konoe, one of our leading statesmen of that time, in his turn visited the United States and saw Colonel House, the colonel repeated the same words of advice to him. Unfortunately, as had happened in Germany previously, the colonel's words were disregarded in Japan. Breaking away from the diplomatic policies which had been pursued ever since the days of the Meiji (1868–1912), Japan for no adequate reason embarked upon a major war and caused whatever had been achieved by her up to that time to be completely destroyed.

Before dealing with the question of our diplomatic policy during the years preceding the Pacific War, it is necessary to touch briefly on the historical aspect of Japan's relations with Great Britain and the United States of America.

It is common knowledge that it was the Americans who took the initiative in opening up Japan to intercourse with foreign nations, but during the Meiji days, and even in the following Taishō era (1912–1926), the country with which we actually had most to do was Great Britain. During that period the United States was busy developing its own internal resources, whereas Great Britain had extended its power and influence throughout the Far East, thereby making her relations with Japan increasingly significant. Following two world wars, the power of the United States has enormously increased and, particularly since the termination of the Pacific conflict, op-

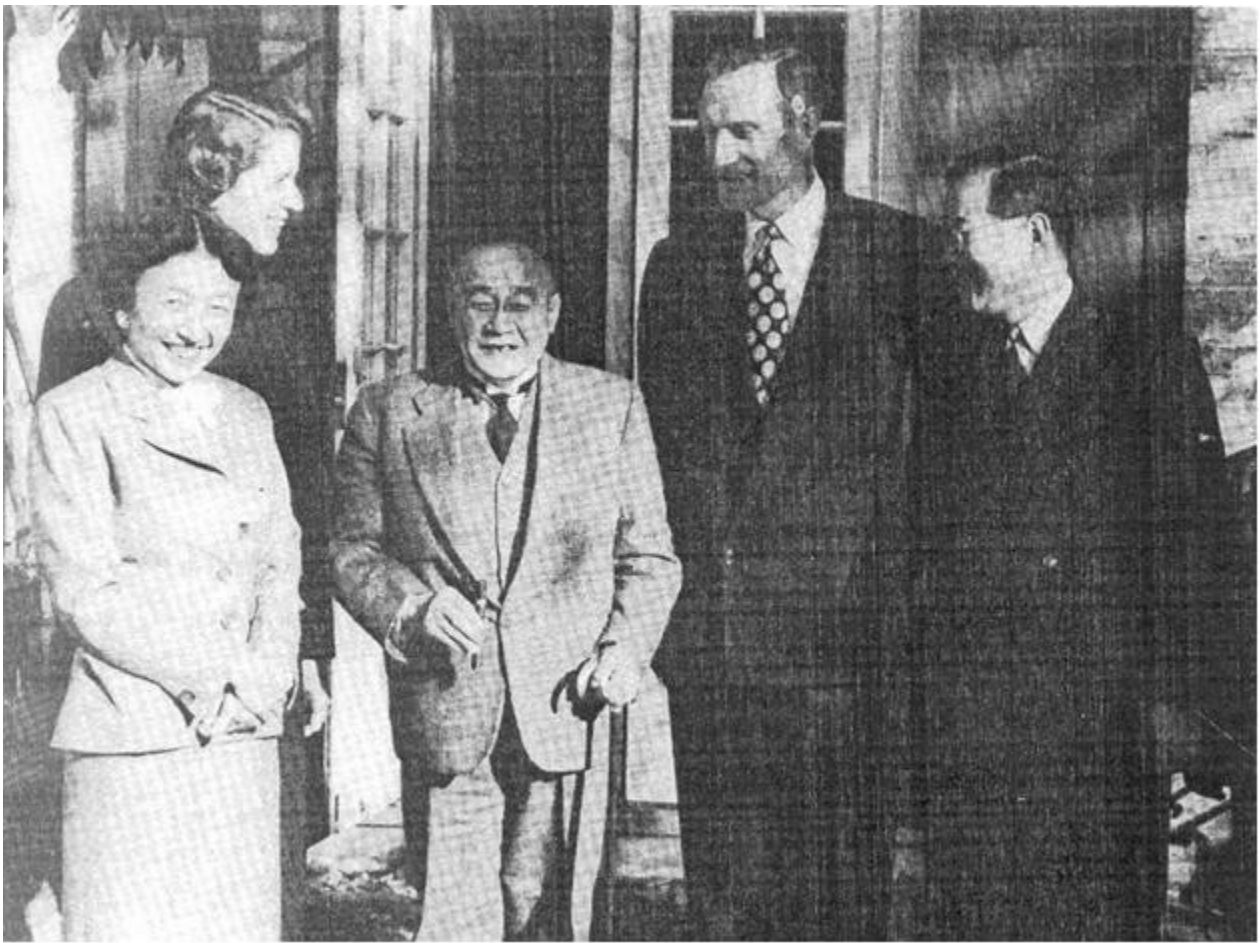
erations in that ocean have been conducted chiefly by the Americans. It is natural, therefore, that Japan's relations with the two Western powers should appear to have been reversed. But Anglo-Japanese relations still have not lost their meaning in international affairs and still remain one of the determining factors in the field of diplomacy between the free countries.

Japan's statesmen of the early Meiji period carried out the task of establishing Japan's position among the nations of the world with a competence and sureness of touch which even now command the admiration of my countrymen, and the basic diplomatic policy as laid down by them was co-operation with Great Britain. This attitude was fully reciprocated by the United Kingdom, inasmuch as it was to the advantage of that country, in view of its vital interests in the Far East, to range itself on the side of a Japan that had emerged as the victor in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. For perhaps the same reason, Great Britain refrained from taking any part in the triple intervention by Russia, France, and Germany which followed that war, and which accounted for the fact that when Russia later obtained from China by force a lease on the Liaodong Peninsula (which Russia had previously pressed Japan into returning to China) and proceeded to build bases at Dalian and Port Arthur, and Great Britain countered this move of the Czarist expansionists by demanding from China a lease on the port of Weihaiwei, the British government was careful to submit the matter to us beforehand for Japan's approval.

This pro-Japanese policy on the part of Great Britain finally took the form, as Russian expansionism in the Far East became more marked, of a proposal for an Anglo-Japanese alliance. After the conclusion of this pact Japan, with the help of her British ally and the no less friendly assistance of the United States, managed to weather the crisis of the Russo-Japanese War and was thereby launched on the road to national prosperity.

What strikes one about these events is the unanimity with which the Japanese government and people generally acted in those days, in contrast to the dissensions concerning the attitude to be taken towards Great Britain and the United States which were at a later date to mar our politics and policies. Looking back, I am impressed by the behavior of the Japanese people at that time in matters affecting my country's relations with foreign nations. At the time of the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Great Britain was at the height of her power and the mistress of the seven seas, while Japan was an insignificant island-nation in the Far East which had only just begun its rise from obscurity. The difference—in international significance and power potential—between the two countries was far greater than the differences which exist between Japan and the United States today. Yet the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was welcomed by government and people alike, and no one viewed that document as meaning that Japan was truckling to British imperialism or in any danger of becoming a glorified British colony.





Japan's Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida and his daughter and son-in-law visit John D. Rockefeller III at the Fieldwood Farm in November 1954.



Left to right: Mrs. Kazuko Aso, daughter of Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida and mother of current Prime Minister Taro Aso, Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida (center), and Joseph C. Grew, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan, meet at the Washington National Airport in Washington, D.C. on November 13, 1954. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (left) greets Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida after arriving in Washington, D.C. on November 7, 1954. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida (left) is greeted by U.S. Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson when he visited the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on November 8, 1954. Yoshida arrived the day before for five days of high-level talks. (Bettmann/CORBIS)





President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Japan's Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida are shown walking to the White House after they posed for photographers on the north portico of the Executive Mansion on November 10, 1954. Dwight D. Eisenhower was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Left: Retired U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur (left), former Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan, greets Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida in the General's suite at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on November 5, 1954. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Right: His Holiness Pope Pius XII (center) receives Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida (left) and Yoshida's daughter Kazuko (right) in an audience at the Papal summer residence in Castel Gandolfo, Italy on October 21, 1954. (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



President Achmed Sukarno (center) of Indonesia meets with Emperor Hirohito of Japan (left) and Crown Prince Akihito of Japan when Sukarno was guest of the emperor at a luncheon in the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan on February 3, 1958. (Ichiro Fujimura/Bettmann/CORBIS)



Jawaharlal Nehru (center), Prime Minister of India, poses with his host, Emperor Hirohito in the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan on October 10, 1957. Left to right: Crown Prince Akihito of Japan, Empress Nagako of Japan, Prime Minister Nehru, Indira Gandhi (Nehru's daughter), and Emperor Hirohito of Japan. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)

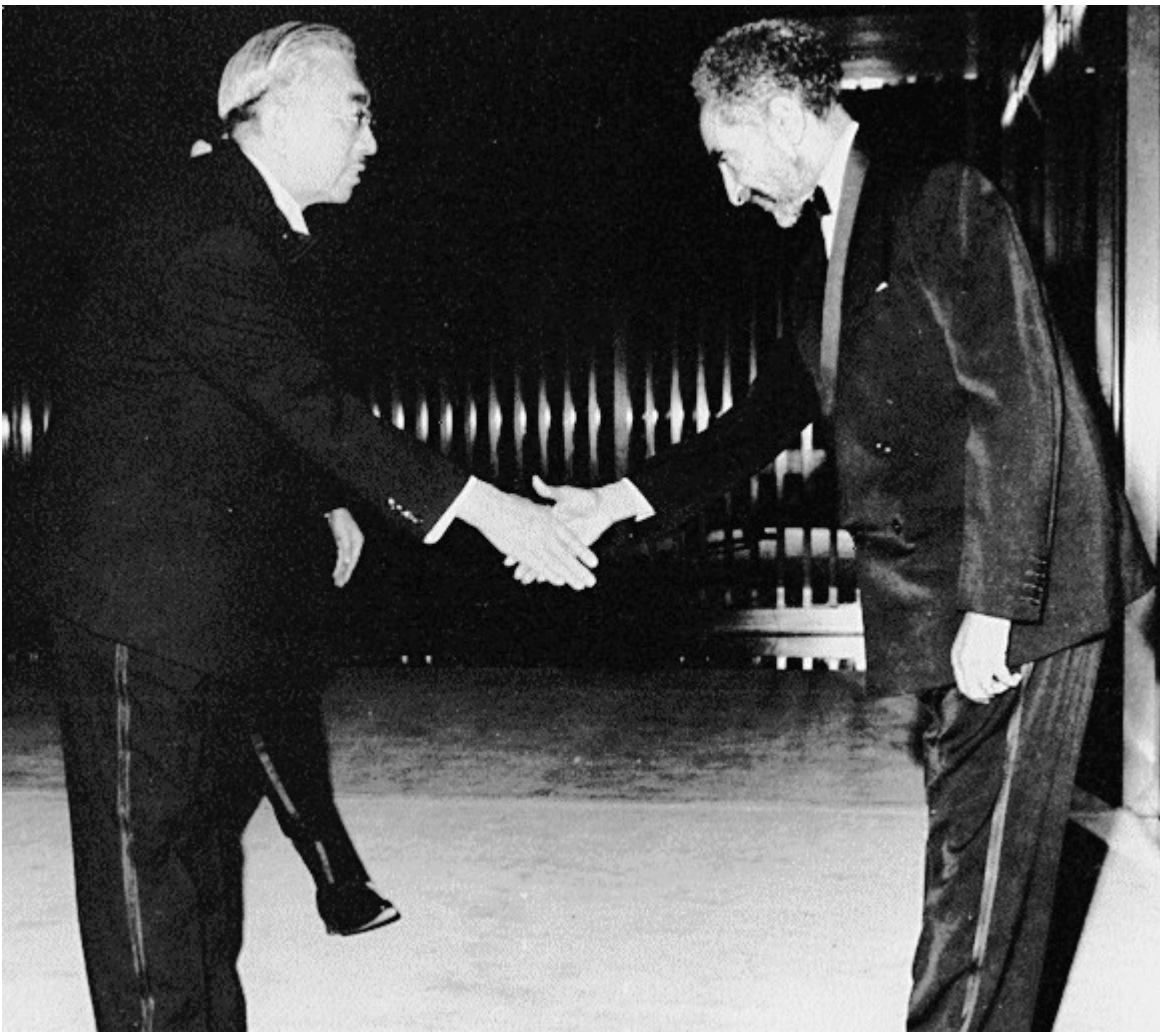




Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain (left) and Emperor Hirohito of Japan (right) ride in an open carriage in London enroute to Buckingham Palace on October 6, 1971.



Emperor Hirohito of Japan (left) and his wife Empress Nagako of Japan (right) meet with Prince Charles of Wales.



Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia (right) greets Emperor Hirohito of Japan during a state visit to Tokyo, Japan. (Photo: <http://www.angelfire.com/ny/ethiocrown/HaileIII.html>)



Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran (left) renders a salute during his meeting with Emperor Hirohito of Japan in Tokyo, Japan in May 1958. (Photo: <http://iranian.com/main/blog/darius-kadivar/modernity-tradition-shah-iran-meets-japans-hirohito-1958.html>)





Chancellor of West Germany Helmut Schmidt (right) and his wife (second from left) are received in audience by Emperor Hirohito of Japan (left) and Empress Nagako of Japan at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan on October 12, 1978. Helmut Schmidt attended the Bilderberg Meetings in 1977. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (left) confers with Prime Minister of Japan Takeo Fukuda as they meet at the premier's official residence in Tokyo, Japan on October 11, 1978. Takeo Fukuda was a member of the Trilateral Commission. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



President Jose Lopez Portillo of Mexico (right) toasts with Emperor Hirohito of Japan during a return banquet hosted by Portillo at the guesthouse in Tokyo, Japan on November 1, 1978. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Emperor Hirohito of Japan (right) toasts President of South Korea Gen. Chun Doo Hwan (left) during a state banquet at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan on September 6, 1984. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)





Emperor Hirohito of Japan and Empress Nagako of Japan greet Vice President and Mrs. Richard Nixon in the east chamber of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan, where Mr. Nixon presented the emperor with an autographed photo of President Eisenhower. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



President Richard Nixon bows to Emperor Hirohito of Japan (left) in Alaska in 1971. Emperor Hirohito's visit to Alaska was the first visit of a Japanese Emperor to the United States of America. (Photo: Time Life)



Empress Nagako of Japan (left), First Lady Betty Ford (2nd left), Emperor Hirohito of Japan (2nd right), and U.S. President Gerald Ford (right) walk down the Cross Hall towards the East Room prior to a state dinner held in honor of Emperor Hirohito at the White House on October 2, 1975.





Gerald R. Ford (left), President of the United States, stands beside Emperor Hirohito of Japan during a national anthem ceremony held in Tokyo, Japan.

(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/geraldrford/5710112419/in/set-72157625663940095/>)



President Ronald Reagan (left) shakes hands with Emperor Hirohito of Japan in Tokyo, Japan on November 9, 1983. (Wally McNamee/CORBIS)



Emperor Hirohito of Japan joins President Ronald Reagan, both dressed in tuxedos, in a toast during a formal state dinner in Tokyo on November 9, 1983. (Bettmann/CORBIS)





United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (left) greets Emperor Akihito of Japan and his wife Empress Michiko of Japan prior to tea at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan on April 17, 2011. (AP Image)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) greets Emperor Akihito of Japan in an undated photo.





U.S. President Ronald Reagan delivers a speech at the National Diet in Tokyo, Japan on November 11, 1983.  
(Photo: [Ronald Reagan Presidential Library](#))



U.S. President Ronald Reagan reviews troops with Prime Minister of Japan Yasuhiro Nakasone at an Arrival Ceremony at Akasaka Palace in Tokyo, Japan on May 4, 1986. (Photo: Ronald Reagan Presidential Library)





Japan's Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa (left, podium) and President George Bush speak at the White House Rose Garden in July 1992. The four individuals standing in the background are (left to right): U.S. Ambassador to Japan Michael Armacost, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, unidentified, and U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills. Armacost, Brady, Hills, and Bush are (or were) members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Dirck Halstead, Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)



U.S. President George W. Bush (left) walks with Prime Minister of Japan Junichiro Koizumi.

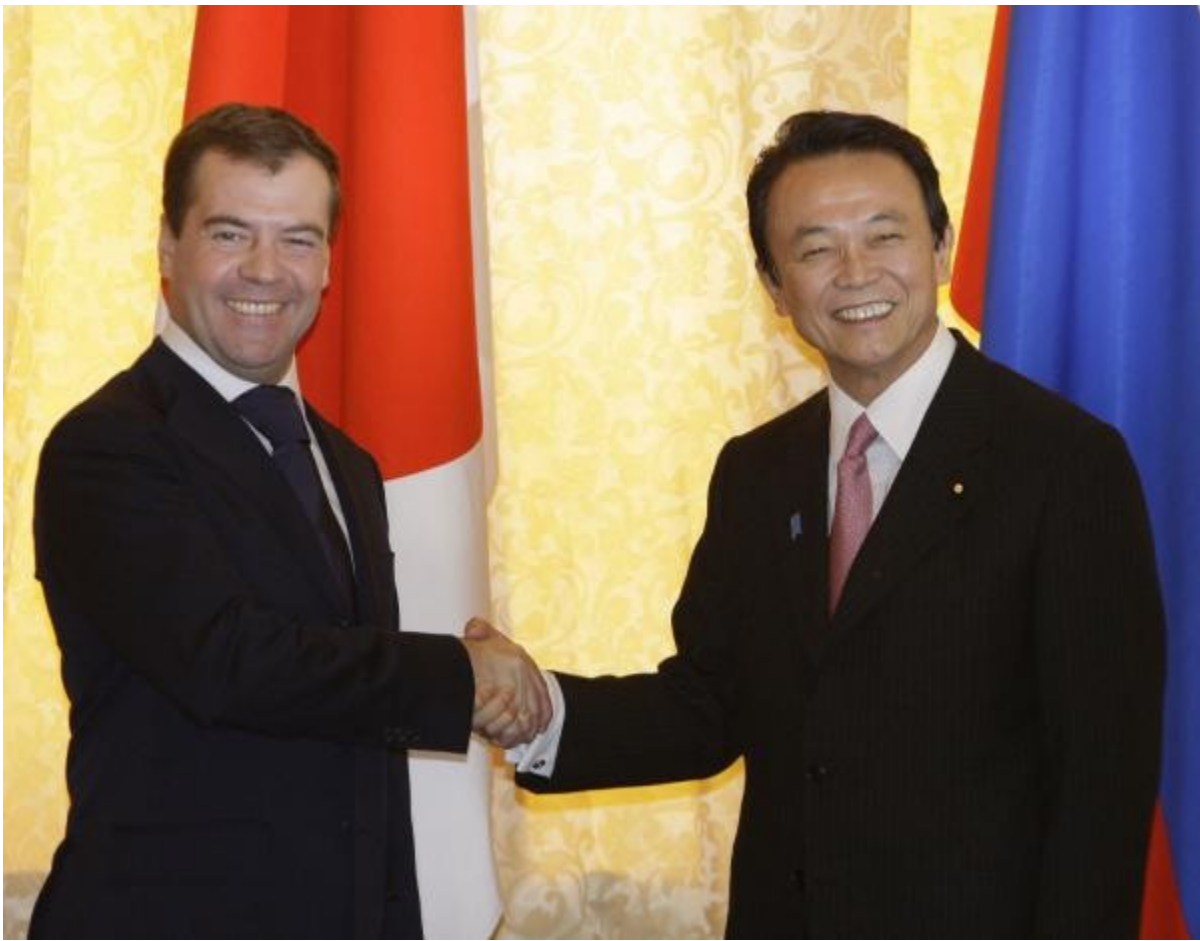


South Korean President Kim Dae Jung (L) meets with Emperor Akihito (R) at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan on July 2, 2002. (Photo: Koichi Kamoshida/Getty Images)



South Korea's President Roh Moo-hyun (L) is greeted by Japanese Emperor Akihito during welcoming ceremonies for Roh at the Akasaka Palace state guesthouse in Tokyo, Japan on June 6, 2003. (Getty Images)

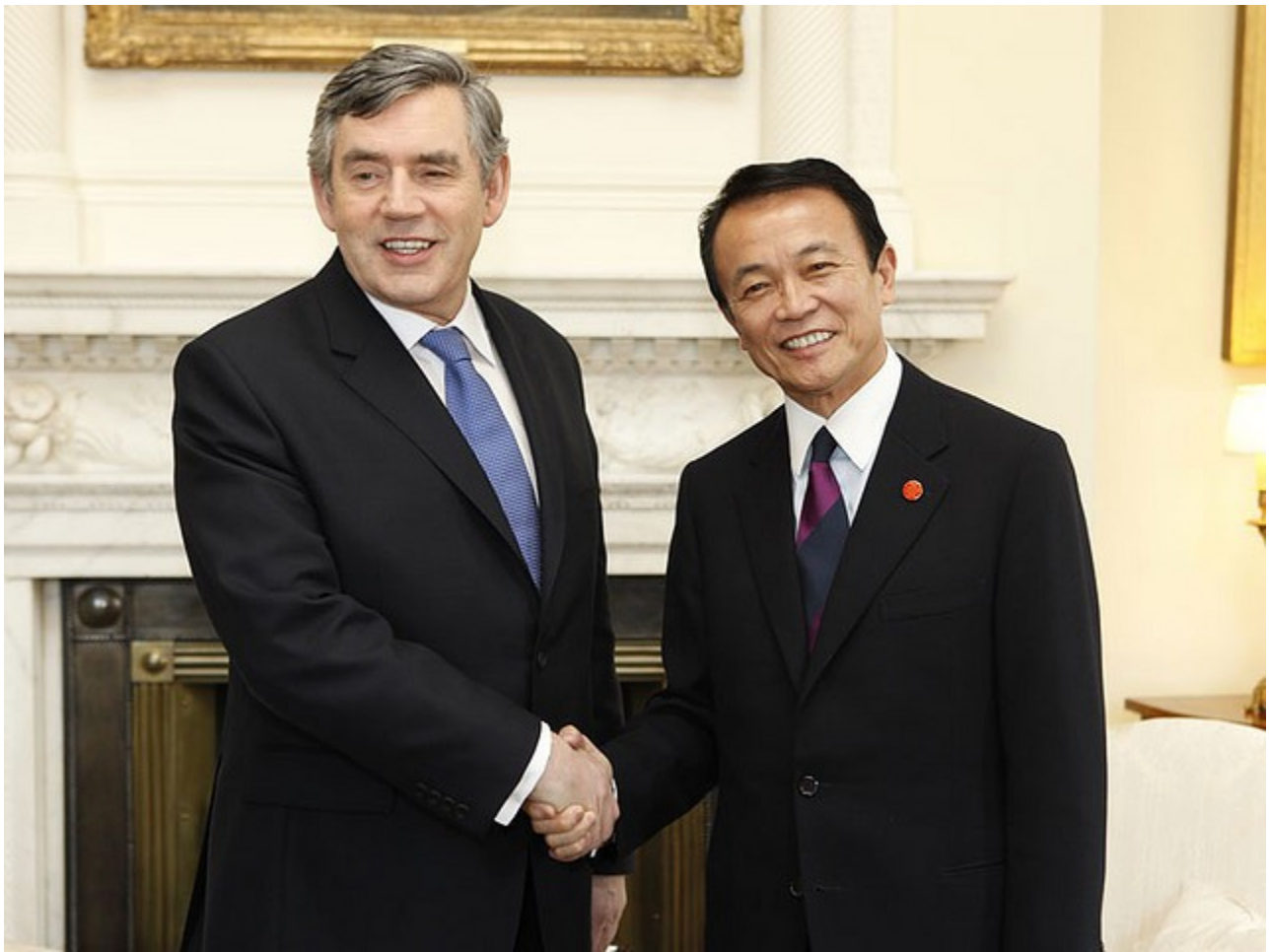




President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev (left) shakes hands with Prime Minister of Japan Taro Aso before their meeting following the opening ceremony of the liquefied natural gas plant in Prigorodnoye, south of Sakhalin Island, in the Russian Far East, on February 18, 2009. (UPI Photo/Anatoli Zhdanov)



Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) shakes hands with Prime Minister of Japan Taro Aso during a meeting at the Prime Minister of Japan's official residence in Tokyo, Japan on May 12, 2009. (Pool/Getty Images)



Prime Minister of Great Britain Gordon Brown and Prime Minister of Japan Taro Aso meet at 10 Downing Street in London on April 1, 2009, ahead of the G20 Summit.



Prime Minister of Great Britain Tony Blair (left) meets with Prime Minister of Japan Junichiro Koizumi in 2003.





U.S. President Barack Obama meets with Prime Minister of Japan Taro Aso in the Oval Office on February 24, 2009. Taro Aso is the grandson of former Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida. (White House photo by Pete Souza)  
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/pix/protocol/121015.htm>



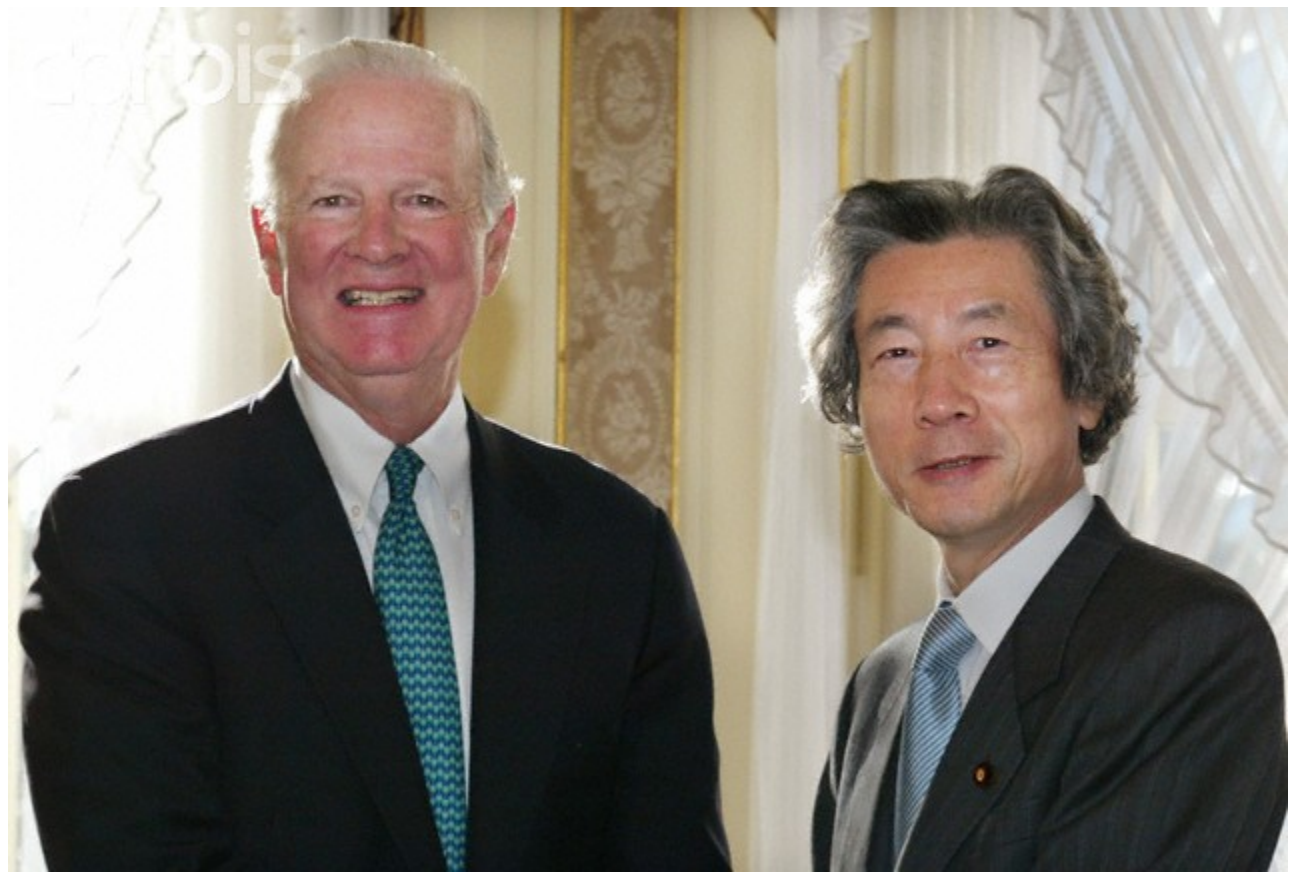
U.S. President Barack Obama bows to Emperor Akihito of Japan and Empress Michiko of Japan upon arrival at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan on November 14, 2009. ([Reuters](#))

# Council on Foreign Relations & Japan



Henry Kissinger (left) is welcomed by Japanese Prime Minister Taro Aso, the grandson of former Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, prior to their talks at Aso's official residence in Tokyo on April 22, 2009. ([Getty Images](#))





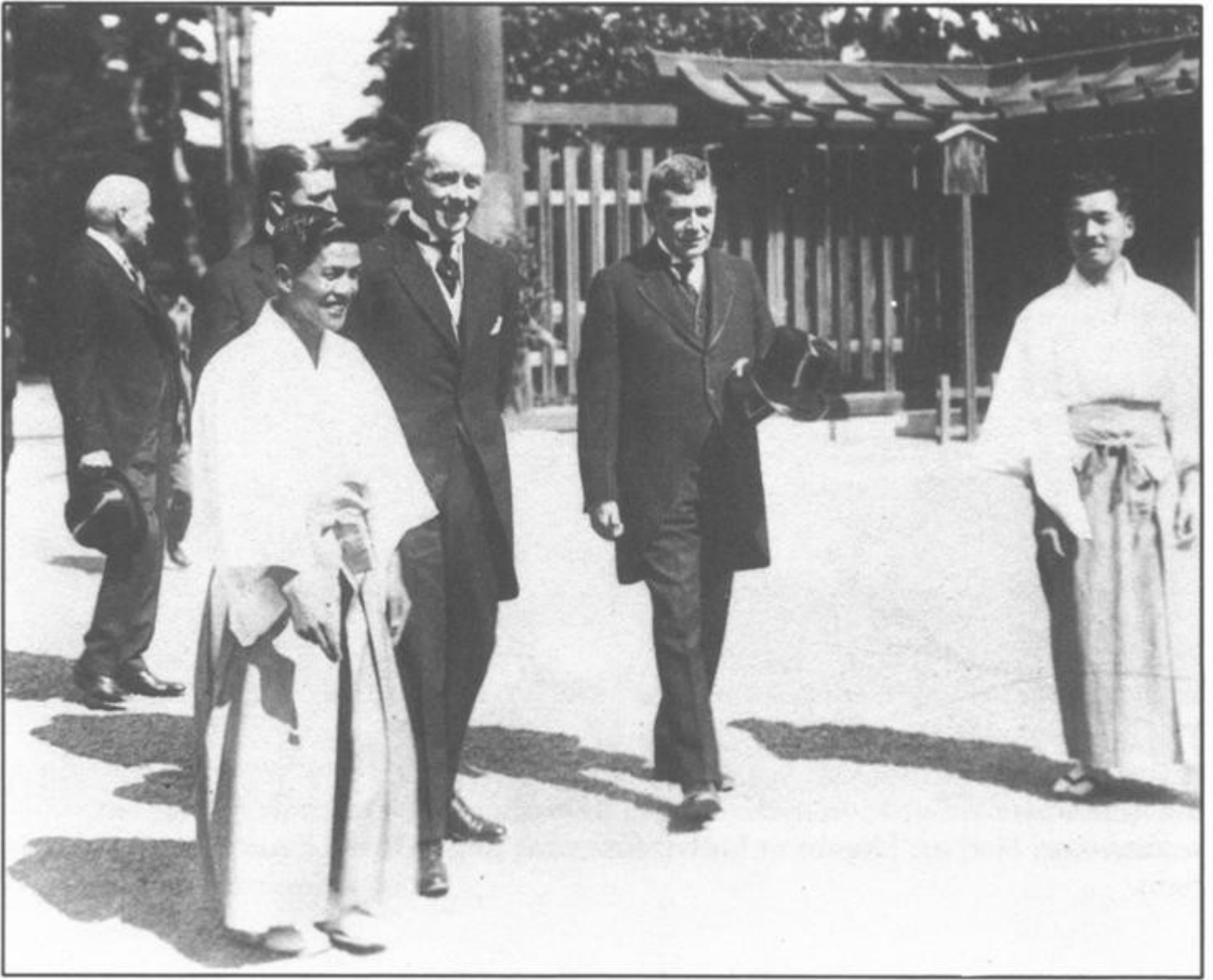
Former Secretary of State James A. Baker III (L), U.S. special envoy on Iraqi debt, meets with Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in Tokyo, Japan on December 29, 2003. (ERIKO SUGITA/Reuters/Corbis)



Left photo: Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (left) meets with Japan's Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in Tokyo on July 12, 2005. Condoleezza Rice is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Right photo: Japan's Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi speaks to members of the Council on Foreign Relations at the Harold Pratt House on September 10, 2002.



TWL and Jeremiah Smith Jr. at Meiji Shinto shrine in Tokyo, 1927. J. P. Morgan & Co. had organized the huge loan to Japan for reconstruction after the 1924 earthquake. Now the Japanese had a new financial proposal to assist their expansionist strategy in Manchuria.

Both Thomas W. Lamont (TWL) and Jeremiah Smith Jr. were Morgan bankers and members of the Council on Foreign Relations.





The Imperial Japanese Delegation arrives on October 24, 1921. Left to right: Robert Woods Bliss (Third Assistant U.S. Secretary of State), Japanese Foreign Minister Baron Kijuro Shidehara, Admiral Coontz, Admiral Kato, General Tanaka, and General Brewster. Robert Woods Bliss was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Library of Congress)



U.S. Minister to China John Van Antwerp MacMurray (left), later a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, attends a formal affair alongside Japanese Foreign Minister Kijuro Shidehara in Tokyo, Japan on August 1, 1925. Kijuro Shidehara, who was identified with the peaceful efforts of Japan of the 1920's, served as Prime Minister of Japan from October 9, 1945 to May 22, 1946. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



While U.S. Secretary of State Henry Stimson looks on, Japanese Ambassador Katsuji Debuchi signs the Kellogg-Briand Pact an hour prior to the ratification ceremony on July 24, 1929. (CORBIS)

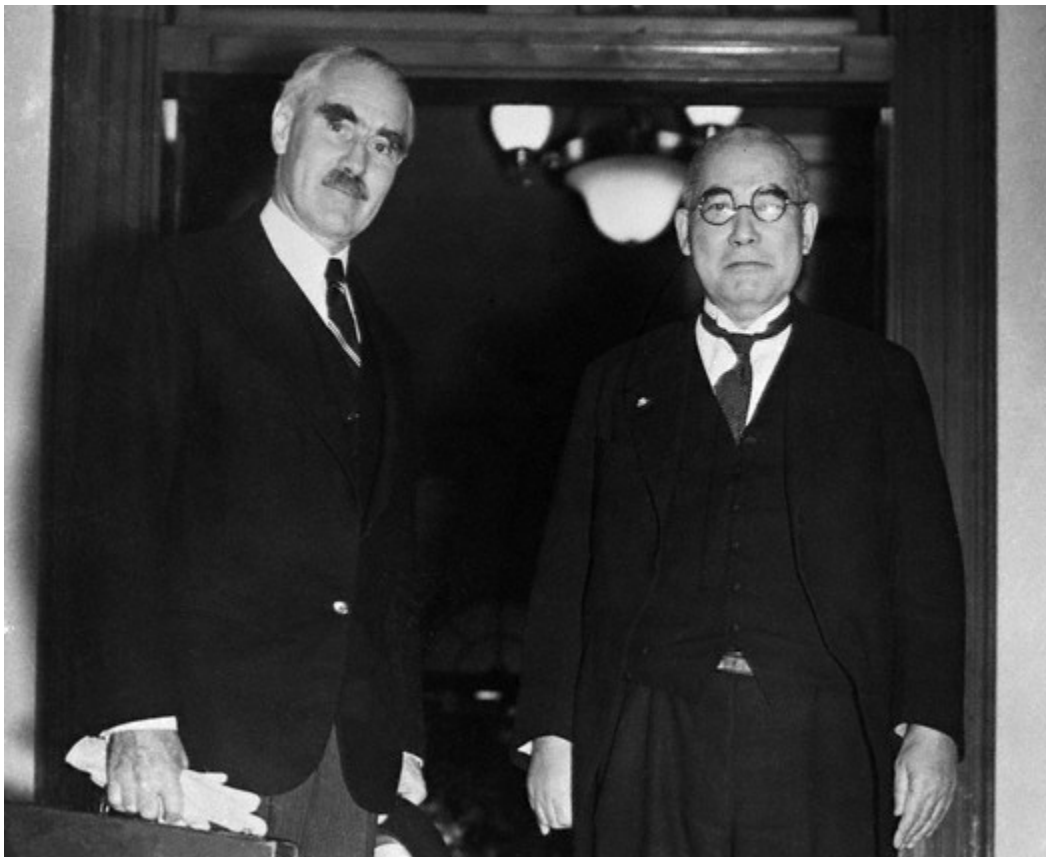




Leading Japanese officials and the American Ambassador to Japan spoke to the United States of America via telephone for the first time on December 30, 1934, when an international service was completed in Tokyo. Pictured at the ceremony, are left to right: Takejiro Tokonami, Minister of Communications; Foreign Minister Koki Hirota; Ambassador Joseph C. Grew; and Mr. Edwin Neville, Counsellor of the American Embassy listening in on messages coming from Washington, D.C. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Joseph C. Grew (standing), the American Ambassador to Imperial Japan, delivers a speech at an America-Japan Society dinner in March 1936. Prime Minister of Japan Koki Hirota, who served as the Prime Minister from March 9, 1936 to February 2, 1937, is seated three persons from Grew's right. The Japanese naval officer at the extreme right is Admiral Mineo Osumi, Minister of the Navy. Koki Hirota was convicted of war crimes at the Tokyo Trials in 1948 and executed by hanging at Sugamo Prison in Tokyo on December 23, 1948. Admiral Mineo Osumi, who served as the Minister of the Navy from 1931 to 1932 and from 1933 to 1936, was killed in action in China during the Second Sino-Japanese War on February 5, 1941.

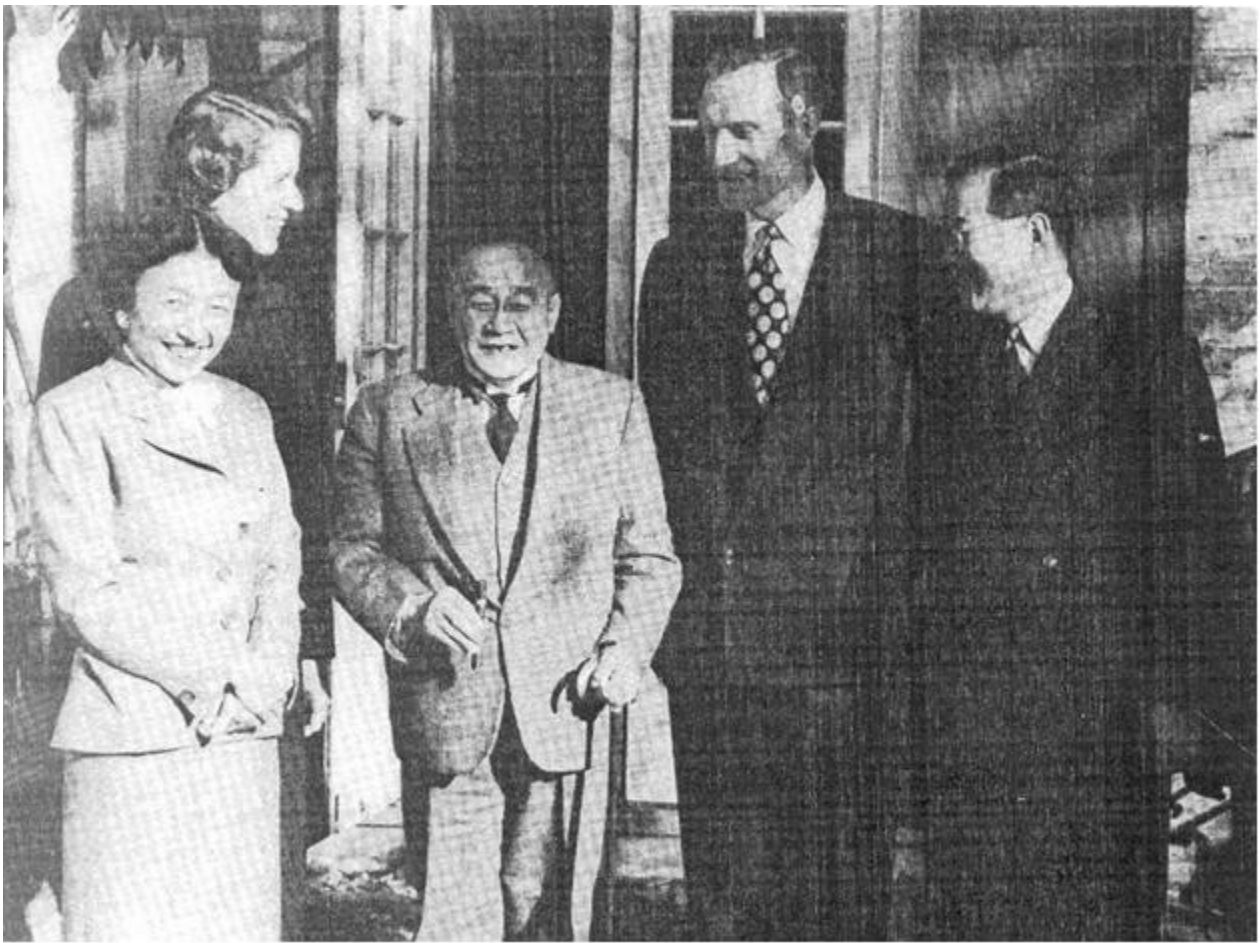


United States Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Grew (right) pictured with Foreign Minister Kichisaburo Nomura at the time Grew visited the Ministry in Tokyo, Japan on November 4, 1939. The captain accompanying this picture from Japan says "No important conversations were held, it is reported." Dispatches from American correspondents in Tokyo the same day, told that Grew had told Nomura that Japan was in danger of economic pressure from the United States if it was the first of many scheduled, to determine what Japanese-American Commercial Treaty Expires January 26, 1940. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



United States Ambassador to Japan, Joseph Clark Grew (left) and new Foreign Minister of Japan, Teijiro Toyoda, smile for camera on October 2, 1941 when Minister Toyoda made the customary call upon the dean of the Tokyo diplomatic Corps after he assumed office. (Bettmann/CORBIS)





Japan's Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida and his daughter and son-in-law visit John D. Rockefeller III at the Fieldwood Farm in November 1954.



Left to right: Mrs. Kazuko Aso, daughter of Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida and mother of current Prime Minister Taro Aso, Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida (center), and Joseph C. Grew, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan, meet at the Washington National Airport in Washington, D.C. on November 13, 1954. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (left) greets Prime Minister of Japan Shigeru Yoshida after arriving in Washington, D.C. on November 7, 1954. (Bettmann/CORBIS)

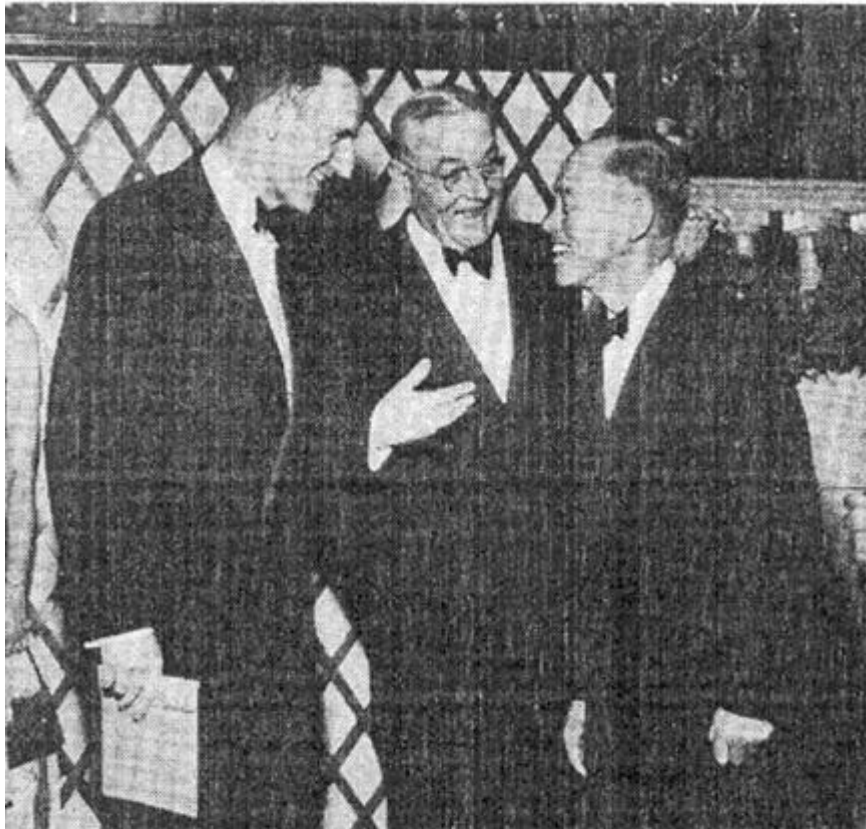


President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Japan's Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida are shown walking to the White House after they posed for photographers on the north portico of the Executive Mansion on November 10, 1954. Dwight D. Eisenhower was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Bettmann/CORBIS)

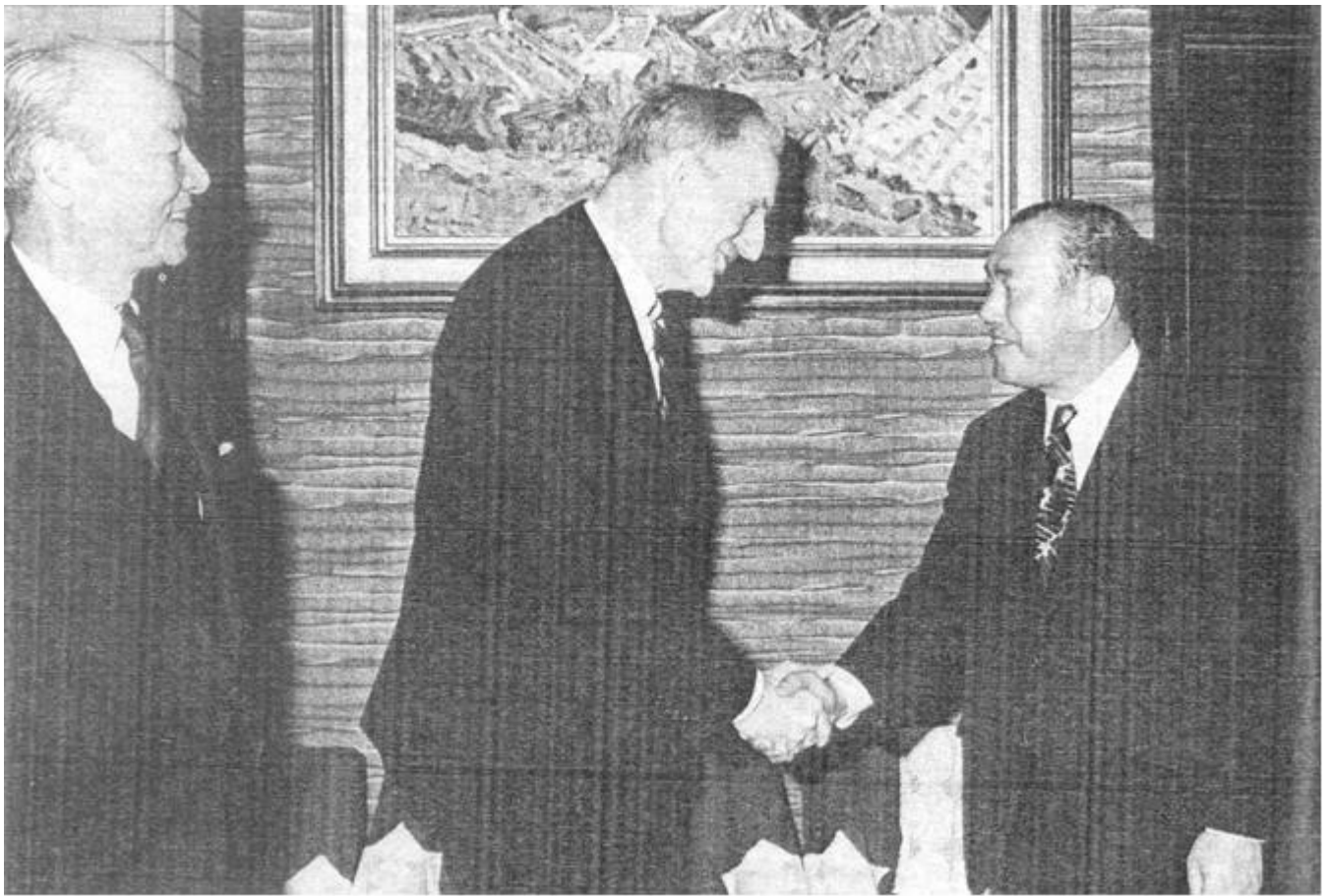




Japan's Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida (left) calls on Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, in Washington, D.C. on November 10, 1954 to discuss the possibility of further bank loans to his country. Yoshida also invited Black to make a trip to Japan. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



John D. Rockefeller III and Rockefeller Foundation Chairman John Foster Dulles talk to Japanese Ambassador Eikichi Araki at the Plaza Hotel on June 17, 1952.



Shigeharu Matsumoto (left) watches John D. Rockefeller III shake hands with Japan's Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka in November 1972.



U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz (left) and U.S. President Ronald Reagan watches Prime Minister of Japan Yasuhiro Nakasone speak at a press Conference in Tokyo, Japan on November 10, 1983. George P. Shultz is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; Shultz and Reagan are (or were) members of the Bohemian Grove in northern California. (Photo: Wally McNamee/CORBIS)





U.S. Ambassador to Japan James D. Hodgson watches Vice President Nelson Rockefeller shake hands with Japan's Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa at the Tokyo International Airport on April 17, 1975.



Secretary of State Henry Kissinger greets Japan's Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa at the OECD meeting in Paris in May 1975. (USIS Photo)

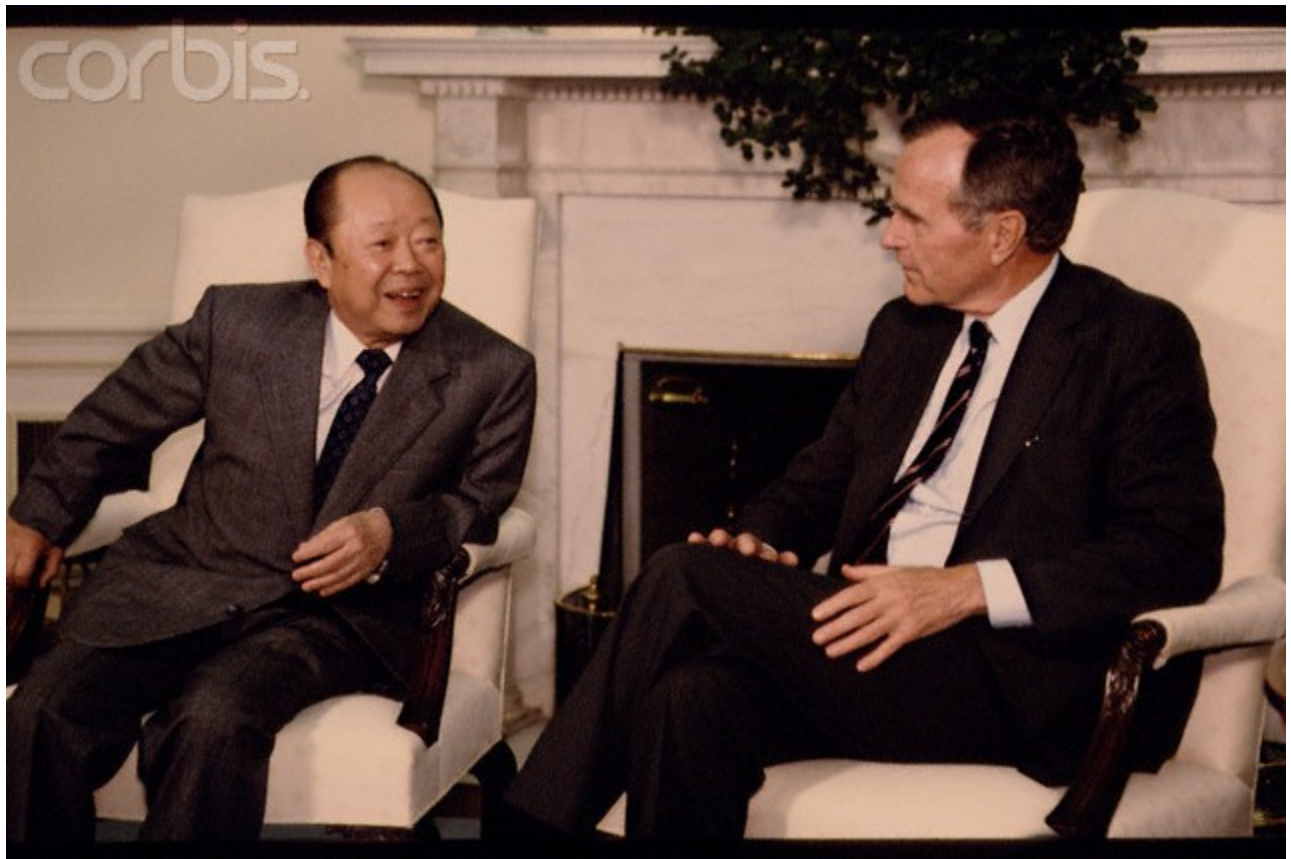


Secretary of State Colin Powell, former Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and former Secretary of State George P. Shultz listen to the American national anthem at a ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which officially ended World War II, in San Francisco on September 8, 2001. Colin Powell and George P. Shultz are members of the Council on Foreign Relations and members of the Mandalay Camp at the Bohemian Grove in California. (Photo by Justin Sullivan/Getty Images)



Japan's Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa (left, podium) and President George Bush speak at the White House Rose Garden in July 1992. The four individuals standing in the background are (left to right): U.S. Ambassador to Japan Michael Armacost, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, unidentified, and U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills. Armacost, Brady, Hills, and Bush are (or were) members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Dirck Halstead, Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)





Japan's Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa visits President George H.W. Bush at the White House in Washington, D.C. on July 1, 1992.  
(Jeffrey Markowitz/Sygma/Corbis)



President Bill Clinton sits beside Japan's Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa at the G7 Summit on July 6, 1993.  
(Wally McNamee/CORBIS SYGMA)



Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers (left) shakes hands with Japan's Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa at the Treasury Department in Washington, D.C. on April 15, 2000. (George Bridges/AFP/Getty Images)



Japan's Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa (left) walks with President George Bush, an unidentified aide, and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft (right) at the White House in July 1992. (Photo: Dirck Halstead, Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)





Japan's Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa (left) shares a laugh with Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin in San Francisco, California on September 4, 1998. (John G. Mabanglo/AFP/Getty Images)



Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin (right) shakes hands with Japan's Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi during a meeting in Rubin's office at the Treasury Department in Washington D.C. on December 6, 1997. (Jamal A. Wilson/AFP/Getty Images)



Japanese legislator Koichi Kato (left), Hiroshi Peter Kamura, and Alan D. Romberg meet together at the Harold Pratt House on June 14, 1989 to discuss Japan's foreign policy. Kato is a member of the Trilateral Commission.  
(Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson (left) meets with Taizo Nishimuro, President and CEO of the Tokyo Stock Exchange in Tokyo on March 6, 2007. Paulson is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; Nishimuro was a member of the Trilateral Commission. Paulson is the former Chairman and CEO of Goldman Sachs. Nishimuro is the former Chairman and CEO of Toshiba Corporation. (Photo by Junko Kimura/Getty Images)





Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (left) meets with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda in Tokyo, Japan, on Nov. 8, 2007. (Photo by Cherie A. Thurlby, U.S. Department of Defense)



Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz shakes hands with Japan's Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi (left) at the Pentagon on September 25, 2001. (Photo by Helene C. Stikkel, U.S. Department of Defense)





Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto (right) meets with visiting U.S. Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen (left) in Tokyo, Japan on April 9, 1997. The two men met to discuss a variety of security issues facing the two nations including the current famine in North Korea and its potential effect on regional stability. (U.S. Department of Defense photo by R. D. Ward)



***Left to right: Angier Biddle Duke (left) and his wife Robin Chandler Duke (right) appear with Japanese businessman and one-time ultranationalist Ryoichi Sasakawa (center) at the launch of the United States-Japan Foundation in Tokyo, Japan in 1980. Angier Biddle Duke was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; Robin Chandler Duke is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Ryoichi Sasakawa was acquitted of war crimes at the Tokyo Trials.***  
 (Photo: <http://www.us-jf.org/about.html>)





Secretary of Defense William Cohen (left) and Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori pose for photographers prior to their meeting at the Kantei building in Tokyo, Japan on September 22, 2000. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense/Helene C. Stikkel)



Maurice Greenberg, former U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills, former President of Columbia University Michael I. Sovern, Japan's Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, and Council on Foreign Relations Chairman Peter G. Peterson smile for the cameras at a Council on Foreign Relations meeting on September 24, 1996.



Paul Wolfowitz (left), President of the World Bank, meets with Sadako Ogata, President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency, in Japan on May 28, 2006. Sadako Ogata is a member of the Trilateral Commission. Paul Wolfowitz is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a former member of the Trilateral Commission. (Photo: [Ken Katsurayama/World Bank](#))



Robert Rubin shakes hands with Japan's Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa.





U.S. Representative to the United Nations Richard Holbrooke (R) answers a question during a news conference after his meeting with Japanese Ambassador to the United Nations Yukio Satoh (L) at Satoh's office near the United Nations in New York City on September 13, 1999. Yukio Satoh is a member of the Trilateral Commission. Richard Holbrooke is a former member of the Trilateral Commission and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations until his death on December 13, 2010. (Getty Images)



US Ambassador to the United Nations Richard Holbrooke (C) shakes hands with Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi (R) prior to their talks at the latter's official residence in Tokyo, Japan on March 16, 2000, while U.S. Ambassador to Japan Thomas Foley (L) looks on. Richard Holbrooke and Thomas Foley were members of the Council on Foreign Relations in 2000. (Getty Images)



Shinzo Abe (right), as Chief Cabinet Secretary, meets with U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick in January 2006.



Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (left) shakes hands with Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe during a meeting in Tokyo, Japan on March 30, 2007. (Pool/Reuters/Corbis)

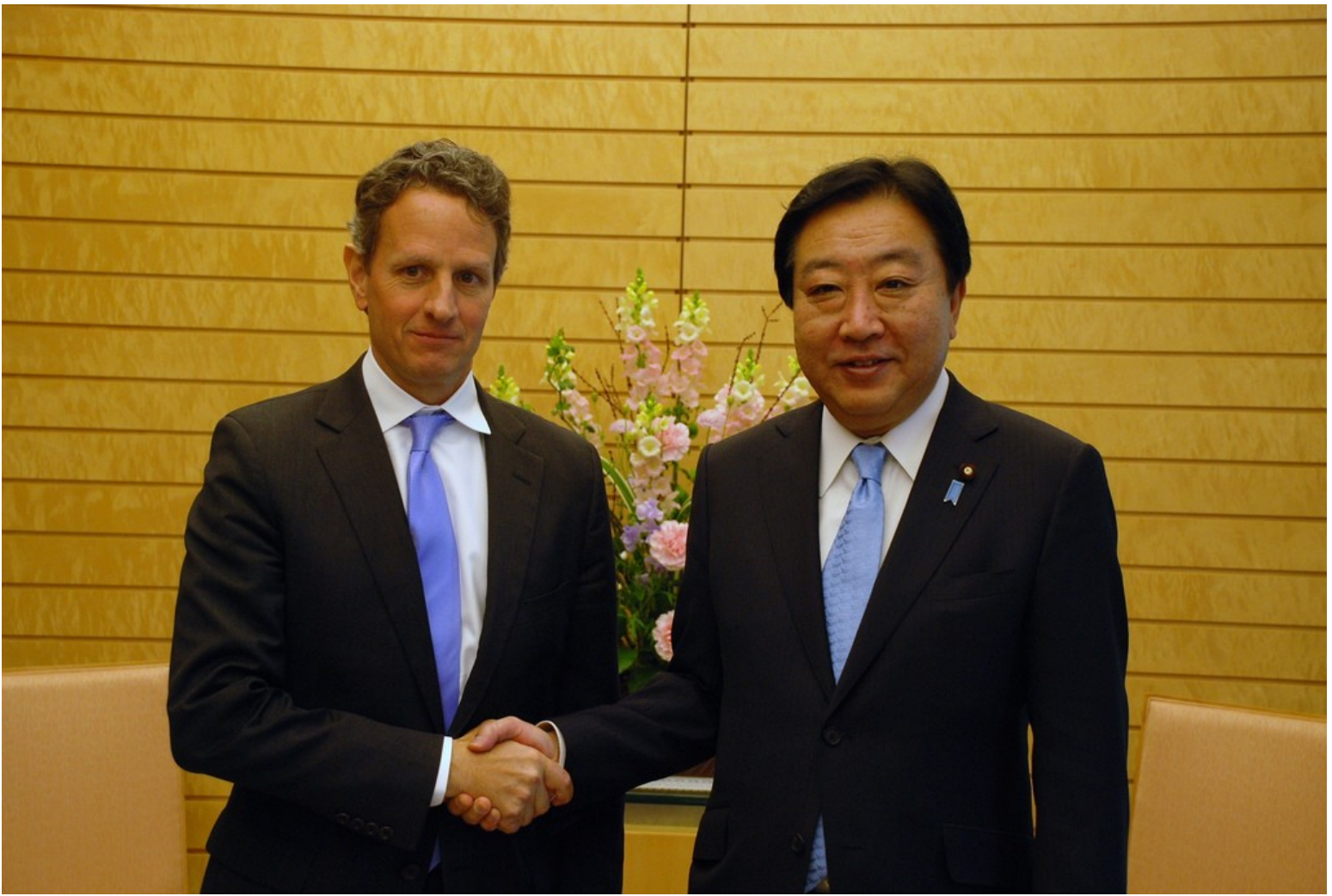




U.S. Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg (left) meets Japan's Prime Minister Taro Aso at the Prime Minister's official residence in Tokyo, Japan on June 2, 2009. (AP Photo)



U.S. Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg, right, shakes hands with Japanese Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada prior to their talk at Japanese Foreign Ministry in Tokyo, Japan on October 1, 2009. (AP Photo)



Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner (left) met with Japan's Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda in Tokyo, Japan on Thursday, January 12, 2012. (Photo: U.S. Treasury Department) <http://www.flickr.com/photos/ustreasury/6691394711/in/photostream>



# Taiwan's Lee visits Tokyo's Yasukuni war shrine

By Chisa Fujioka

TOKYO Thu Jun 7, 2007 11:10am EDT

(Reuters) - Former Taiwan president Lee Teng-hui, despised by Beijing for asserting the self-ruled island's sovereignty, paid his respects at Tokyo's Yasukuni war shrine on Thursday, prompting a terse complaint from China.

Lee's pilgrimage could take some of the glow off a rapprochement in Sino-Japanese ties, but analysts said its impact was likely to be limited.

China expressed "strong dissatisfaction" with Japan for allowing Lee to visit the country. "Lee Teng-hui's behavior in Japan shows what it is he aspires to," Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Jiang Yu told a news conference in Beijing.

She urged Tokyo to abide by agreements under which it recognizes only one China.

Supporters of Lee, who was educated in Japan and led Taiwan from 1988 to 2000, shouted "banzai" (long life) when he arrived at the Shinto shrine's massive, tree-lined complex in central Tokyo. Some waved Japanese flags. Some shouted "Taiwan forever".

Yasukuni is seen by many in Asia as a symbol of Japan's past militarism. It honors millions of Japanese war dead -- among them soldiers from Taiwan and Korea who fought for Japan, their colonial ruler at the time -- but also some convicted war criminals, including wartime prime minister Hideki Tojo.

But Lee, 84, said his pilgrimage to Yasukuni was intended to pay respects to his elder brother, who died fighting for the Japanese during World War Two, when Taiwan was a Japanese colony.

"It is completely personal, please don't think of anything political or historical," he said, speaking in Japanese.

"As family, showing respect to my elder brother by visiting the shrine is something I must do," Lee said.

Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary Yasuhisa Shiozaki said he foresaw no change in an expected meeting between Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Chinese President Hu Jintao at this week's Group of Eight summit in Germany.

"It was Mr. Lee's private act and it should not affect Sino-Japanese relations and I don't think it will," Shiozaki told a news conference.

## SECONDARY MATTER

Analysts said any damage to the fragile rapprochement that began after Abe took office last year was likely to be limited.

"China will find this hard to accept, but it doesn't represent any shift on Abe's willingness to open dialogue, and that's what China cares about," said Shi Yinhong, a regional security expert at the People's University of China in Beijing.

"Secondary things like this aren't going to change the course of relations," Shi added.

Relations had worsened under Abe's predecessor, Junichiro Koizumi, largely due to Koizumi's annual visits to Yasukuni.

Before becoming prime minister, Abe had backed Koizumi's visits to the Yasukuni shrine, but he has declined to say whether he would go there while in the country's top post.

Some diplomats said Lee's move was partly an appeal to conservative Japanese politicians who favor tighter ties with Taiwan, with which Tokyo has no formal diplomatic ties.

Beijing has claimed sovereignty over Taiwan since 1949, when China's Nationalist forces fled to the island after losing power on the mainland to Mao Zedong's Communists.

Many in Taiwan maintain a friendlier attitude towards Japan than those in mainland China, where many harbor deep resentment toward Tokyo due to wartime aggression and atrocities.

Taiwan was largely spared the harsh treatment meted out to many of the countries that Japan occupied during the war and many residents credit Japan for helping to modernize the island.

(Additional reporting by George Nishiyama and Linda Sieg in Tokyo, Doug Young in Taipei and Chris Buckley in Beijing)

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/06/07/us-japan-taiwan-lee-idUSSP1617120070607>



Lee Teng-hui (2<sup>nd</sup> left), former President of the Republic of China [Taiwan], visits Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, Japan on June 7, 2007.



## **Lee Tenghui pays respects to brother at Yasukuni Shrine**

[Asahi Shimbun](#) - Former Taiwanese President Lee Tenghui visited Yasukuni Shrine on Thursday morning to pay his respects to his older brother who was killed while fighting for Japan during World War II.

The 84-year-old Lee, currently on a trip to Japan, gave a silent prayer at the shrine in Tokyo, where the nation's war dead, along with 14 Class-A war criminals, are enshrined, sources said.

"The visit to pay respects to my brother whom I parted with 62 years ago is a private affair," Lee said.

Lee's brother, Lee Tengchin, who is honored under the Japanese name Takenori Iwasato, is said to have died while serving in the Japanese navy in the Philippines.

Lee's visit to the shrine lasted about 40 minutes.

Yasukuni Shrine officials declined to comment on how Lee paid his respects, saying the visit was made by a "private citizen."

Lee, a Christian, had earlier told reporters that he wanted his visit to the Shinto shrine to be regarded as "neither a political nor a historical" act.

"My father did not believe that my brother was killed. So there was not even an ancestral tablet at my home, and I could not mourn properly," he said.

Lee had visited Tokyo in 1985 when he was vice president, but he was not aware that his brother was honored at the shrine, he said. "It would lack human empathy not to go this time," he said.

Lee had also brushed aside concerns that Beijing, which regards Taiwan as a renegade province, would react strongly to the Yasukuni visit.

"Taiwan has experienced the colonial occupation of Japan and is different from China," Lee has said.

China on Thursday did not comment on Lee's visit to the shrine, but reiterated its opposition to Japan's decision to let him enter the country.

"We express our displeasure again with Japan for allowing Lee Tenghui to visit Japan," Chinese foreign ministry official Jiang Yu told a news conference. Jiang's remark indicates that China does not intend to make Lee's visit a new source of dispute between the two countries.

Beijing views Lee as a key figure among Taiwan's pro-independence forces.

China also takes a critical view of Yasukuni Shrine because of the Class-A war criminals enshrined there.

Some Japanese government officials had expressed concerns that Lee might make a political statement in Japan that could infuriate China.

"We were informed that the purpose of the current trip is academic and cultural exchanges," Chief Cabinet Secretary Yasuhisa Shiozaki said. "He is coming as a private person, so there is nothing much the government has to say."

The consensus within the Foreign Ministry is that Lee's visit will have little influence on efforts to improve Japan-China relations, sources said.

Lee arrived in Japan on May 30 for "academic and cultural exchanges as a private person."

Before visiting Yasukuni Shrine, Lee traveled around the Tohoku region.(IHT/Asahi: June 8,2007)

Source: <http://chineseinvancouver.blogspot.com/2007/06/man-throws-soft-drink-bottles-at-lee.html>

## Lee raps China, South Korea over Yasukuni

[Japan Times](#) - Former Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui said Saturday in Tokyo that China and South Korea have lashed out at Japanese leaders over Yasukuni Shrine mainly because of their own domestic political problems, and Japan should not let other countries intervene in honoring its war dead.

Lee, speaking in Japanese at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan, also criticized the media for playing up and politicizing his "private" visit to the war-related shrine.

"Yasukuni issues have been made up just because China and Korea could not handle their own domestic problems. And Japan has been too weak (in reacting to the protests)," said the 84-year-old Lee, who led Taiwan from 1988 to 2000.

He did not elaborate on what domestic problems Beijing and Seoul are facing, but critics say Japan-related issues are often used in China and South Korea as a pretext to attack domestic political foes or as a means to distract public attention from other issues.

Yasukuni Shrine honors and enshrines dead Japanese soldiers and officers, serving as a spiritual pillar for veterans and relatives of the war dead. It is also widely regarded as a symbol of Japan's wartime militarism as it enshrines Class-A war criminals. Lee went to the shrine Thursday to pray for his deceased older brother, who fought for Japan when Taiwan was under Japanese colonial rule.

Saturday was the final day of his 11-day stay in Japan. He described the trip as "successful," saying it was designed for cultural and academic exchanges as well as retracing the footsteps of the noted 17th-century poet Matsuo Basho.

He added he wants to come back, saying this time he followed only half of the itinerary of Basho's journey in the Tohoku region.

Another purpose was to gauge recent changes in traditions and behavior. Lee said he found that the Japanese people have retained their strong spiritual discipline to maintain order in society and praised the tradition of Japanese culture.

"(Japanese people) provide the best public services and keep (everything) as clean as possible. There even is no dirt on expressways," he said.

As Lee wrapped up his trip at Narita airport later Saturday, a man hurled two plastic bottles containing liquid at him, but he was unhurt. The man, identified as a Chinese engineer, 34, currently living in Chiba, was taken into custody, police said.

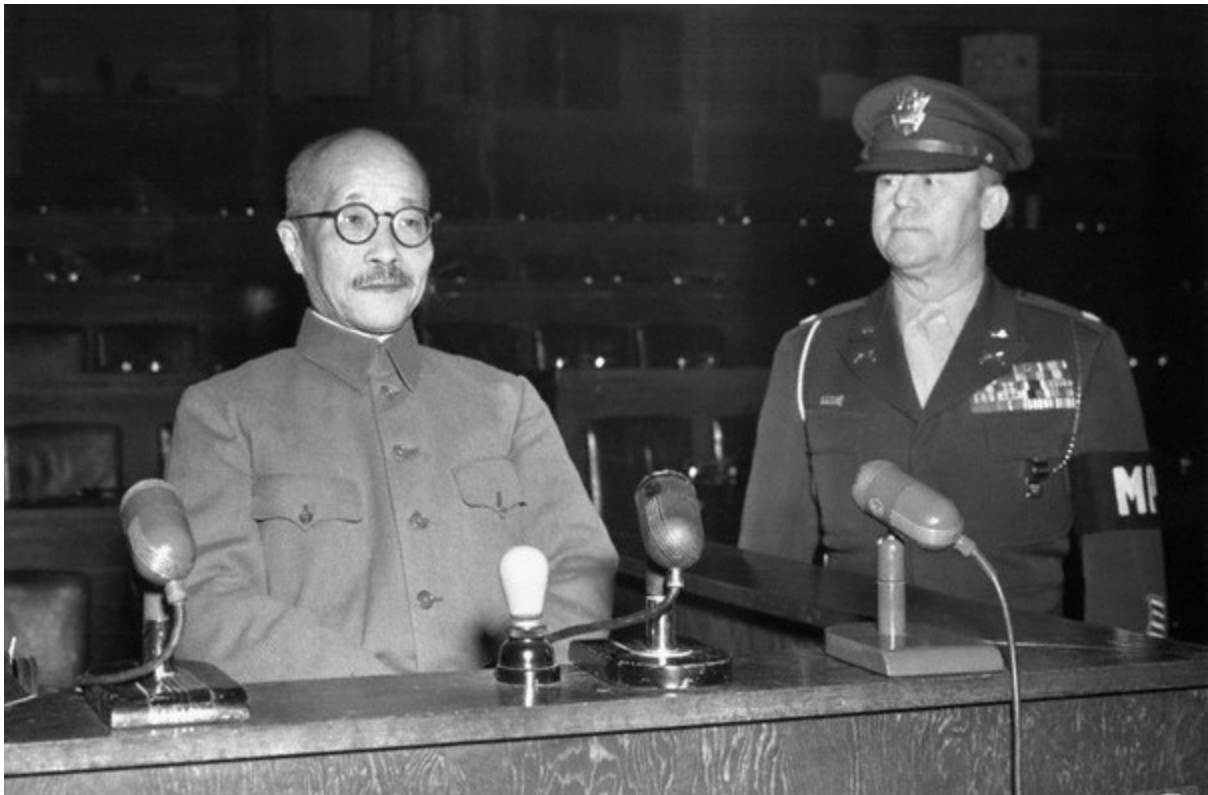
Source: <http://chineseinvancouver.blogspot.com/2007/06/man-throws-soft-drink-bottles-at-lee.html>



Lee Teng-hui (left), former President of the Republic of China [Taiwan], arrives at Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, Japan on June 7, 2007. (Credit: Reuters/Michael Caronna)



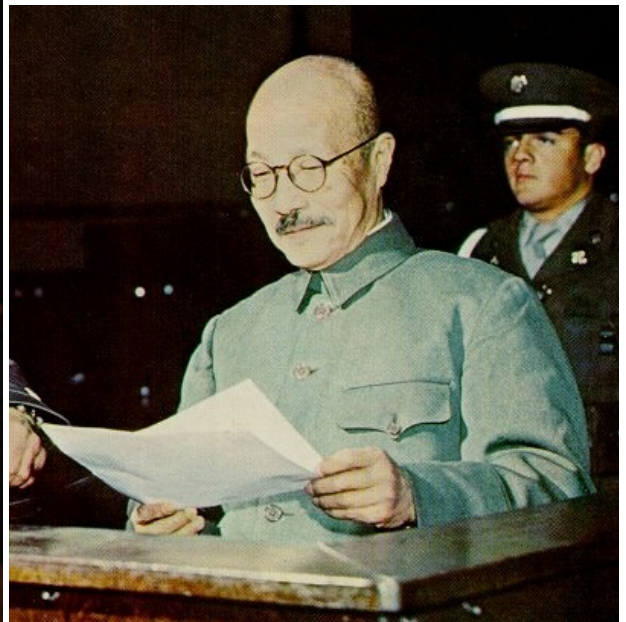
## The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal (1946-1948)



An American Army military policeman watches Hideki Tojo (left), wartime Prime Minister of Japan, sit in the witness chair at a war crimes trial in Tokyo, Japan on January 5, 1948. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Left: A rare color photograph of General Hideki Tojo, after two years and more than 400 courtroom days, seated in a courtroom at the Tokyo Trials in Tokyo, Japan on April 15, 1948, before receiving the verdict of the Military Tribunal for the Far East. (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Right: General Hideki Tojo reads his verdict at the Tokyo Trials.



The defendants at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East Ichigaya Court: Accused Japanese war criminals in the prisoners' box in May-June 1946. Front row of defendants from left to right: General Kenji Doihara; Field Marshal Shunroku Hata; Koki Hirota, former Prime Minister of Japan; General Jiro Minami; General Hideki Tojo, former Prime Minister of Japan; Takasumi Oka; General Yoshiji Umezu; General Sadao Araki; General Akira Muto; Naoki Hoshino; Okinori Kaga; Marquis Koichi Kido. Back row: Colonel Kingiro Hashimoto; General Kuniaki Koiso; Admiral Osami Nagano; General Hiroshi Oshima; General Iwane Matsui; Shumei Okawa; Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma; Shigenori Togo; Yosuke Matsuoka; Mamoru Shigemitsu; General Kenryo Sato; Admiral Shigetaro Shimado; Toshio Shiratori; Teiichi Suzuki.



Tomoyuki Yamashita (C), former Japanese Army Commander in the Philippines, is administered the oath, with an interpreter (L), as he takes the witness stand in his own trial for war crimes in Manila, Philippines on December 5, 1945. Major Robert M. Kerr (R), of Portland, Oregon, administers the oath. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)





An American Military Police officer leans forward to fasten a button on ex-official Shumei Okawa's shirt after he slapped former premier Hideki Tojo (Front Row 2L) during their arraignment on war crimes in Tokyo, Japan in May 1946. (Photo: Alfred Eisenstaedt/Time Life)



American U.S. Army Military Police guards stand at attention as Japanese war criminal Hideki Tojo wears a translation headset while testifying during his trial in Tokyo, Japan in December 1948. (Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)

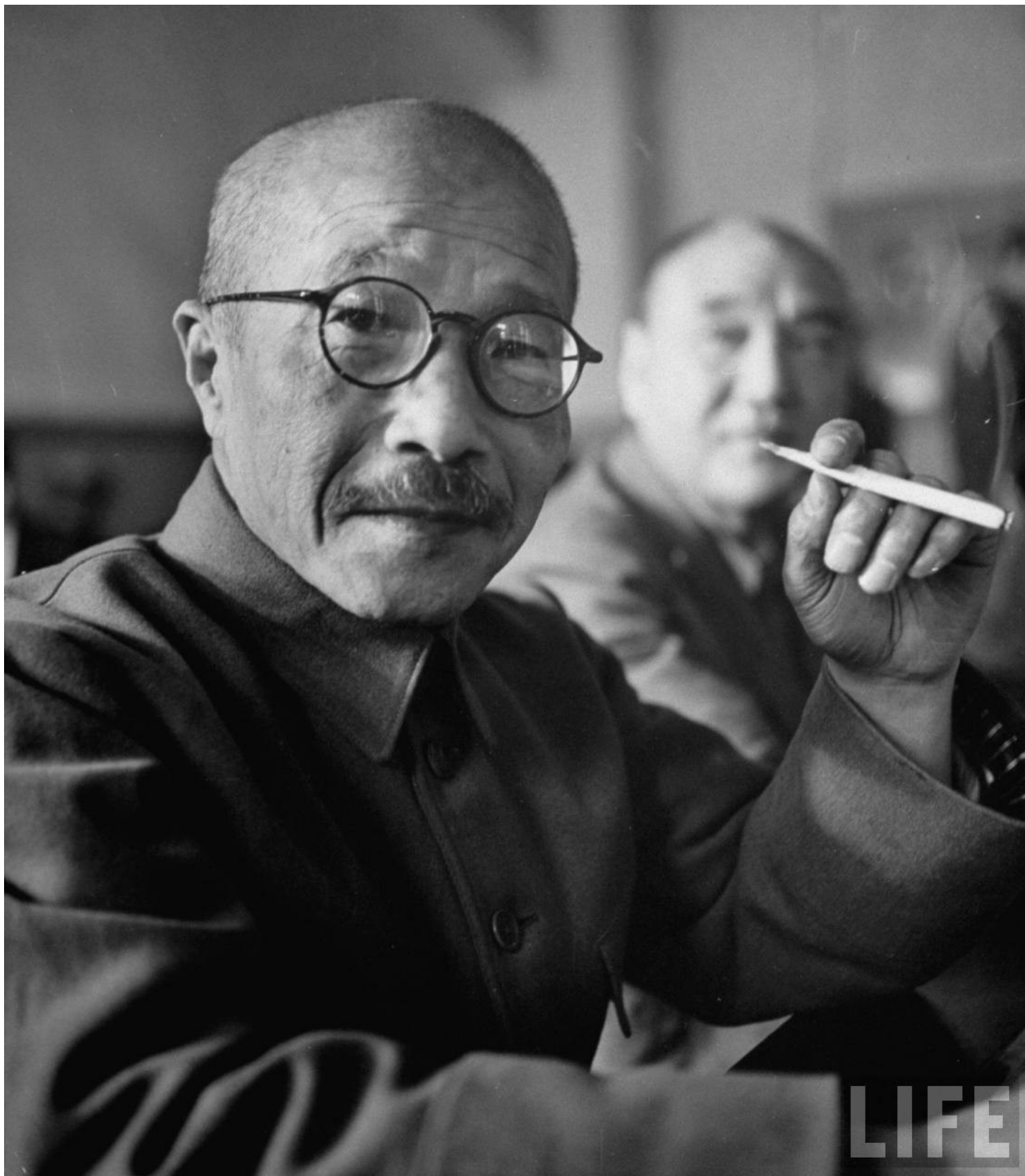


Koki Hirota (広田弘毅) listens to death sentence read by Sir William Webb (Australia) (not shown), President of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, at the Tokyo Trials in Tokyo, Japan on November 12, 1948. Koki Hirota was Prime Minister of Imperial Japan from March 9, 1936 to February 2, 1937 and Foreign Minister under Saito, Okada and Konoe. Koki Hirota and Hideki Tojo were executed at Sugamo Prison in Tokyo on December 23, 1948. (Photo: [National Archives](#))





Japanese war criminals, including General Hideki Tojo (third from right), eat their meal inside the Sugamo Prison in Tokyo, Japan in 1946. (Photo: Alfred Eisenstaedt/Time Life)



A Time-Life photograph of Japanese war criminal Hideki Tojo smoking what appears to be a cigarette (opium?) at his jail cell in Tokyo, Japan in December 1948. Hideki Tojo was executed at Sugamo Prison in Tokyo on December 23, 1948.  
(Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)



*Chapter V*  
*Japanese Aggression Against China*  
*Sections I and II*

**Section I.**  
**Invasion & Occupation of Manchuria**  
**The China War and Its Phases**

The war which Japan waged against China, and which the Japanese leaders falsely described as the "China Incident" or the "China Affair", began on the night of 18 September 1931 and ended with the surrender of Japan in Tokyo Bay on 2 September 1945. The first phase of this war consisted of the invasion, occupation and consolidation by Japan of that part of China known as Manchuria, and of the Province of Jehol. The second phase of this war began on 7 July 1937, when Japanese troops attacked the walled city of Wanping near Peiping following the "Marco Polo Bridge Incident", and consisted of successive advances, each followed by brief periods of consolidation in preparation for further advances into Chinese territory. Some of the Accused were active in this war from the very beginning, some participated as the war progressed. SHIRATORI stated during the course of his lecture, "The Trend of the Great War", which was published in the *Diamond Magazine* for June 1940, "It is not too much to say that the fuse of the European War was first attached by the China Incident".

**Japan's Foothold in Manchuria**  
**at the Beginning of the China War**

The position of Japan in Manchuria as at 18 September 1931 is described by the Lytton Commission in terms with which the Tribunal entirely agrees:

--521--

---

These treaties and other agreements gave to Japan an important and unusual position in Manchuria. She governed the leased territory with practically full rights of sovereignty. Through the South Manchurian Railway, she administered the railway areas, including several towns and large sections of such populous cities as Mukden and Changchun; and in these areas she controlled the police, taxation, education, and public utilities. She maintained armed forces in many parts of the country: the Kwantung Army in the Leased Territory, Railway Guards in the railway areas, and Consular Police throughout the various districts. This summary of the long list of Japan's rights in Manchuria shows clearly the exceptional character of the political, economic and legal relations created between that country and China in Manchuria. There is probably nowhere in the world an exact parallel to this situation, no example of a country enjoying in the territory of a neighboring State such extensive economic and administrative privileges. A situation of this kind could possibly be maintained without leading to incessant complications and disputes if it were freely desired or accepted on both sides, and if it were the sign and embodiment of a well considered policy of close collaboration in the economic and in the political sphere. But, in the absence of these conditions, it could only lead to friction and conflict.

The situation was not "freely desired and accepted on both sides", and the friction inevitably followed. By the use of force or the threat of force, Japan had secured concessions from China in the days of her weakness; the resurgent nationalism of China

--522--

---

resented the losses which the decadent Empire of China had been unable to avoid. A more powerful factor, and ultimately the decisive factor in producing the friction, began to emerge as Japan, no longer satisfied with the rights she had gained, sought their enlargement on a scale which in the end involved the conquest of Manchuria. This policy on the part of Japan to seek enlargement of her rights and interests in China was first authoritatively announced in the time of the Tanaka Cabinet.

**The Tanaka Cabinet and its "Positive Policy"**

The political atmosphere had been tense in Japan before the formation of the Tanaka Cabinet, which came into power in 1927 advocating the so-called "Positive Policy" toward China. The military group attributed what they termed the weakened condition of Japan at that time to the liberal tendencies of the Government as evidenced by the "Friendship Policy" advocated by Foreign Minister Shidehara. The "Friendship Policy", which was thus displaced, had been in force since the Washington Conference of 1922. The "Positive Policy", advocated by Premier Tanaka, was to expand and develop the special rights and privileges, which Japan claimed to have acquired in Manchuria, through collaboration with Manchurian authorities, especially Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese North-Eastern Frontier Army and Chief of the Administration of Manchuria and Jehol. Premier Tanaka also declared that although Japan would respect the sovereignty of China over Manchuria and would do everything possible to enforce the "Open Door Policy" in

--523--

---

China, she was fully determined to see that no state of affairs arose in Manchuria which would disturb the local tranquility and put Japan's vital interests in jeopardy. The Tanaka Government placed great emphasis upon the necessity of regarding

Manchuria as distinct from the rest of China and declared that, if disturbances spread to Manchuria and Mongolia from other parts of China, Japan would defend her interests in those districts by force. The policy thus involved an expressed intention to secure further rights in a foreign country and an implied claim of right to preserve internal peace and order in that foreign country.

### **Agitation in Support of the "Positive Policy"**

Such organizations as the *Kokuryukai* (Black Dragon Society) and the *Kokuhonsha* (Foundation of the State Society) as well as such writers as Dr. Okawa (the former Accused) agitated strongly in Japan for the enforcement of Japan's special rights and privileges in China by force of arms if necessary.

The Black Dragon Society had been formed on 3 February 1901 at Kanda, Japan, to promote nationalism and anti-Russian and anti-Korean sympathies. It had advocated annexation of Korea, and in general supported the expansionist aspirations of Japan.

The Foundation of the State Society had been formed on 20 December 1920 to foster the spirit of nationalism and disseminate propaganda. It kept in close touch with the military and published a magazine to present its ideas to the public. HIRANUMA was President and KOISO and ARAKI were Members of the Society.

Dr. Okawa was a trusted employee of the South

--524--

---

Manchurian Railway Company, and had been a Director of the East Asia Research Institute established by the Railway Company to study the economic situation in Manchuria. He had published several books before the formation of the Tanaka Cabinet. *Sato Shinen's Ideal State*, published by him in 1924, stated: that according to Sato, Japan being the first country in the world to be created, it was the foundation of all nations and therefore had the divine mission to rule all nations. The book advocated the occupation of Siberia to prevent the southward advance of Russia, and the occupation of the South Sea Islands to prevent the northward advance of Britain. He published *Asia, Europe and Japan*, in 1925. In that book, he maintained that the League of Nations was organized to maintain eternally the status quo and further domination of the World by the Anglo-Saxons. He predicted that a war between the East and the West was inevitable. Providence was trying to elect Japan as the champion of Asia, he asserted. Japan should endeavor to fulfill that sublime mission by developing a strong materialistic spirit, he advised. Dr. Okawa had been the organizer of many societies, including the *Kochisha*, one principle of which was the liberation of the colored races and the unification of the World. The political philosophy of Dr. Okawa had appealed to certain of the Military who had adopted him as their spokesman among the civilians and often invited him to deliver lectures at the Army General Staff meetings. Dr. Okawa became intimately acquainted with the Accused KOISO, ITAGAKI, DOHIHARA and other Army leaders.

--525--

---

### **The Tsinan Incident**

Marshal Chang Tso-lin, having declared Manchuria independent of the Central Government of China at the time of the Washington Conference, and made himself master of Manchuria, decided to extend his authority further into China proper and moved his headquarters to Peking. The policy of the Tanaka Cabinet, being based on the plan of collaboration with the Marshal, depended on the success of the Marshal in maintaining his leadership in Manchuria. Premier Tanaka repeatedly advised the Marshal to abandon his ambitions to extend his authority outside Manchuria; but the Marshal resented and refused this advice. Civil war between Chang Tso-lin and the Nationalist Government of China followed. In the spring of 1928, when the nationalist armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek were marching on Peking and Tientsin to drive out the army of Chang Tso-lin, and force it back into Manchuria, Premier Tanaka issued a declaration to the effect that Japan would maintain peace and order in Manchuria and was prepared to prevent a state of affairs which would endanger the interests of Japan in Manchuria. The Premier then sent a message to the Chinese generals, in effect telling them that the Japanese would oppose any invasion of Manchuria, including the definite statement that the Japanese would prevent defeated troops or those in pursuit from entering Manchuria. Even before the civil war spread to Manchuria, Japanese troops were sent to Tsinan in Shantung Province. A conflict ensued known as the Tsinan Incident, which aroused public opinion in Japan in favour of protection of Japanese rights in Manchuria. The Black Dragon Society held mass-meetings all over Japan in an effort to fan national resentment against China to the war pitch.

--526--

---

### **Murder of Marshal Chang Tso-lin**

Marshal Chang Tso-lin had not only disregarded the advice of Premier Tanaka in attempting to extend his authority south of the Great Wall, but had shown increasing unwillingness to allow Japan to exploit China by the privileges she derived from various treaties and agreements. This attitude of the Marshal had caused a group of officers in the Kwantung Army to advocate that



force should be used to promote the interests of Japan in Manchuria, and to maintain that nothing was to be gained by negotiating with the Marshal; however, Premier Tanaka continued to collaborate with the Marshal, relying upon the threat of force rather than its actual use to attain his objective. This resentment of the Marshal by certain officers of the Kwantung Army became so intense that a senior staff officer of that army, Colonel Kawamoto, planned to murder the Marshal. The purpose of the murder was to remove him as the obstacle to the creation of a new state in Manchuria, dominated by Japan, with the Marshals' son, Chang Hsueh-liang, as its nominal head.

In the latter part of April 1928, the Marshal was defeated by the nationalist armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Premier Tanaka advised him to withdraw into Manchuria behind the Japanese lines before it was too late. The Marshal resented this advice, but was forced to follow it. The Kwantung Army, in accordance with Tanaka's declaration, that Japan would prevent defeated troops from entering Manchuria, was engaged in disarming Chinese troops retreating toward Mukden from Peking. The Japanese 20th Engineer Regiment, which had arrived at Mukden from Korea, mined the railroad with dynamite and a Japanese Captain placed his

---

--527--

soldiers in position around the mine. On 4 June 1938, when the Marshal's train reached the mine, which was located at the point where the Peking-Mukden Railway passes underneath the South Manchurian Railway, there was an explosion. The Marshal's train was wrecked and Japanese soldiers began firing upon the Marshal's bodyguard. The Marshal was killed as planned. An attempt was made to obtain an order to muster the entire Kwantung Army into action and exploit the incident and attain its original purpose, but the effort was thwarted by a staff officer who apparently did not understand the real purpose of those desiring the issuance of the order.

The Tanaka Cabinet was taken by surprise and greatly embarrassed as it saw its program endangered by this murder of the Marshal. Premier Tanaka made a full report to the Emperor and obtained his permission to court-martial those responsible. Upon his return from the palace, he summoned the Minister of War and other members of his Cabinet and sated that he was determined to discipline the Army. Those present agreed, but when the Minister of War took the matter up with his Ministry, he suggested that strong opposition on the part of the General Staff should be encouraged. Thereafter, the Minister of War reported to the Premier that the opposition of the Army General Staff was based on the idea that to court-martial those responsible would force the Army to make public some of its military secrets. This was the first time, according to the testimony of former Navy Minister Okada, that the Army had projected itself into the formulation of government policy.

It was at this time that DOHIHARA appeared upon a scene in which he was to play an important part. He had

---

--528--

spent approximately eighteen years in China prior to the murder of Marshal Chang Tso-lin as aide to General Benzai, who had acted as advisor to various Chinese leaders. On 17 March 1928, DOHIHARA had requested and received permission from the Emperor to accept an appointment as aided to Matsui, Nanao, who was advisor to the Marshal. DOHIHARA reported for duty under the appointment and was present in Manchuria when the Marshal was killed.

### **Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, the Young Marshal**

The Young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, succeeded his father; but he proved to be a disappointment to the Kwantung Army. He joined the Koumintang Party in December 1928; and anti-Japanese movements began to be promoted on an organized scale and gained greatly in intensity. The movement for the recovery of Chinese national rights gained strength. There was a demand for the recovery of the South Manchurian Railway and, in general, for the limitation of the Japanese influence in Manchuria.

In July 1928, soon after the murder of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, Premier Tanaka had sent a personal representative to negotiate with the Young Marshal. The representative had been instructed to inform the Young Marshal that Japan regarded Manchuria as her outpost, and that the Japanese Government would like to cooperate with him "behind the scenes" and was prepared to spare no sacrifice under the Cabinet's "Positive Policy" to prevent an invasion of Manchuria by the Chinese Nationalist Armies. The Young Marshal's answer was to join the Koumintang as related.

### **Japanese-Chinese Relations Strained**

Japanese-Chinese relations in Manchuria became extremely aggravated. The Japanese claimed several violations

---

--529--

of the "Trade Treaty" with China. The Chinese proposal to construct a railroad parallel to the South Manchurian Railroad, the claim that there was illegal taxation of Japanese in Manchuria, the claim of oppression of Koreans, and the denial of the right of Japanese subjects to lease land in Manchuria, were all "Manchurian Problems" according to the Japanese agitators. The Military

advocated Japanese occupation of Manchuria. They maintained that diplomatic negotiations were useless and that armed force should be used to drive the Chinese from Manchuria and set up a new regime under Japanese control. ITAGAKI, who had been appointed a staff officer of the Kwantung Army in May 1929, was one of those who advocated the use of force. Dr. Okawa, who had visited Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and attempted to negotiate with him on behalf of the South Manchurian Railway, returned to Japan and engaged in a tour of over fifty prefectures in April 1929, giving lectures and showing pictures. The Army General Staff, of which MINAMI was Vice-Chief, began to cooperate with Dr. Okawa and to aid him in his propaganda program to instigate the people to take action against China. The Army General Staff also began to study plans for operations in Manchuria and to declare that Manchuria was the "lifeline" of Japan.

### **Resignation of the Tanaka Cabinet**

The efforts of the Tanaka Cabinet to punish those responsible for the murder of Marshal Chang Tso-lin had alienated the Military. This group had joined with Dr. Okawa to create opposition among the civilians to the Cabinet, and had seized upon the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact ([Annex No. B-15](#)), which they claimed violated the Japanese

--530--

---

Constitution, as well as the terms approved by the Cabinet for the settlement of the Tsinan Incident, which they claimed were a disgrace to Japan, as opportunities to embarrass the Cabinet. The pressure became so great that on 1 July 1929, the Cabinet resigned.

The resignation of the Tanaka Government was a distinct victory for the Military and their civilian spokesman, Dr. Okawa. From this time on, the influence of this element on government policies was to become stronger, and their insistence that Japan should occupy Manchuria by force and establish a puppet government there was to bear fruit. Dr. Okawa became recognized as a political leader; and the South Manchurian Railway Company officials, realizing his value to them, divorced the East Asia Research Institute from the Company and created a Foundation in July 1929 to assist him in his work of investigating and molding public opinion in support of the Army's plan to occupy Manchuria.

### **Reinstatement of the "Friendship Policy"**

The Hamaguchi Cabinet, which followed the Tanaka Cabinet, was formed on 2 July 1929; and Baron Shidehara, who continued to advocate the "Friendship Policy" toward China, was selected by Premier Hamaguchi as his Foreign Minister. The "Friendship Policy" rested upon good will and friendship as distinguished from the "Positive Policy" of the Tanaka Cabinet, which rested upon the threat of military force. As a result of the "Friendship Policy", Chinese boycotts of Japanese trade steadily decreased and normal peaceful relations might have prevailed but for violent agitation on the part of the Military.

--531--

---

### **Hashimoto and the Cherry Society**

In his book, *The Road to the Reconstruction of the World*, HASHIMOTO, in discussing his tour of duty of three years in Istanbul as Military Attaché discussed the political condition of other countries and said: "I was clearly conscious that Japan was the only country within the whirlpool of world movement that stood within the bounds of liberalism. I considered if Japan goes on under the present condition, she would drop from the ranks in the community of nations. At this time, fortunately, I was ordered to go back (to Japan). During my thirty days' voyage, I pondered on how to reform Japan and as a result, I succeeded in drawing a definite plan to a certain degree. On returning to the Army General Staff Office, my former haunt, I devised several

--532--

---

schemes in order to put my ideas into execution." HASHIMOTO was attached to the Army General Staff on 30 January 1930.

Between 1-10 September 1930, a score or more of army captains who had recently graduated from the Army Staff College, met at the Army Club in Tokyo under the sponsorship of Lt. Colonel HASHIMOTO and decided to organize a research organization to study Manchurian and Mongolian questions and the internal reorganization of the country. The Society's ultimate objective was later announced to be national reorganization, by armed force if necessary, in order to settle the so-called "Manchurian Problem" and other pending issues. The name *Sakurakai* (Cherry Society) was given to the organization; and its membership was limited to army officer on the active list with rank of Lt. Colonel or under, who were concerned about national reorganization.

### **Manchuria as Japan's "Lifeline"**

Dr. Okawa, with the aid of the East Asia Research Foundation and the officers of the Army General Staff, had his propaganda campaign in full blast when HASHIMOTO returned to the General Staff Office. Propaganda was being disseminated through the newspapers and other media to establish the idea that Manchuria was Japan's "Lifeline", and that a stronger policy in connection therewith should be adopted. The military leaders issued instructions that all editorial writers, ultra-nationalistic speakers, etc.,



should unite to establish public opinion for more aggressive action in Manchuria. The Military argued that Manchuria was Japan's

--533--

"Lifeline", and that Japan must expand into Manchuria, develop it economically and industrially, set it up as a defence against Russia, and protect the rights of Japan and its nationals there as Japan was entitled to do under existing treaties. An appeal to emotion was made; it being said that Japanese blood had been shed in Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese War, and that by reason of that sacrifice, Japan was entitled to control Manchuria. The railroad question was still a burning issue; and Dr. Okawa insisted that Manchuria should be separated from Nanking and placed under Japanese control to create a land founded on the "Kingly Way".

HASHIMOTO in his book, *The Inevitability of Renovation*, has explained well the meaning of the term "Kingly Way". He said, "It is necessary to have politics, economics, culture, national defense, and everything else, all focused on one, the Emperor, and the whole force of the nation concentrated and displayed from a single point. Especially the political, economic and cultural lines which had been organized and conducted by liberalism and socialism in the past should be reorganized according to the principle of oneness in the Imperial Way, that is to say *Kodo Ittai Shugi*. This system is the strongest and the grandest of all. There are many countries in the world, but there is absolutely no nation that can compare with our national blood solidarity which makes possible a unification like ours with the Emperor in the center".

It was Okawa's idea that after an independent Manchuria had been established on the "Kingly Way", with an incomparable relation between Manchuria and Japan, Japan could assume the leadership of the peoples of Asia.

--534--

A General Investigation Section was created in the General Staff on 1 April 1930, as the Investigation Section of the Kwantung Army was considered insufficient to probe into the resources of Manchuria, the sentiments of the people and other kindred subjects of investigation.

Around the headquarters of the Kwantung Army at Port Arthur, the chief topic of conversation among the staff officers in those days was the "Manchurian Problem". ITAGAKI, who was one of those staff officers, had some definite ideas for solving the problem, which he expressed to a friend during the month of May 1930. ITAGAKI said that there were many unsolved problems between China and Japan, that they were so serious that they could not be solved by diplomatic means, and that there was no alternative but to use force. He expressed the opinion that Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang should be driven from Manchuria so that a new state might be established in accordance with the principles of the "Kingly Way".

### **Assassination of Premier Hamaguchi**

On 4 November 1930, Premier Hamaguchi was on the platform of the Tokyo Railway Station when, in the words of Foreign Minister Shidehara, "He was shot by a silly young man". The Premier was not killed instantly; but his wound was such that it was necessary for Foreign Minister Shidehara to act as Prime Minister until the Hamaguchi Cabinet resigned on 13 April 1931. The Premier succumbed to his wounds and died on 26 August 1931. Acting Prime Minister Shidehara caused an investigation to be made and determined that the assassination of Premier Hamaguchi was caused by dissatisfaction with the Premier's

--535--

Naval Disarmament Policy.

The London Naval Limitations Treaty had been signed on 22 April 1930. This treaty was in line with the policy of national economy and reduction of armaments which accompanied the Premier's "Friendship Policy". Also in line with this policy was the reduction of the Army from 21 divisions to 17 divisions. The signing of the London Treaty made the young navy officers indignant. The Black Dragon Society began to hold mass meetings in protest. The Privy Council, of which HIRANUMA was Vice-President, was strongly against the Treaty and was taking the attitude that the Cabinet had usurped the powers and prerogatives of the Military in concluding the Treaty. It was in the midst of this violent political argument that the assassination had occurred.

### **The March Incident**

A military coup d'etat was planned to occur on 20 March 1931. The affair came to be known as the "March Incident". The continual agitation and dissemination of propaganda by the Army General Staff had its effect; and as testified by Baron Okada, who was a member of the Supreme War Council at that time, it was generally understood that it was only a question of time until the Army would undertake the occupation of Manchuria. Before the Army could move into Manchuria, it was thought necessary to place in power a Government favorable to such action. At the time, the Hamaguchi Cabinet was in power; and due to the

attempted assassination of the Premier, the chief exponent of the "Friendship Policy", namely Foreign Minister Shidehara, was acting as Premier.

--536--

HASHIMOTO's plan, which was approved by his superior officers of the Army General Staff, including Ninomiya, who was Vice-Chief of the Staff, and Tatekawa, who was Chief of the Second Division of the Staff, was to start a demonstration as an expression of disapproval of the Diet. It was expected that a clash would occur with the Police during the demonstration, and that this clash could be expanded until the disorder would justify the Army in establishing martial law, dissolving the Diet and seizing the Government. KOISO, Ninomiya, Tatekawa and others called upon War Minister Ugaki at his Official Residence and discussed their plans with him, leaving with the impression that he was a ready tool for their scheme. Dr. Okawa was instructed to proceed with the mass demonstration; and HASHIMOTO delivered to him 300 practice bombs, which KOISO had secured for use on that occasion. They were to be used to spread alarm and confusion in the crowd and increase the appearance of riot. However, Dr. Okawa in his enthusiasm addressed a letter to War Minister Ugaki in which he stated that the time was just ahead for a great mission to descend upon Minister Ugaki; the War Minister now realized the full import of the plot. He immediately called in KOISO and HASHIMOTO and instructed them to stop all further plans to use the Army to carry out this revolution against the Government. The projected coup d'etat was averted. KIDO, who was then the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, was fully informed of the plot beforehand by a friend, who suggested that the Imperial Household should be advised.

--537--

### **The Watasuki Cabinet Continued the "Friendship Policy"**

Although the "March Incident" hastened the fall of the Hamaguchi Cabinet, which was followed on 14 April 1931 by the formation of the Wakatsuki Cabinet, it did not succeed in displacing the "Friendship Policy" fostered by Baron Shidehara, for he was retained as Foreign Minister by Premier Wakatsuki. General MINAMI, who had been a War Councillor since his relief as Commander of the Korean Army, was selected as War Minister. He replaced General Ugaki, who was in disgrace with the Army for having reduced the size of the Army and for having refused to take part in the "March Incident". Ugaki resigned from the Army and went into retirement.

### **The Wanpaoshan Incident**

The "Friendship Policy" was destined to be put to further tests, by two "Incidents", which had far-reaching effect upon opinion in Japan. The first of these "Incidents" occurred at Wanpaoshan, a small village located some 18 miles north of Changchun, in Manchuria. The village is located in a low marshy area alongside the Itung River. A group of Koreans leased a large tract of land near Wanpaoshan and prepared to irrigate the land by digging a ditch several miles long, extending from the Itung River across a tract of land, not included in their lease, and occupied by Chinese farmers. After a considerable length of the ditch had been constructed, the Chinese farmers arose en masse and protested to the Wanpaoshan authorities, who dispatched police and ordered the Koreans to cease construction at once and leave the area occupied by the Chinese. The Japanese Consul at Changchun also sent police to protect the Koreans. On 1 July 1931, after

--538--

negotiations had produced no results, the Chinese farmers took matters into their own hands and drove the Koreans from their lands and filled the ditch. During this operation, Japanese Consular Police opened fire on the Chinese farmers and drove them away, while the Koreans returned and completed their irrigation project under the protection of the Japanese police. No casualties resulted from this "Incident", but the sensational accounts of it printed in the Japanese and Korean Press caused a series of anti-Chinese riots in Korea in which Chinese were massacred and their property destroyed, which in turn caused a revival of the anti-Japanese boycott in China.

About this time, the War Ministry invited officials of the South Manchurian Railway Company to discuss "Manchurian Problems". At the discussions, MINAMI represented the Army and stated that he had long recognized the necessity of increasing the number of divisions in Korea.

### **The Nakamura Incident**

The killing of a Japanese Army captain by the name of Nakamura, Shintaro, on 27 June 1931 by soldiers under the command of Kuan Yuheng, Commander of the Third Regiment of the Chinese Reclamation Army in Manchuria, which killing did not become known to the Japanese until about 17 July 1931, gave rise to the second "Incident". Captain Nakamura, a regular Japanese Army officer, was on a mission under orders of the Japanese Army. According to the Chinese, he was armed and carried patent medicines, which included narcotic drugs for non-medical purposes. He was accompanied by three interpreters and

--539--



assistants, and represented himself as an "Agricultural Expert". When he reached a point near Taonan, he and his assistants were captured and shot; and their bodies were cremated to conceal the evidence of the deed. This "Incident" greatly aggravated the resentment of the Japanese Military against the "Friendship Policy"; and the Japanese Press repeatedly declared that "solution of the Manchurian Problem ought to be by force!"

### **The Army Attitude Stiffened**

The Army stiffened its attitude in regard to reduction of armaments and the plan of the Finance Department to economize, and threatened to appeal to the Throne. The Foreign Minister was bitterly assailed in the Press and by ultra-nationalists and the militarists for "Shidehara's weak-kneed foreign policy". The Cherry Society continued its agitation for the use of force. The Black Dragon Society held mass-meetings. Dr. Okawa stepped up the tempo of his propaganda. He was conducting a campaign of public speeches and publications to build up sentiment in support of the movement to occupy Manchuria. He made a speech along this line at the Naval Academy. The Army was completely out of control and could not be restrained. The Chiefs of Staff held a conference and decided that since one could not tell what Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang would do, he should be smashed firmly and without hesitation. Dr. Okawa confided in a friend that he and Colonel ITAGAKI and certain other Army officers would bring about an "Incident" in Mukden later on that would solve all "Manchurian Problems". KIDO admits that Baron Harada informed him of a

--540--

plot to this end on the part of the military officers in Manchuria as early as 23 June 1931.

On 4 August 1931, MINAMI addressed a conference of Army Commanders and Commanding Generals. he said, "Some observers, without studying the conditions of neighboring foreign countries, hastily advocate limitation of armaments and engage in propaganda unfavourable to the nation and the Army. Manchuria and Mongolia are very closely related to our country from the viewpoint of our national defense as well as politics and economics. It is to be regretted that the recent situation in that part of China is following a trend unfavourable to our Empire. In view of the situation, I hope you will execute your duty in educating and training the troops with enthusiasm and sincerity so that you may serve the cause of His Majesty to perfection".

The Citizens' disarmament League took issue with MINAMI on this speech and addressed a letter to him in which they accused him of spreading propaganda in the Army in violation of the Military Criminal Code.

Lt. Colonel HASHIMOTO and Lt. Colonel Shigeto, who was also a member of the Cherry Society, dined at the home of friend, Fujita, in Tokyo, during August 1931. During the course of the meal, the "Manchurian Problem" was discussed and the two Lt. Colonels agreed that positive action should be taken in Manchuria. A few days later, Lt. Colonel Shigeto appeared at the home of Fujita and deposited a large sum of money for safe-keeping. During the following days, this fund was drawn upon by SHigeto in varying amounts. After the "Mukden Incident", Fujita called at the home of Shigeto and exclaimed, "You have accomplished what you were contemplating

--541--

in Manchuria!" Shigeto replied, "Yes!" and smiled; he then added, "We will expel Chang Hsueh-liang from Manchuria and bring Pu Yi to Manchuria and install him as Governor of the Far Eastern Provinces!" Upon questioning HASHIMOTO, Fujita received the reply, "Yes, things have come to pass where they should come!"

--542--

### **Dohihara Investigated**

Colonel DOHIHARA, who had been attached to the Army General Staff since his return from China in March 1929, was sent by the Chief of the General Staff to investigate the death of Captain Nakamura. Although his mission was ostensibly to investigate Captain Nakamura's death, his real mission appears to have been to determine the strength, state of training and condition of the Chinese armies and the efficiency of their communication system. He departed from Tokyo in July 1931, and traveled by way of Shanghai, Hankow, Peiping and Tientsin before reporting to Mukden. He admits that the investigation of the Nakamura Incident was only one of the missions that took him to China. Although the Headquarters of the Kwantung Army was in Port Arthur, the Headquarters of the Special Services Organization of that Army was in Mukden. DOHIHARA arrived at Mukden on 18 August 1931 and took command of the Special Service Organization.

### **Foreign Minister Shidehara Also Investigated**

Foreign Minister Shidehara, anxious to enforce his "Friendship Policy" in Manchuria and give the Army no occasion to capitalize on the "Nakamura Incident", dispatched Consul-General Hayashi from Tokyo on 17 August 1931 with instructions to investigate and settle the affair. The Consul-General called upon the Chinese Governor of Liaoning Province, who appointed a commission to investigate and report upon the "Incident". This

Commission reported on 3 September 1931; but its report was unsatisfactory to the Chinese authorities. On the 4th of September, Consul-General Hayashi was informed by General Yung Chen, the Chinese Chief of Staff, that the report of the Commission was indecisive and unsatisfactory and that it would be necessary to conduct a second enquiry. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, who was sick in a hospital at Peking, was advised of the situation; and he immediately ordered a new Commission to be appointed and instructed to investigate the death of Captain Nakamura. At the same time, he sent Major Shibayama to Tokyo to confer with Foreign Minister Shidehara and make it clear that he desired to settle the case amicably. In the meantime, he had sent a high official to Tokyo to confer with Baron Shidehara and ascertain what common ground could be found for the settlement of various Sino-Japanese issues then outstanding.

#### **Dohihara Reported to the Army General Staff**

Colonel DOHIHARA returned to Tokyo early in September to report to the Army General Staff. After his return, the Press freely published references to the fact that it had been decided to use force to settle all pending issues in Manchuria as recommended by Colonel DOHIHARA. The Press also stated that conferences were being held between the War Ministry and the Army General Staff to arrange definite instructions to be given to Colonel DOHIHARA. These publications may or may not be factually accurate. They were not officially denied.

They fanned the rising flame of Japanese opinion in favoring the use of force against China. It is established that Colonel DOHIHARA disagreed with Consul-General Hayashi regarding settlement of the Nakamura Incident and continued to question the sincerity of the Chinese efforts to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the case. War Minister MINAMI later confided in a friend that at the time he had advocated decisive settlement of the "Manchurian Problem" in line with Army opinion. KIDO, as Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, noted in his diary on 10 September 1931 that he agreed with the theory that "self-defensive" action might be unavoidable in connection with Manchuria according to future developments.

#### **Foreign Minister Shidehara Continued Efforts at Mediation**

Rumors were current in Tokyo that the Army was planning an "Incident" in Mukden, and these rumors were heard by Foreign Minister Shidehara. In fact, Shidehara stated, "Shortly before the Manchurian Incident, as Foreign Minister, I received confidential reports and information that the Kwantung Army was engaged in amassing troops and bringing up ammunition and material for some military purpose, and knew from such reports that action of some kind was contemplated by the Military Clique".

It now appears from the evidence adduced before this Tribunal--though these facts were not known to Shidehara at the time--that Lieutenant, or Captain,

Kawakami, who was stationed at Fushun in command of a detached company of the second battalion of the Independent Infantry Garrison, had received orders from the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army which involved the absence of himself and his company from Fushun. The remaining companies of this battalion were stationed at Mukden and took part in the attack on the Chinese Barracks at Mukden on the 18th of September. The full content of the orders which Kawakami had received from the Commander-in-Chief is not established, but they involved that Kawakami and his company should entrain and leave Fushun upon the occurrence of a certain emergency. Thereupon, Kawakami assembled the Japanese police, ex-servicemen, and civilians at Fushun and asked them what they would do if on 18th September 1931 an event occurred in Mukden which required him and his company to leave Fushun. He is said to have been anxious about defense at Fushun should he and his company leave that city. He also assembled the officials of the Railway at Fushun. He told them that some acute situation might arise after the 17th of September and that arrangements ought to be made about trains at Fushun. It appears that up till that time no arrangement had been made for having a night train standing by at Fushun to move troops in case of emergency, and Kawakami desired that such provision should be made.

The case for the defence in regard to this most significant affair is that Kawakami had no orders which related specifically to the 18th of September; that his orders were general, to take certain action if and when an emergency occurred; that upon a review of the situation, Kawakami speculated that the emergency might occur about the 18th of September; and that this guess

of his along accounts for his mention of that date, when speaking to the people at Fushun. Thus, according to the defence, Kawakami guessed the exact date on which the Chinese would deliver a surprise attack on the Japanese troops at Mukden. Upon a consideration of all the facts relating to the incident of 18th September, the Tribunal unhesitatingly rejects this explanation and



hold that Kawakami had orders to take certain action in an emergency, which would occur on the night of the 18th of September, and was concerned since there was no provision for leaving a train available at Fushun at night.

Upon receiving the report from Hayashi, Shidehara called upon War Minister MINAMI and strongly protested against the report. In the meantime, SHIGEMITSU was holding conferences with Mr. T.V. Soong, who was Finance Minister of the Republic of China, and they had agreed to meet in Mukden on 20 September 1931, and confer with Marshal Chang Hseuh-liang and Count Uchida, who was President of the South Manchurian Railway Company, in an effort to settle all outstanding differences between Japan and the Marshal.

### **Night Maneuvers by the Kwantung Army**

The Kwantung Army had begun carrying out night maneuvers on 14 September 1931 in the vicinity of the barracks of the 7th Chinese Brigade. These barracks were located near the tracks of the South Manchurian Railway, a short distance north of Mukden.

--547--

The maneuvers involved vigorous rifle and machine-gun fire, and the 10,000 men of the 7th Brigade had been confined to barracks on orders of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang in order to avoid a clash between them and the Japanese. These maneuvers continued up to and including the night of 18 September 1931.

Mr. Morishima, a member of the staff of the Consulate who had been working with Hayashi in an attempt to settle the Nakamura Incident, learned that the Kwantung Army Units stationed at the important coal mining district of Fushun would execute a maneuver which contemplated the occupation of Mukden, leaving Fushun at about 11:30 p.m. on the night of 18 September 1931.

### **Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's Commission Returned to Mukden**

Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's Commission, which had been investigating the Nakamura Incident, returned to Mukden on the morning of 16 September 1931. The Japanese Consul-General called upon General Yung Chen, the Chinese Chief of Staff, on the afternoon of 18 September 1931, and the latter stated that Commander Kuan Yuheng had been brought to Mukden on 16 September 1931, charged with the responsibility for the murder of Captain Nakamura and would be immediately tried by a court-martial. It appeared that the case would be settled. However, the conference between the Consul and General Yung was adjourned at about 8 p.m., because it was felt that since a member of the Military was involved, it would be necessary to confer with appropriate representatives of the Kwantung Army before any further representations could be made to the Chinese officials.

Mr. Morishima, of the Consulate, was detailed to arrange for the attendance of appropriate military representatives at a further conference, which was to be held later in the

--548--

evening. He endeavored to contact Colonel DOHIHARA, and Major Hanaya; however, he was unable to locate either of them or any other office of the Special Service Office, although he sought them at their respective hotels, offices, billets and other places which they frequented. He reported this to the Consulate and retired to his quarters.

### **Minami's Emissary Went Astray**

General Tatekawa of the Army General Staff arrived in Mukden via the Antung-Mukden Railway at 1:00 p.m. on 18 September 1931. He had been sent to Manchuria to make an inspection for the Army General Staff; and War Minister MINAMI, acting on Foreign Minister Shidehara's protest against the rumor that the army planned an "Incident" at Mukden for the 18th, had instructed Tatekawa to stop that plot. MINAMI's denial that he gave this order to Tatekawa is disproved by the subsequent statements of MINAMI and by other statements of Tatekawa. The Kwantung Army Commander Honjo, who had just completed an inspection of his troops and installations, was delivering an address to the 2nd Division at Liaoyang when he received a telegram from his Chief-of-Staff, Miyake, in Port Arthur, informing him of Tatekawa's visit and suggesting that Staff Officer ITAGAKI or Staff Officer Ishihara be detailed to meet Tatekawa and escort him on his inspection tour.

Colonel ITAGAKI was detailed and proceeded from Liaoyang to Mukden; and upon his arrival, went to the Shinyokan Inn. DOHIHARA's assistant, Major Hanaya, of the Special Service Office in Mukden, met General Tatekawa and escorted him to join Colonel ITAGAKI at the Inn, where Colonel ITAGAKI and he dined that evening. According to ITAGAKI, General Tatekawa complained that he had not been able to rest on his trip and

--549--

was not inclined to discuss business immediately, but did state that the superiors were worrying about the careless and unscrupulous conduct of the young officers. To this, ITAGAKI replied that there was no need to worry about that, and that he would hear the General at leisure the next day. After dinner, ITAGAKI took his leave of General Tatekawa and went to the Special Service Office, arriving there about 9 p.m. General Tatekawa later told a friend that he had no desire to interfere with any proposed "Incident" and had allowed himself to be decoyed to the Inn, where he was entertained by geisha girls while he listened to the sound of firing in the distance and later retired and slept soundly until called in the morning.

### **The Mukden Incident**

At 9 o'clock in the evening of 18 September 1931, Officer Liu, at the barracks of the 7th Chinese Brigade, reported that a train composed of three or four coaches, but without the usual type of locomotive, had stopped on the South Manchurian Railway opposite the barracks. At 10 p.m., the sound of a loud explosion was heard, immediately followed by rifle fire. The Japanese account is that Lt. Kawamoto, of the Kwantung Army, with six men under his command, was on patrol duty, practicing defense exercises along the track near the place where the explosion occurred, that he heard the explosion; that his patrol turned and ran back about 200 yards and found that a portion of one of the rails had been blown out; that while on the site of the explosion, the patrol was fired upon from the fields on the east side of the tracks; that at that moment, the regular southbound train, due in Mukden at 10:30 p.m., was heard approaching; and that the train

--550--

passed over the damaged rail without mishap to arrive in Mukden on time. Captain Kawashima and his company arrived at 10:50 p.m. and the Battalion Commander Lieutenant Colonel Shimamoto commanding the Second Battalion of the Independent Infantry Garrison ordered two more companies to proceed to the spot. They arrived about midnight. Another company at Fushun, which was an hour-and-a-half away, was ordered to proceed to the spot also. This is the Company of Kawakami, who had long ago announced that he and his Company would have to leave Fushun on the night of the 18th. The barracks of the 7th Chinese Brigade were glittering with electric lights, but the Japanese attacked the barracks without hesitation at 11:30 p.m., employing artillery as well as rifles and machine-guns. Most of the Chinese soldiers escaped from the barracks and retreated to Erhtaitze, to the northeast; however, the Japanese claim they buried 320 Chinese soldiers and captured 20 wounded. The loss to the Japanese was two privates killed and 22 wounded. Colonel Hirata commanding the 29th Regiment received a telephone message at 10:40 p.m. from Lt. Colonel Shimamoto informing him of the explosion on the railroad and the plan to attack the barracks.

--551--

Colonel Hirata immediately decided to attack the walled city of Mukden. His attack commenced at 11:30 p.m. No resistance was offered, the only fighting that occurred was with the police, of whom approximately 75 were killed. The 2nd Division and part of the 16th Regiment left Liaoyang at 3:30 a.m. of the 19th and arrived at Mukden at 5 a.m. The arsenal and aerodrome were captured at 7:30 a.m. Colonel ITAGAKI later admitted that heavy guns, which had been secretly installed in the Japanese Infantry Compound on the 10th, had proven useful in the bombardment of the airfield after the fighting got under way. After ITAGAKI took leave of General Tatekawa, he went to the Special Service Office. There, according to him, he was informed by Colonel Shimamoto of his decision to attack the barracks of the 7th Chinese Brigade and by Colonel Hirata of his

--551-A--

decision to attack the walled city of Mukden. ITAGAKI says that he accepted their decisions and took steps to report to the Commander-in-Chief at Port Arthur.

### **Itagaki Refused to Negotiate**

In the meantime, at 10:30 o'clock in the evening of 18 September 1931, Mr. Morishima of the Japanese Consulate, received a telephone call from the Army Special Service Office in Mukden advising him that an explosion had occurred on the South Manchurian Railway and that he should report to the Special Service Headquarters in Mukden. He arrived at 10:45 and found ITAGAKI and Major Kanaya and some others there. ITAGAKI stated that the Chinese had exploded the railroad, that Japan must take appropriate military action, and that orders had been issued to that effect. Mr. Morishima tried to persuade ITAGAKI that they should rely upon peaceful negotiations to adjust the matter. ITAGAKI then reprimanded him and wanted to know if the office of the Consul-General intended to interfere with the right of military command. Mr. Morishima insisted that he was certain the matter could be adjusted amicably through normal negotiations. At that point, Major Hanaya unsheathed his sword in an angry gesture and stated that if Morishima insisted, he should be prepared to suffer the consequences. Hanaya also stated that he would kill anyone who endeavored to interfere. That broke up the conference.

The Japanese Consulate received many requests during the night from the Supreme Advisor for Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang imploring the office of the Consul-General to persuade the Japanese Army to cease attacks. All these representations were communicated to the military, but to no avail, and the fighting continued. The Consul-General talked over the

--552--



telephone a number of times during the night of the 18th and morning of the 19th with Colonel ITAGAKI in an effort to persuade him to cease the fighting, but Colonel ITAGAKI remained defiant and consistently informed the Consul-General that he should cease interference with the right of military command. Consul-General Hayashi on the morning of 19 September 1931 cabled Foreign Minister Shidehara, "In view of the fact that it was proposed several times from the Chinese side that this matter be settled in a peaceful way, I 'phoned to Staff Officer ITAGAKI and said that since Japan and China had not yet formally entered into a state of war and that, moreover, as China had declared that she would act upon the non-resistance principle absolutely, it was necessary for us at this time to endeavor to prevent the aggravation of the 'Incident' unnecessarily, and I urged that the matter be handled through diplomatic channels, but the above mentioned Staff Officer answered that since this matter concerned the prestige of the State and the Army, it was the Army's intention to see it through thoroughly."

### **The Mukden Incident Was Planned**

The evidence is abundant and convincing that the Mukden Incident" was carefully planned beforehand by officers of the Army General Staff, officers of the Kwantung Army, members of the Cherry Society, and others. Several of the Participants in the plan, including HASHIMOTO, have on various occasions admitted their part in the plot and have stated that the object of the "Incident" was to afford an excuse for the occupation of Manchuria by the Kwantung Army, and the establishment of a new State there based on the "Kingly Way" and subservient to Japan. In Japan,

--553--

General Tatekawa of the Army General Staff was the leader. This was the same Tatekawa whom MINAMI, on Shidehara's complaint, sent to Mukden to stop the plot, the same Tatekawa who had no desire to interfere with any proposed incident. In Manchuria, ITAGAKI was the principal figure. The case which has been presented to the Tribunal as a general defence of the actions of the Japanese on the night of 18th September and as a particular defense of those who, like ITAGAKI, were in action on that night is this: it is said that previous to that night, Chinese troops in Manchuria had increased so that the Japanese troops in Manchuria, who numbered only some 10,000 men, then faced a hostile army which numbered some 200,000 men and was superior in equipment to the Japanese; it is said that the disposition of the Chinese troops had recently been changed so that the Japanese troops, widely dispersed in groups along the railway line, faced concentrations which threatened their annihilation; it is said that the behavior of the Chinese troops towards the Japanese troops was provocative and insulting; it is said that all indications pointed to an unprovoked attack by the Chinese troops upon the Japanese troops, in which the latter would be overwhelmed, unless decisive counter-action was promptly taken. Therefore, it is said, a plan was drawn up whereby, if the Chinese attacked, the Kwantung Army would concentrate its main forces in the vicinity of Mukden and deliver a heavy blow to the nucleus of the Chinese forces in the vicinity of Mukden, and thus by sealing the fate of the enemy, would settle the matter within a short period. It was a part of this plan that two heavy guns should be secretly set up in the Mukden Independent Garrison Barracks. Such is the testimony of ITAGAKI. When therefore, says ITAGAKI, he heard on the night of 18th September of

--554--

the blowing up of the railway and the fighting outside the Chinese Barracks, it was apparent that this was a planned challenge on the part of the Chinese Regular Army against the Japanese Army and he approved of the decisions to attack the Chinese Barracks and the walled city of Mukden, because it was absolutely necessary and in line with the plan of operations of the Army drawn up in case of emergency.

The picture thus painted is that of a planned attack by the Chinese Army, overwhelmingly superior in numbers, upon some 1500 Japanese troops in the vicinity of Mukden; of a surprise attack upon an unanticipated occasion; and of a swift counter-attack by the Japanese troops at the nucleus of the superior forces, whereby they were routed. The picture is false save in the one particular, that Mukden was captured and the Chinese troops driven away.

The Chinese troops had no plan to attack the Japanese. They were caught unprepared. In the attack on the Barracks, where there were thousands of Chinese troops, the Japanese fired from the darkness upon the brightly lit Barracks and met with trifling resistance, mainly from some Chinese troops who were cut off in their attempt to escape. In their capture of the city of Mukden, they met only negligible resistance on the part of some police.

There is no question of the Japanese being surprised by the events of that night. For some time before 18 September 1931, rumors were current in Japan that the Army was planning an "Incident" in Mukden. Lieutenant Kawakami at Fushun had revealed that an "event" might occur in Mukden on 18 September 1931. Consul-General Hayashi had telegraphed to the Foreign Minister the news that the Company Commander of a Japanese Unit at Fushun had said that within a week a big "Incident" would break out. Morishima, a member of the staff of the Japanese Consulate at Mukden, had learned that

--555--

Kwantung Army units stationed at Fushun would execute a maneuver which contemplated the occupation of Mukden, leaving Fushun about 11:30 on the night of 18 September 1931. The Foreign Minister attached so much credence to the information he

had that he complained to the War Minister and persuaded the latter to dispatch General Tatekawa to Manchuria to "stop the plot", a General who, having no desire to interfere with any proposed "incident" failed to fulfill his mission. And when, as the Japanese allege, a patrol of a Lieutenant and six men was fired on in the dark of the night of 18 September 1931, all the Japanese forces in Manchuria were brought into action almost simultaneously on that night over the whole area of the South Manchuria Railway from Changchun to Port Arthur, a distance of approximately 400 miles. The Chinese troops at Antung, Yingkow, Liaoyang and other smaller towns were overcome and disarmed without resistance. The Japanese Railway Guards and gendarmerie remained in these places and the units of the 2nd Division at once concentrated at Mukden to take part in the more serious operations. ITAGAKI was at the Special Service Office at Mukden to approve the initial attacks by the Japanese, and to resist all efforts by the Japanese Consul-General Hayashi and the Japanese Consul Morishima to persuade him to stop the fighting, notwithstanding that the Consul-General informed him that China had declared that she would act on the principle of non-resistance. Even among the Japanese there were those who believed that the "Incident" was planned by the Japanese. A year after it happened, we find the Emperor inquiring if the "Incident" was the result of a Japanese plot, as rumored. The Tribunal rejects the Japanese contention and holds that the so-called "Incident" of 18 September 1931 was planned and executed by the Japanese.

--556--

Preparation for war in China was not confined to the Kwantung Army. In Japan, an unusual shift of personnel occurred on 1 August 1931 as if in anticipation of coming events. Such trusted officers as OSHIMA, KOISO, MUTO, UMEZU, HATA and ARAKI, were included in this personnel shift. OSHIMA was appointed a Chief of Section in the Army General Staff, a Member of the Military Technical Council, and Liaison Officer to the Navy General Staff; KOISO was appointed a Lt. General; MUTO was relieved as an instructor in Strategy at the Military Staff College and made available to the Army General Staff; UMEZU was made Chief of the General Affairs Department of the Army General Staff Office; HATA was promoted to Lt. General and assigned as Inspector of Artillery and Commander of the 14th Division; and ARAKI was appointed Chief of the General Affairs Department of the Office of the Inspector-General of Military Education.

### **General Honjo Assumed Command at Mukden**

Colonel ITAGAKI, who, as senior staff officer on the spot, had been in active command at Mukden during the "Incident", was relieved by General Honjo, who arrived at Mukden at noon on 19 September 1931 and rapidly expanded the "Mukden Incident" into what came to be known as the "Manchurian Incident".

Honjo had returned to Port Arthur, after delivering his address to the 2nd Division, the Division which attacked Mukden, arriving at Port Arthur about 9 p.m. on 18 September 1931. Honjo had received the first news of the fighting at Mukden at about 11 p.m. from a newspaper agency. He immediately went to Kwantung Army Headquarters in Port Arthur, where he issued orders that action should follow the operational plans already established. It is

--557--

stated in evidence that a few minutes after midnight on the 18th, a second telegram from the Special Service Office at Mukden was received at the Kwantung Army Headquarters reporting that the fighting had become more widespread and that the Chinese forces were bringing up reinforcements. If a telegram to this effect was received, there was no basis in fact for the statement that the Chinese forces were bringing up reinforcements. They were in full retreat from the Japanese attack. Honjo's staff advised that he should "mobilize the whole of the Japanese military might to seal the fate of the enemy in the shortest possible time". Honjo replied, "Yes, let it be done". Orders were immediately issued bringing into action all Japanese forces in Manchuria; the Japanese Garrison Army in Korea was asked to send reinforcements in accordance with the pre-arranged plan; and the Second Overseas Fleet was requested to sail for Yingkow. Under these orders, all the Japanese forces in Manchuria, and some of those in Korea, were brought into action almost simultaneously on the night of 18 September 1931 over the whole area of the South Manchurian Railway from Changchun to Port Arthur.

Upon arriving at Mukden, General Honjo set up a command post at the railway station and declared to the world his intention to wage a punitive war.

### **Minami Sanctioned the Kwantung Army Action**

War Minister MINAMI sanctioned the action of the Kwantung Army and acted as a buffer between that Army and the Cabinet to prevent effective interference by the Government. He received information of the situation at Mukden in a telegram from the Special Service Office there at about 3 a.m. on 19 September 1931. Premier Wakatsuki first heard of the fighting when he received a telephone

--558--

call from MINAMI sometime between 6 and 7 o'clock on the morning of 19 September 1931. The Premier called a meeting of the Cabinet for 10 a.m. MINAMI sent Lt. General KOISO, who was Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau of the War Ministry, to



act as Liaison Officer between the Army General Staff and the Cabinet. At the Cabinet meeting, MINAMI reported that the Chinese troops had fired on the Japanese troops at Mukden and that their fire had been returned. He characterized the action of the Japanese as "an act of righteous self-defense". The Cabinet expressed a desire that the affair be terminated at once. MINAMI stated that he would investigate and report to the Cabinet. The Cabinet then resolved upon a policy of non-expansion of the "Incident". The Premier called upon the Emperor at 1:30 o'clock that afternoon and informed him of the situation and the decision of the Cabinet. The Emperor agreed that the Army should not try to enlarge the situation, but should stop further action as soon as it found itself in an advantageous position. MINAMI dispatched Lt. Colonel HASHIMOTO and two other officers of the Army General Staff to Mukden for the announced purpose of communicating to the Kwantung Army Commander the decision of the Government to prevent the expansion of the "Incident".

The Army was not to be controlled; and the Premier cast about desperately, but without success, for assistance in enforcing this policy of non-expansion of the "Incident". In an effort to find a way to control the Army, the Premier held a meeting at 8:30 of the evening of 19 September 1931 at the official residence of the Minister of the Imperial Household; Senior Statesman Prince Saionji's Secretary, Baron Harada, Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal KIDO, the Grand Chamberlain, the Vice-Grand Chamberlain, and the Military

---

--559--

Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty, among others, were present. The only suggestion came from KIDO, who proposed daily meetings of the Cabinet. This suggestion proved to be of no effect, since War Minister MINAMI reported at each of these meetings that for "strategic and tactical" considerations, it had been necessary for the Japanese forces to pursue the Chinese troops a certain distance further into Chinese territory, but that such action was only "protective" and would in no sense be expanded. However, at this very time, the Chinese had proposed through Minister T.V. Soong that a powerful commission be organized, consisting of both Japanese and Chinese, in an effort to prevent further expansion of the conflict. SHIGEMITSU, in reporting this proposal to Foreign Minister SHidehara suggested that it be accepted, if for no other reason than to strengthen the position of the Japanese in regard to the "Incident". Although Imperial Sanction was required under existing regulations for the Korean Army to commence operations outside Korea, the 39th Mixed Brigade of the 20th Division, consisting of 4,000 men and artillery, which had concentrated at Shingishu on the Korean frontier, crossed the Yalu River into Manchuria on 21 September 1931, and arrived at Mukden around midnight of the same day, without having received the Imperial Sanction; nevertheless, the Cabinet decided on 22 September 1931 that the expenses incurred in this move should be defrayed, and later the Imperial Sanction for this move

---

--560--

was obtained. This had not been reported to the Cabinet by MINAMI. At the Cabinet meeting of 22 September 1931, MINAMI made further excuses for allowing the Army to continue its aggression. As Premier Wakatsuki says: "Day after day expansion continued; and I had various conference with War Minister MINAMI. I was shown maps daily on which MINAMI would show by a line a boundary which the Army would not go beyond, and almost daily this boundary was ignored and further expansion reported, but always with assurances that this was the final move".

---

--561--

KIDO recorded in his diary, that during a discussion by a group at the residence of Baron Harada, it was mentioned that although the Emperor had approved the Cabinet's policy of non-expansion, the Army had been indignant that the Emperor had been induced by his personal attendants to form such an opinion. It was decided by this group that the Emperor had better say no more about the Cabinet's policy; and that Elder Statesman Prince Saionji had better remain out of Tokyo to avoid intensifying the antipathy held for him by the Military Clique. In this manner, MINAMI's effective cooperation with the Army General Staff, through his Liaison Officer KOISO, prevented the Government from enforcing its decision to halt further expansion of the "Mukden Incident". This is confirmed by an admission made by MINAMI after the surrender that he had been in favor of the action taken by the Kwantung Army.

### **Colonel Dohihara Returned to Mukden**

Colonel DOHIHARA had completed his report to the Army General Staff, recommended the solution of all pending "Manchurian Questions" by the use of force as soon as possible, and was on his way back to his Special Service Office in Mukden to play the principal role in the organization of the new State in Manchuria based on the "Kingly Way", when the "Incident" occurred there. DOHIHARA's extensive knowledge of China and its people, gained over some eighteen years spent in active participation in local politics as a Military Aide under successive Chinese military leaders, qualified him more than any other Japanese Army officer to act as over-all advisor and coordinator in the planning, execution and exploitation of the "Mukden Incident".

---

--562--

There can be no doubt that such was the part played by DOHIHARA. His reconnaissance trip through China, with a brief pause in Mukden before reporting to the Army General Staff, and his return to Mukden on the eve of the "Incident", together with his actions thereafter, leave us with no other conclusion.

### **Colonel Dohihara as Mayor of Mukden**

The organization of a provincial government for Liaoning Province had proven to be a difficult one, because Mukden was the center of the Province, and during the fighting, most of the influential Chinese had fled to Chinchow where they were continuing to carry on the provincial administration. Chinese General Tsanh Shih-yi, who was Governor of the Province and had remained in Mukden, refused to cooperate with the Japanese in the organization of a new provincial government; for this, he was immediately arrested and confined in prison. Being thus hindered by lack of cooperation from the Chinese, the Japanese Army issued a proclamation on 21 September 1931 installing Colonel DOHIHARA as Mayor of Mukden; he proceeded to rule the city with the aid of a so-called "Emergency Committee" composed mostly of Japanese. By 23 September 1931, DOHIHARA had made himself complete master of the city and was found by visiting journalists in the Japanese Army Headquarters, where he was acting as political representative and spokesman for the Army. From this point on, the organization of provisional governments for the three Eastern Provinces made headway. On 23 September 1931, Lt. General Hsi Hsia was invited to form a provisional government for Kirin Province, and the next day, it

--563--

---

was announced that a provisional government had been formed for Liaoning Province with Mr. Yuan Chin-hai as Chairman of the "Committee for the Maintenance of Peace and Order". The Japanese Press hailed this as the first step in a separatist movement.

--564--

---

### **Self-Government Guiding Board**

The Self-Government Guiding Board was organized by the Japanese Army in Mukden during the last half of September 1931. The purpose of the Board was to start an independence movement and spread it throughout Manchuria. Colonel ITAGAKI was in charge of the Staff Section having supervision over the Board; and Colonel DOHIHARA, as head of the Special Service Office, supplied the Board with all necessary confidential information regarding the Chinese. Although the Chairman of the Board was Chinese, approximately 90 per cent of the personnel employed by the Board were Japanese residents in Manchuria.

General Hsi Hsia accepted the Japanese invitation, called a meeting of government organization and Japanese advisors, and on 30 September issued a proclamation establishing a provisional government for Kirin Province under protection of the Japanese Army.

General Chang Ching-hui, Administrator of the Special District, also called a conference in his office at Harbin on 27 September 1931 to discuss the organization of an "Emergency Committee of the Special District".

General Honjo took advantage of some minor disturbances in the town of Chientao, in Kirin Province, to announce that Japan would no longer recognize the government of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and would not cease operations until his power was completely broken.

### **Protests and Assurances**

China lodged a protest with the League of Nations against the action of Japan in Manchuria. The protest was filed on 23 September 1931. The Council of the League was assured by the Japanese Government that Japan had started withdrawing her troops to the railroad zone and would

--565--

---

continue the withdrawal; upon this assurance, the Council adjourned to meet again on 14 October 1931.

The United States of America also protested against the fighting in Manchuria, and on 24 September 1931 called the attention of both Japan and China to the provisions of the existing treaties. After a Cabinet meeting that day, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington delivered to the Secretary of State of the United States a Note in which it was stated among other things, "It may be superfluous to repeat that the Japanese Government harbors no territorial designs in Manchuria".

--566--

---

### **The October Incident**

These assurances given to the League and to the United States indicated that the Cabinet and the Army did not agree upon a common policy in Manchuria. It was this disagreement which caused the so-called "October Incident". This was an attempt on the part of certain officers of the Army General Staff and their sympathizers to organize a coup d'etat to overthrow the Government, destroy the political party system, and establish a new Government which would support the Army's plan for the occupation and exploitation of Manchuria. The plot centered around the Cherry Society; and the plan was to "cleanse the ideological and political atmosphere" by assassinating the government leaders. HASHIMOTO was the leader of the group and



gave the necessary orders for the execution of the scheme. HASHIMOTO admitted that he originated the plot in early October 1931 to bring about a Government headed by ARAKI. KIDO was well informed of the proposed rebellion and his only concern seems to have been to find a way to limit the disorders to as to prevent widespread damage and sacrifices. However, a certain Lt. Colonel Nemoto informed the Police of the plot, and War Minister MINAMI ordered the leaders arrested, thereby breaking up the plot. SHIRATORI criticized MINAMI for opposing the coup and declared that it was necessary to take prompt action so as to create a new regime in Manchuria; and that if MINAMI had given his tacit approval to the scheme, it would have facilitated a solution of the "Manchurian Problem".

--567--

---

After the failure of the "October Incident", rumors were heard to the effect that if the Central Authorities in Tokyo did not support the Kwantung Army in the execution of its plan to occupy all Manchuria and establish a puppet State there, that Army would declare itself independent of Japan and proceed with the project. This threat appears to have been effective in producing a change in the Government and its attitude.

The War Ministry began censoring the news; and army officers called upon writers and editors, who wrote or published anything unsatisfactory to the War Ministry, and advised them that such writings were displeasing to the War Ministry. Violent organizations threatened editors and writers when they expressed views contrary to that of the War Ministry.

### **Decision to Enthroner Pu Yi**

After this change of attitude by the Japanese Government, Colonel ITAGAKI and Colonel DOHIHARA decided to return Henry Pu Yi, the deposed Emperor of China, and enthrone him as emperor of Manchuria as an emergency measure to combat the influence of Marshal Chang Hseuh-liang, which was growing progressively stronger with the unity between the Young Marshal and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The new provisional government operating under the protection of the Japanese Army had succeeded in taking over all tax collection and finance institutions and had further strengthened its position by reorganization, but it was having considerably difficulty due to the Marshal's continued popularity. The Kwantung Army General Staff became fearful that the provisional government set up

--568--

---

by them would conspire with the Marshal; therefore, it was decided by Colonels ITAGAKI and DOHIHARA to proceed at once with the organization of an independent State by uniting the Three Eastern Provinces of Heilungkiang, Kirin and Liaoning under the nominal leadership of Henry Pu Yi, the dethroned Emperor of China.

### **Colonel Dohihara Proceeds to Return Pu Yi**

DOHIHARA was dispatched by ITAGAKI to Tientsin to return Pu Yi to Manchuria. ITAGAKI made all necessary arrangements and gave DOHIHARA definite instructions. The plan was to pretend that Pu Yi had returned to resume his throne in answer to a popular demand of the people of Manchuria, and that Japan had nothing to do with his return, but would do nothing to oppose the popular demand of the people. In order to carry out this plan, it was necessary to land Pu Yi at Yinkow before that port became frozen; therefore, it was imperative that he arrive there before 16 November 1931.

Foreign Minister Shidehara had learned of the scheme to return Pu Yi to Manchuria and had instructed his Consul-General at Tientsin to oppose the plan. On the afternoon of 1 November 1931, the Consul-General contacted DOHIHARA as instructed and tried every means at his disposal to persuade him to abandon the plan, but DOHIHARA was determined and stated that if the Emperor was willing to risk his life by returning to Manchuria, it would be easy to make the whole affair appear to be instigated by the Chinese; he further stated that he would confer with the Emperor; and if

--569--

---

the Emperor was willing, he would go through with the scheme; but if the Emperor was not willing, then he would leave with a parting remark that there would be no such opportunity in the future for the Emperor, and dispatch a telegram to the military authorities at Mukden to the effect that he would consider an alternative as the present plan was hopeless of success.

During the evening of 2 November 1931, DOHIHARA visited Pu Yi and informed him as follows: Conditions were favorable for Pu Yi's enthronement and the opportunity should not be missed. He should make an appearance in Manchuria by all means before 16 November 1931. If he did so appear, Japan would recognize him as Emperor of an independent State and conclude a secret defensive and offensive alliance with the new State. If the Chinese Nationalist Armies should attack the new State, Japan's armies would crush them. Pu Yi appeared willing to follow DOHIHARA's advice upon being told that the Japanese Imperial Household favored his restoration to the Throne.

The Consul-General continued his efforts to dissuade DOHIHARA, but without results. On one occasion, DOHIHARA threatened that it would be outrageous for the Government to take the attitude of preventing Pu Yi's return; and that if this should occur, the Kwantung Army might separate from the Government and no one could say what action it might take.

Some difficulty was encountered by DOHIHARA in arranging the terms upon which Pu Yi was to return; and a Chinese newspaper in Shanghai, under a Tientsin date line from 2 November 1931,

---

--570--

published a complete account of the scheme and alleged that Pu Yi had refused DOHIHARA's offer. To hasten Pu Yi's decision, DOHIHARA resorted to all kinds of schemes and intrigues. Pu Yi received a bomb concealed in a basket of fruit; he also received threatening letters from the "Headquarters of the Iron Blood Group", as well as from others. DOHIHARA finally caused a riot to occur in Tientsin on 8 November 1931 with the assistance of certain underworld characters, secret societies and rogues of the city, whom he supplied with arms furnished by ITAGAKI. The Japanese Consul-General, in a further attempt to carry out Shidehara's orders, warned the Chinese Police of the impending riot; being forewarned, they were able to prevent the riot from being a complete success; but it served to throw Tientsin into disorder.

This disorder continued, and during the riot on the night of 10 November 1931, DOHIHARA secretly removed Pu Yi from his residence to the pier in a motor car guarded by a party equipped with machine-guns, entered a small Japanese military launch with a few plain-clothes men and four or five armed Japanese soldiers and headed down the river to Tang-ku. At Tang-ku, the party boarded the ship *Awaji Maru* bound for Yingkow. Pu Yi arrived at Yingkow on 13 November 1931, and on the same day was taken to Tang-Kang-tzu, where he was held in protective custody in the Hotel Tai Sui Haku by the Japanese Army. An attempt was made to cause it to appear that Pu Yi had fled for his life as a result of threats and the riots in Tientsin. No doubt, these served to hasten Pu Yi's agreement with the terms offered by DOHIHARA.

---

--571--

### **Enthronement of Pu Yi Delayed**

In an effort to prevent further aggravation of Japan's position in the League and keep Japan's Representative in a favorable position before the Council during its deliberations, MINAMI advised the Kwantung Army to delay the enthronement of Pu Yi. On 15 November 1931, he sent a telegram to General Honjo in which he said: "Especially, to commit such hasty actions when we have just begun to see the signs of favorable results of our efforts to improve the atmosphere of the League of Nations is by no means a wise policy. Therefore, for the time being, we would like to have you lead the general public in such a way so as not have Pu Yi connected in any way, whether it be active or passive, with political problems. Naturally, in establishing a new regime, if our Empire takes the wrong attitude we must expect either an intervention by the United States based upon the Nine-Power Treaty or a council of the World Powers. Moreover, under the present conditions in Manchuria, it is an internationally recognized fact that an establishment of the new regime would not be possible without the understanding and support of the Imperial Army. Therefore, when Pu Yi unexpectedly enters into the picture of the establishment of the new regime, and even if it is ostensibly performed according to the wishes of the people, there would be fear of arousing world suspicion. It is essential that our Empire lead world situations so that we can at least and at any time conduct a legal argument against the Powers. I would like to have you keep this point in mind".

The Army moved Pu Yi on 20 November 1931 to Port Arthur and installed him in the Yamato Hotel with

---

--572--

explanation that he was receiving too many undesirable visitors at Tang-Kang-tzu. DOHIHARA and ITAGAKI arranged secretly for the Emperor's wife to join him at Port Arthur.

### **The Advance on Chinchow**

An expedition to the Nonni River Bridge, which succeeded in defeating General Ma Chen-shen, the Military Governor of Heilungkian Province, and driving him toward the northeast upon Heilun during the first half of November 1931, had also resulted in the occupation of Taitsihar, and the elimination of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's authority from all of Manchuria, except for a fragment of Southeast Liaoning Province surrounding the city of Chinchow. The occupation of Chinchow was all that remained to make the subjugation of Manchuria complete.

The Chinese provincial Government, which had fled from Mukden, had established itself in Chinchow soon after the Mukden Incident, and Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang had moved his headquarters from Peiping to Chinchow in the early days of October 1931, so that the City had become the center of opposition to the Japanese occupation. Japanese observation planes made



frequent flights over the city; and on 8 November 1931, six scouting and five bombing planes flew over the city and dropped some eighty bombs.

The disturbances and riots organized by Colonel DOHIHARA gave the staff officers of the Kwantung Army an excuse to send troops to Tientsin to reinforce the Japanese Garrison and protect the Japanese Concession

---

--573--

there. The first of these riots occurred on 8 November 1931 as heretofore related; but on 26 November 1931, a new series of disorders began. Colonel DOHIHARA had employed Chinese ruffians and Japanese plain-clothes men and formed them into operating gangs within the Japanese Concession in order to start trouble in the Chinese section of Tientsin. On the evening of the 26th, a terrific explosion was heard, immediately followed by firing of cannon, machine-guns and rifles. The electric lights in the Japanese Concession were put out, and plain-clothes men emerged from the Concession firing upon the police station in the vicinity.

The most practical route for reinforcements to take in moving from Manchuria to Tientsin would have been by sea; but the route by land had distinct strategical advantages as it lay through the city of Chinchow; and any movement through Chinchow would afford an excuse for making an attack upon that city, eliminating the concentration of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's Army there.

Neutral observers had expected an advance on Chinchow; and on 23 November 1931, during a conference on the subject, Foreign Minister Shidehara assured the American Ambassador in Tokyo that he, the Premier, the Minister of War, MINAMI, and the Chief of the Army General Staff had agreed that there would be no hostile operations toward Chinchow. However, DOHIHARA's riot on the night of the 26th precipitated such an advance on the morning of 27 November 1931; and a troop train and several airplanes crossed the Liao River, ostensibly for the purpose of relieving the Japanese Garrison which was alleged to be beleaguered at Tientsin, but actually intending to drive Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang from Chinchow.

---

--574--

The Japanese met little or no resistance as Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang had already begun withdrawal of his troops south of the Great Wall in order to remove all excuse for further advances by the Japanese. Nevertheless, the advance proceeded, and Japanese planes repeatedly bombed Chinchow. The American Secretary of State protested the violation of the assurance so recently given the American Ambassador that no hostile action would be taken toward Chinchow; and on 29 November 1931, this assurance was reluctantly and belatedly honored by the Chief of the Army General Staff ordering Honjo to recall his troops to a position in the vicinity of Hsinmin.

---

--575--

### **The League Appointed a Commission of Inquiry**

The Council of the League of Nations had been in session for approximately four weeks considering the dispute between Japan and China, when it resolved on 18 December 1931 to accept the suggestion of the Japanese Representative and send a Commission of Inquiry to Manchuria to make a study of the situation "on the spot". The Council's resolution provided that the Commission should consist of five members from neutral countries with the right of China and Japan to appoint one "Assessor" each to assist the Commission.

Paragraph 2 of the resolution was in these terms: "(2) Considering that events have assumed an even more serious aspect since the Council meeting of October 24th, notes that the two parties undertake to adopt all measures necessary to avoid any further aggravation of the situation and to refrain from any initiative which may lead to further fighting and loss of life."

Japan, in accepting the Resolution, made a reservation concerning paragraph (2), stating that she accepted it "On the understanding that this paragraph was not intended to preclude the Japanese forces from taking such action as might be rendered necessary to provide directly for the protection of the lives and property of Japanese subjects against the activities of bandits and lawless elements rampant in various parts of Manchuria."

China accepted the Resolution with the reservation that China's rights of sovereignty in Manchuria would not be impaired.

With regard to the undertaking and injunction contained in paragraph (2), quoted above, China stated "It must be clearly pointed out that this injunction should not be violated under the pretext of the existence of lawlessness caused by a state of affairs which it is the very purpose

---

--576--

fo the resolution to do away with. It is to be observed that much of the lawlessness now prevalent in Manchuria is due to the interruption of normal life caused by the invasion of the Japanese forces. The only sure way of restoring the normal peaceful life is to hasten the withdrawal of the Japanese troops and allow the Chinese authorities to assume the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order. China cannot tolerate the invasion and occupation of her territory by the troops of any foreign country; far less can she permit these troops to usurp the police functions of the Chinese authorities."

Despite this counter-reservation of China, the Japanese maintained that their reservation gave Japan the right to maintain her troops in Manchuria and made her responsible for the suppression of banditry. Under the pretext of suppressing banditry, Japan proceeded to complete the conquest of Manchuria. In the words of the Lytton Commission, "The fact remains that, having made their reservation at Geneva, the Japanese continued to deal with the situation in Manchuria according to their plans".

The membership of the Commission was not completely made up until 14 January 1932. The Rt. Honorable, the Earl of Lytton (British) was elected Chairman of the Commission; and the Commission has come to be known as the Lytton Commission.

### **The Wakatsuki Cabinet Was Forced to Resign**

The continued efforts of Premier Wakatsuki and his Foreign Minister Shidehara to enforce the "Friendship Policy" and the "Policy of Non-Expansion" generated so much opposition from the Military and their sympathizers that the Cabinet was forced to resign on 12 December 1931. Premier Wakatsuki testified as follows: "It is true that in spite of the fact that the Cabinet had decided on the policy of stopping the 'Manchurian Incident', it continued

--577--

---

to spread and expand. Various methods were tried, and one of these was a coalition cabinet, which I hoped might be able to stop the action of the Kwantung Army. However, because of certain difficulties, this did not materialize, and that is why my Cabinet resigned."

### **The Inukai Cabinet**

The Inukai Cabinet was formed on 13 December 1931, with ARAKI as Minister of War. The three Army Chiefs, that, is: the outgoing War Minister, MINAMI, the Chief of the General Staff, and the Inspector General of Military Education, whose duty it was under the Japanese Constitution to select the succeeding War Minister, had selected General Abe to be War Minister; but ARAKI was popular with the radical elements of the Army, and they approached Inukai and demanded his appointment. General ARAKI received the appointment. Although Premier Inukai announced to Elder Statesman Prince Saionji that he intended to carry out the Emperor's wish that Japanese politics should not be controlled solely by the Army, and although he adopted a policy to terminate the aggression of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria, War Minister ARAKI was not in accord with this policy. ARAKI favored Commander Honjo's plan that the four Provinces formerly under Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang should be occupied and pacified. He admitted that this was so during an interrogation at Sugamo Prison after the surrender. His first act was to secure approval in the Cabinet and the privy Council of an appropriation to carry out this scheme.

--578--

---

### **Honjo and Itagaki Moved to Execute Honjo's Plan**

The formation of the Inukai Cabinet, with ARAKI as War Minister and favorable to the Honjo plan to occupy and pacify the four Provinces, was the signal to the Kwantung Army to execute the plan. ITAGAKI moved quickly to strengthen the provisional government of Liaoning Province; a concentration of troops west of Mukden, poised for a drive on Chinchow and Tientsin, was begun; and ITAGAKI prepared to visit Tokyo to assist ARAKI in making detailed arrangements for carrying out the plan.

General Tsang Shi-hi, who had been incarcerated in prison on 21 September 1931 because of his refusal to cooperate with the invading Japanese Army, was starved into submission and forced to agree to accept the appointment as Governor of the Provincial Government, ad interim, of Liaoning Province. He was released from prison on the night of 13 December 1931; and after an interview with ITAGAKI, he was duly inaugurated as Governor on 15 December 1931. He was in such a nervous, weakened condition as a result of having been starved in prison, that he fainted during his inauguration when a photographer exploded a flash bulb in making his picture. The inauguration of General Tsang Shi-hi was in preparation for a conference of all the Manchurian Provincial Governors; and the Kwantung Army was hastening preparations for the meeting.

The concentration of troops for the advance on Chinchow had begun on the 10th; and by 15 December 1931, it was complete. However, the advance could not begin until approval of War Minister ARAKI had been obtained and funds provided.

--579--

---



All preparations being complete, Commander Honjo dispatched ITAGAKI to Tokyo to convey to the Government his opinion that Manchuria should be made independent of China. War Minister ARAKI immediately supported Honjo's plan and said that complete independence was the only way in which the "Manchurian Incident" could be solved, but considerable opposition to the plan was found to exist, and he was not able to obtain approval of the plan without difficulty. The question was finally presented to the Throne at an Imperial Conference on 27 December 1931, and ARAKI states: "We immediately decided to send the troops to Fengtien Province. The principal plan was made in the War Ministry's order to General Headquarters, and they took the procedure of sending troops for the operation." At least a part of ITAGAKI's mission had been accomplished.

On the very day that this decision to advance against Chinchow was made, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs handed the American Ambassador in Tokyo a memorandum in which it was stated that Japan was determined to remain loyal to the Covenant of the League, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and other treaties, and would abide by the two resolutions adopted by the Council of the League regarding the Manchurian situation.

### **Manchuria Was Completely Occupied After the Capture of Chinchow**

The Kwantung Army pointed to the reservation made at Geneva, as already referred to, and continued to deal with Manchuria according to plan. The Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, knowing that the attack on

--580--

---

Chinchow was imminent, had made a last minute appeal to prevent further fighting by offering to remove all remaining Chinese troops south of the Great Wall, but nothing came of this appeal; and the Kwantung Army actually began its movement on 23 December 1931. The Chinese Army was forced to give up its position. From that day, the advance continued with perfect regularity and hardly met any resistance at all as the Chinese General had ordered a retreat. Chinchow was occupied on the morning of 3 January 1932; and the Kwantung Army continued its advance right up to the Great Wall at Shanhaikwan.

### **Itagaki Completed His Mission and Returned to Mukden**

KIDO records in his diary for 11 January 1932, that ITAGAKI had obtained approval of the plan to set up a puppet State in Manchuria; the entry is in part as follows: "At 10:30 o'clock this morning in the antechamber connected with the lecture hall of the Imperial Palace, I, together with persons close to the Emperor, heard from Colonel ITAGAKI the conditions in Manchuria and Mongolia. Colonel ITAGAKI first explained the situation concerning the progress of the campaign against soldier bandits in Manchuria and Mongolia as well as the progress in establishing a new State in Manchuria. Colonel ITAGAKI gave hint that Manchuria would be placed under a new ruler, and the Japanese Army would take charge of the national defense of the new Manchurian State. He further explained that Japanese people would participate in the management of the new State as high government officials." It will be noted that ITAGAKI followed the usual practice of referring to all Chinese soldiers as

--581--

---

"bandits". The pretense of invoking the reservation made at Geneva was again employed.

On his way back to Mukden, Colonel ITAGAKI called upon the new ruler mentioned in his conversation with KIDO. During his visit with Pu Yi at Port Arthur, ITAGAKI stated to Pu Yi, "In order to get rid of Chinese Militarists and secure social welfare for the people of the Northeastern Provinces, we are willingly prepared to put up a new political regime in Manchuria." ITAGAKI proposed that Pu Yi should become the head of the new regime; but demanded, that as soon as the Manchurian Regime was set up, Japanese should be employed as advisers and officials.

--582--

---

### **The Independence Movement Gained in Intensity**

After the fall of Chinchow, the independence movement made progress, especially in North Manchuria, where DOHIHARA was on duty as Chief of the Special Services in Harbin. After the Japanese occupied Tsitsihar on 19 November 1931, and drove the forces of General Ma toward Hailum, a Self-Government Association of the usual type was established in Heilungkiang Province; and General Chang Ching-hui was inaugurated as Governor of the Province on 1 January 1932. General Chang Ching-hui, upon learning of the complete defeat and expulsion of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang from Chinchow, acceded to the requests of the Self-Government Guiding Board at Mukden and declared the independence of Heilungkiang Province. The declaration was issued on 7 January 1932. On the same day, the Self-Government Guiding Board issued a Proclamation, which it had prepared on 1 January, but had been holding until an opportune time for publication. The Proclamation appealed to the people to overthrow Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and join the Self-Government Association. The Proclamation ended with these words: "Organizations of the Northeast, Unite!" Fifty thousand copies were distributed. Mr. Yu Chung-han, the Chief of the Board, and Governor Tsang Shih-yi, of Liaoning Province, were making plans for a new State to be established in February. This idea of independence from China had received no popular support in Manchuria before the "Mukden Incident" of 18 September 1931. It

is apparent that it was conceived, organized and carried through by a group of Japanese civil and military officials, of whom Colonels

--583--

ITAGAKI and DOHIHARA were leaders. The presence of Japanese troops to enforce their authority, the control of the railways by the South Manchurian Railway, the presence of Japanese Consuls in all of the important urban centers, and the coordinating effect of the Japanese controlled Self-Government Guiding Board, afforded the group a means of exercising an irresistible pressure to bring about this so-called independence, and later to control the new puppet State. The independence movement and the Chinese collaborators were sustained by Japanese military might alone.

#### **Additional Assurances by Japan**

On 7 January 1932, the day that General Chang Ching-hui proclaimed the independence of Heilungkiang Province, the American Secretary of State instructed the American Ambassador in Tokyo to deliver a Note to the Japanese Government. The Secretary of State stated in that Note that the Government of the United States deemed it a duty to notify both Japan and China that it would not admit the legality of any de facto situation nor recognize any treaty or agreement entered into so as to impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China or violate the conventional policy of the "Open Door" in China, or impair the obligations of the Pact of Paris ([Annex No. B-15](#)).

This Note was not answered until 16 January 1932. The Japanese Note stated that Japan was aware that the United States could be relied upon to do everything to support Japan's efforts to secure full and complete fulfillment of the treaties of Washington and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (Annex No. B-15). This Japanese Note went on to say that in

--584--

so far as Japan could secure it, the policy of the "Open Door" in China would always be maintained. Having regard to the Japanese military action in Manchuria, which we have just described, this Japanese Note is a masterpiece of hypocrisy.

#### **Hashimoto Objected to This Assurance**

The next day, HASHIMOTO published an article in the *Taiyo Dai Nippon*, apparently in protest against this policy of observing treaties and maintaining the "Open Door" in China. The title of the article was, "The Reform of Parliamentary Systems." In the article, HASHIMOTO said; "Responsible government-Party Cabinet System-runs absolutely counter to the Constitution. It is the democratic government which ignores the 'Tenno' government, \* \* \* which has been established firmly since the founding of our Empire, and which remains solemnly unshaken in the Constitution granted by the Emperor. When we consider their dangerous anti-national structure, political ideology and their aggressive evils we believe it most urgently necessary first of all to make a scapegoat of the existing political parties and destroy them for the sake of the construction of a cheerful new Japan."

#### **Dohihara Negotiated With General Ma Chan-shan**

After General Ma had been driven from Tsitsihar by the Japanese and had set up his capital at Hailun, from which he was attempting to govern Heilungkiang, Colonel DOHIHARA began carrying on negotiations with the General from his Special Service Office at Harbin. The General's position was somewhat ambiguous; although he continued negotiating with DOHIHARA, he continued to support General Ting Chao. General Ting Chao had never approved of the puppet

--585--

government set up in Kirin Province by the Kwantung Army under the nominal leadership of General Hsi Hsia, and had organized an army to oppose General Hsi Hsia. Not only did General Ma continue to support General Ting Chao, but these two Generals maintained some contact with Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who gave them assistance.

In an effort to force General Ma to terms, Colonel DOHIHARA requested General Hsi Hsia to advance on Harbin and drive in the direction of Hailun. General Hsi Hsia, at the beginning of January 1932, prepared an expedition to the North with a view to occupying Harbin. General Ting Chao was between him and Harbin. General Hsi Hsia advanced to Shuangchong on 25 January; but Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang instructed Generals Ma and Ting Chao not to negotiate further; and fighting began on the morning of the 26th. DOHIHARA had failed in his attempt to intimidate Generals Ma and Ting Chao; and what was still worse, his ally, General Hsi Hsia, was meeting serious reverses at the hand of General Ting Chao. Thereupon, DOHIHARA was forced to call upon the Kwantung Army to assist General Hsi Hsia. To justify this, Colonel DOHIHARA created another of his "Incidents" in Harbin--an engineered riot--during which it is said that one Japanese and three Korean subjects of Japan were killed. Most of the Japanese troops had been withdrawn from Northern Manchuria in order to use them in the Chinchow drive; but the 2nd Division had returned to Mukden for a rest. Although the 2nd Division was ordered to go to the rescue of General Hsi Hsia, and entrained on 28 January, some delay was experienced because of transportation difficulties. This gave General Ting Chao time to seize the Municipal Administration



in Harbin and arrest General Chang Ching-hui, who had been acting as puppet Governor of Heilungkiang Province.

### **Minami Lectured**

While the reinforcements were entraining to go to the aid of General Hsi Hsia, War Councillor MINAMI was delivering a lecture before the Japanese Emperor in Tokyo. His subject was, "The Latest Situation in Manchuria". KIDO was present and recorded the lecture. MINAMI's conclusions as expressed to the Emperor were: (1) Japan would take over the national defense of the new state to be created in Manchuria, complete the Kirin-Kwaiwei Railway, and make the Sea of Japan into a lake to facilitate Japan's advance into North Manchuria, thereby revolutionizing Japan's defense plans. (2) The joint management by Japan and the new State of the economy of the area would make Japan self-sufficient in the World forever. (3) This arrangement would solve Japan's population problem, provided she established a colonial trooping system to the new State. KIDO further recorded that he thought the three or four JAPANESE organs in Manchuria should be untied under one head when the new State was formed. This idea was to be carried out later.

### **First Invasion of Shanghai**

After MINAMI had finished his lecture on the afternoon of 28 January 1932, fighting broke out in a new place in China. At 11:00 p.m., fighting commenced in the first invasion of Shanghai. The commencement of the "Incident" is typical. The anti-Chinese riots in Korea following the "Wanpaoshan Incident" led to a Chinese boycott of Japanese goods in Shanghai, which had been

intensified after the "Mukden Incident" and increased in intensity as that "Incident" grew into the "Manchurian Incident". Tension increased so that serious clashes occurred between Chinese and Japanese. Japanese residents of SHanghai requested the dispatch of Japanese troops for their protection. The Japanese Consul-General presented five demands to the Chinese Mayor of Shanghai; and the Admiral in command of Japanese naval forces at Shanghai announced that unless the Mayor's reply was satisfactory, he would take action. On 24 January 1932, Japanese naval reinforcements arrived. The Chinese reinforced their garrison in Chapei, which is the native section of Shanghai. On 28 January, the Municipal Council of the International Settlement met and declared a state of emergency as of 4:00 p.m.; at that hour, the Japanese Consul-General informed the Consular Body that a satisfactory reply had been received from the Chinese Mayor; and that no action would be taken. At 11:00 p.m. on the same day, the Japanese Admiral announced that the Japanese Navy was anxious as to the situation in Chapei where numerous Japanese nationals resided, and had decided to send troops to that sector and occupy the Shanghai-Woosung Railway Station, and that he hoped the Chinese would speedily withdraw to the west of the railway. These Japanese troops sent to the Chapei sector came into contact with Chinese troops which would not have had time to withdraw even had they wished to do so. This was the beginning of the battle of Shanghai.

### **China Made Another Appeal to the League**

The next morning, 29 January 1932, the alarming situation caused China to submit a further appeal to the League of Nations under Articles 10, 11 and 15 of the Covenant. The Council of the League was in session when the fighting started at Shanghai and it received the new appeal from China the next day.

### **General Ma Bargained With Dohihara**

In Manchuria, Colonel DOHIHARA was continuing his negotiations in an effort to obtain the support of General Ma in the formation of a new State in Manchuria. Colonel ITAGAKI had recognized General Ma as "a man of real worth possessing his own troops", and had attempted to arrange a truce with him after the battle of Tsitsihar. General Ma continued to cooperate with General Ting Chao until the latter's defeat by the combined forces of General Hsi Hsia and the Japanese on 5 February 1932. After General Ting Chao's defeat, General Ma resumed negotiations with Colonel DOHIHARA, while his army escaped through Russian territory into China. With his army safe in China proper, General Ma, it is said, accepted the one million dollars in gold offered by DOHIHARA. In any event, he now agreed on 14 February 1932 to become Governor of Heilungkiang Province and cooperate with the Japanese.

### **Supreme Administrative Council**

According to ARAKI, General Honjo conceived the idea of having the Governors of the Provinces organize a "Supreme Administrative Council" to make recommendations for the organization of the new State in Manchuria. He forwarded his plan to ARAKI and requested permission to set up a new State for the government of Manchuria with Henry Pu Yi as its head. During his interrogation at Sugamo Prison, ARAKI admitted that since he had no better suggestion and thought the General's plan

would solve the "Manchurian Problem", he had approved the plan. ARAKI then sent additional experts into Manchuria to assist the Self-Government Guiding Board in carrying out General Honjo's plan.

General Ma having reached an agreement with DOHIHARA, the Self-Government Guiding Board called a meeting of the Governors of the Three Eastern Provinces and the Special District to meet at Mukden on 16 February 1932, for the announced purpose of "laying the foundation" for the new State. The meeting was attended in person by General Ma, as Governor of Heilungkiang; General Chang Ching-hui as Governor of the Special District; General Hsi Hsia, as Governor of Kirin; and general Tsang Shihui, as Governor of Liaoning; but General Tang Ju-lin, the Governor of Jehol, was not present. The legal advisor for the meeting was Dr. Chao Hsin-po, the Tokyo University trained Doctor of Laws, who had relieved Colonel DOHIHARA as Mayor of Mukden.

These five men decided that a new State should be established, that a North-Eastern Supreme Administrative Council should be organized which would exercise temporarily

---

--590--

the supreme authority over the Provinces and the Special District, and that this Supreme Council should, without delay, make all necessary preparations for the founding of the new State.

On the second day of the Conference, the Supreme Administrative Council was duly organized, to consist of seven members, namely: the Governors of Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning, Jehol and the Special District, and the two Mongol chiefs who had joined the Conference on the morning of the second day. The new Supreme Council immediately proceeded to business, and decided: (1) to adopt the Republican system for the new State; (2) to respect the autonomy of the constituting provinces; (3) to give the title of "Regent" to the Chief Executive; and (4) to issue a Declaration of Independence. That night, General Honjo gave an official dinner in honor of the "heads of the New State". He congratulated them on their success and assured them of his assistance in case of need.

### **Declaration of Independence**

The next morning after General Honjo's dinner party, that is to say on 18 February 1932, the Declaration of Independence of Manchuria was published by the Supreme Administrative Council. Dr. Okawa in his book, *2600 Years of Japanese History*, published in 1939, in commenting on this declaration has this to say: "The Chang Hseuh-liang regime was swept completely away from Manchuria in one swoop through the quick and daring action of the Japanese troops." The Tribunal finds upon the evidence that there was no popular

---

--591--

movement in Manchuria for the establishment of any independent government. This movement was sponsored and inspired by the Kwantung Army and its creature, the Self-Government Guiding Board, with its Japanese Advisors.

### **Organization of the New State**

The Declaration of Independence having been issued, Governors Ma and Hsi Hsia returned to their Provincial Capitals, but they designated representatives to meet with Governor Tsang Shih-yi, Governor Chang Ching-hui and Mayor Chao Hsin-Po for the purpose of working out the details of the plan for the new State. On 19 February 1932, this group decided that the form of the new government should be that of a Republic with a constitution drawn on the principle of the separation of powers. The group then agreed upon Changchun as the Capital of the new State, fixed the design of the new national flag, and agreed that Pu Yi should be asked to act as "Regent" of the new State.

The Self-Government Guiding Board immediately began holding mass-meetings and demonstrations in the Provinces, at which the Kwantung Army paraded its might and fired artillery salutes to impress the Manchurians with the power of Japan. After the proper foundation had been laid by these demonstrations, the Board took the lead in convening an All-Manchurian Convention, which was held in Mukden on 29 February 1932. At this Convention, speeches were delivered; a declaration denouncing the previous regime of General Chang Hsueh-liang was unanimously adopted; and resolutions welcoming

---

--592--

the new State with Pu Yi as its Chief Executive were approved.

The Supreme Administrative Council met immediately in urgent session and elected six delegates to proceed to Port Arthur to convey their invitation to Pu Yi to head the new government. Pu Yi did not respond to the first invitation from the Supreme Administrative Council, so a second delegation was appointed on 4 March 1932 to induce Pu Yi to accept. Upon the advice of Colonel ITAGAKI, Pu Yi accepted the second invitation. After an audience with the Delegate on 5 March, Pu Yi left Port



Arthur on the 6th for Tangkang-tze, and after two days, began, on the 8th, to receive homage as the "Regent of Manchukuo". Inauguration ceremonies were held at the new capital, Changchun, on 9 March 1932. Pu Yi declared the policy of the new State to be founded upon morality, benevolence and love. the next day he appointed the list of principle officials suggested by the Japanese.

Prior to the arrival of Pu Yi, a number of laws and regulations, on which Dr. Chao Hsin-Po had been working for some time, had been made ready for adoption and promulgation. they came into effect on 9 March 1932, simultaneously with the law regulating the organization of the Government of Manchukuo.

Public announcement of the new State of Manchukuo was made on 12 March 1932 in a telegram to the foreign Powers, requesting that they recognize the new State. Dr. Okawa stated that Manchukuo was a result of the plan of the Kwantung Army approved by the Japanese Government, and the establishment of the State progressed smoothly, because it had been well planned and prepared

---

--593--

beforehand. Pu Yi says that Manchukuo was under the complete domination of Japan from the beginning.

### **Japanese Cabinet Approved Fait Accompli**

ARAKI was right when he said that the Honjo plan was approved by the Cabinet; but it was not so approved until 12 March 1932, after the plan had been executed and after the new State of Manchukuo had come into existence. it was on 12 March 1932, the day that the telegram announcing the formation of Manchukuo to the foreign Powers was sent out, that the Cabinet met and decided upon an "Outline for the Disposition of Foreign Relations Accompanying the Establishment of the New States of Manchukuo". It was decided to render "all sorts of aid" to the new State, short of recognition under international law, and "lead her to fulfill the substantial conditions for an independent state step by step" in the hope that the Powers would ultimately recognize her independence. To avoid intervention of the Signatory Powers of the Nine-Power Pact ([Annex No. B-10](#)), it was thought best to have Manchukuo declare a policy consistent with the policy of the "Open Door" and in harmony with the principle of equal opportunity guaranteed by the Treaty. The Cabinet also decided that Manchukuo should seize the custom houses and salt-tax collecting organs; but that this should be done in such a way as not to "bring about troubles in foreign relations". One method agreed upon for doing this was to bribe the customs officials and replace them with Japanese. It was planned to seize military power in Manchukuo under the guise of subjugating banditry, in line with the reservation made

---

--594--

at Geneva. In short, the Cabinet fully realized that the occupation of Manchuria and the establishment of an independent State there by Japan was a direct violation of existing treaty obligations; and it was trying to evolve a plan whereby the reality of the breach could be concealed by an appearance of compliance with the obligations.

### **The Lytton Commission Arrived in Tokyo**

On the day that the All-Manchurian Convention was being held in Mukden, that is to say on 29 February 1932, the Lytton Commission arrived in Tokyo, where they were received by the Emperor and commenced a series of daily conferences with the Government, including Premier Inukai, War Minister ARAKI, and others. Although these daily conferences continued for eight days, none of these government officials informed the Commission that Japan was forming a new State in Manchuria; and the Commission first learned of this after it had left Tokyo and arrived at Kyoto on its way to China.

On the day that the Commission arrived in Tokyo, KOISO was elevated by ARAKI from Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau of the War Ministry to the high position of Vice-Minister of War.

### **Araki Dispatched Reinforcements to Shanghai**

The battle which had started at Shanghai on 28 January 1932 had developed to such an extent that the Navy Minister was forced to call upon War Minister ARAKI for reinforcements. The Chinese 19th Route Army was

---

--595--

giving a good account of its fighting ability. Large numbers of Japanese destroyers were anchored in the Hwangpu, and Japanese airplanes were bombing Chapei. The Japanese Marines were using their permanent garrison in Hungkow as a base of operations; and barricades erected between this garrison and Chapei served as the front lines between the ground forces. The Japanese destroyers, firing point blank, bombarded the forts at Wu-sung; this fire was not returned by the forts, for they had no guns capable of answering. The Japanese Marines had invaded areas adjacent to the International Settlement, disarmed the police and paralysed all city functions; a veritable reign of terror was in full swing when the Navy Minister requested these reinforcements. ARAKI states that he conferred with the Cabinet and it was decided to send supporting forces quickly; 10,000 men were dispatched the following day aboard fast destroyers. These reinforcements landed in the International Settlement fully equipped

with tanks and artillery. The Navy drew up heavy ships and began shelling the city. However, this attack which began on 20 February 1932 brought no marked success despite the fact that it continued for several days. Following this attack, ARAKI, claiming that General Ueda had suffered such great losses that it was necessary to send further reinforcements, sent the 11th and 14th Divisions to oppose the Chinese Army which had been defending the city.

--596--

---

### **The League Took Action**

The League of Nations was aroused to action. The members of the Council, other than China and Japan, addressed an urgent appeal to the Japanese Government on 19 February 1932 calling attention to Article 10 of the Covenant ([Annex No. B-6](#)); and the Assembly was convened to meet on 3 March 1932.

The American Secretary of State advised the American COnsul-General at Shanghai that the Secretary's letter to senator Corsh on the China situation was being released to the Press. In this letter, the Secretary stated that the Nine-Power Treaty ([Annex No. B-10](#)) formed the legal basis upon which the "Open Door Policy" rested. He set forth a long history of the Treaty. He commented that the Treaty represented a carefully matured international policy designed to assure to all parties their rights in China and to assure the Chinese the fullest opportunity to develop their independence and sovereignty. He recalled that Lord Balfour, Chairman of the British Delegation, had stated that he understood that there was no representative present at the signing of the Treaty, who thought that spheres of interest were advocated or would be tolerated. The Pact of Paris ([Annex No. B-15](#)) was intended to reinforce the Nine-power Treaty. The two Treaties were interdependent, he said, and were intended to align world conscience and public opinion in favor of a system of orderly development through international law, including the settlement of all controversies by peaceful means instead of arbitrary force. He said, that in the past the United States had rested its policy upon abiding faith in the future of China and upon ultimate success

--597--

---

in dealing with China upon principles of fair play, patience and mutual good will.

The British Admiral, Sir Howard Kelly, as one of the many attempts to secure a cessation fo hostilities at Shanghai through the good offices of friendly Powers, held a conference on board his flagship on 28 February 1932. An agreement on the basis of mutual and simultaneous withdrawal was proposed; but the conference was unsuccessful, owing to the differing opinions of the parties. As though in resentment of this interference, the Japanese troops occupied the western part of Kiangwan, which had been evacuated by the Chinese, and the Wu-sung forts and fortifications along the Yangtze were again bombed from the air and shelled from the sea, as bombing-planes operated over the whole front, including the Nanking Railway and the airfield at Hungjao.

Before the Assembly of the League could meet, the Council proposed a roundtable conference of 29 February to make local arrangements for a cessation of hostilities at Shanghai; both parties agreed to this conference, but it was not successful because of the conditions imposed by the Japanese.

General Shirakawa, who had been appointed to the Japanese supreme command, arrived with reinforcements on 29 February. His first order directed the bombing of the airfield at Hangchow, which was approximately 100 miles away. General Shirakawa gained ground slowly as a result of heavy naval bombardment; and after a flank attack on 1 March, he was able to drive the Chinese beyond the 20 kilometer limit originally demanded by the japanese as terms for cessation of the hostilities.

This "face-saving" success permitted the

--598--

---

Japanese to accept the request of the Assembly of the League of 4 March 1932, calling upon both Governments to make a cessation of hostilities and recommending negotiations for conclusion of the hostilities and the withdrawal of Japanese troops. The opposing commanders issued appropriate orders and the fighting ceased; negotiations began on 10 March 1932.

The Assembly continued its investigation of the dispute; and on 11 March 1932, it adopted a resolution to the effect that the provisions of the Covenant ([Annex No. B-6](#)) were applicable to the dispute, especially the provisions that treaties should be scrupulously respected, that members should respect and preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of all the members of the League against external aggression, and that the members were obligated to submit all disputes between them to procedures for peaceful settlement. The Assembly affirmed that it was contrary to the spirit of the Covenant that the dispute should be settled under stress of military pressure, affirmed the resolutions of the Council of 390 September and 10 December



1931, as well as its own resolution of 4 March 1932, and proceeded to set up a "Committee of Nineteen" to settle the dispute at Shanghai.

Contrary to their obligation, the Japanese took advantage of the truce to bring up reinforcements, which were landed at Shanghai on 7 and 17 March 1932. It was not until 5 May 1932, that a complete agreement was ready for signature. SHIGEMITSU signed for the Japanese. The fighting at Shanghai had been characterized by extreme cruelty on the part of the Japanese. The needless bombing of Chapei, the ruthless bombardment

--599--

by navy vessels, and the massacre of the helpless Chinese farmers whose bodies were later found with their hands tied behind their backs, are examples of the method of warfare waged at Shanghai.

--600--

This Incident furnishes another example of the Japanese determination to use military force against the Chinese and to impress the Chinese with the might of Japan, using any pretext for the purpose. The ostensible reason for the use of force in this case was the request from some Japanese residents of Shanghai for protection. The Tribunal has no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the force used was out of all proportion to the existing danger to Japanese Nationals and property.

There is no doubt that at the time feeling was running high and the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods, induced at least in part by Japanese action in Manchuria, was being felt. In the light of all the facts, the Tribunal is of the opinion that the real purpose of the Japanese attack was to alarm the Chinese by indication of what would follow if their attitude toward Japan continued, and thus break down resistance to future operations. The Incident was a part of the general plan.

### **Manchukuo Was Constructed and Operated as a Puppet**

Manchukuo was definitely a totalitarian State, because of the power vested in the Regent; and those who controlled the Regent controlled the State. Ordinance No. 1, which was promulgated on 9 March 1932, prescribed the organic law for Manchukuo. In formal expression, the position was as follows: the governmental power was divided into four divisions: the Executive, the Legislative, the Judicial and the Supervisory; the Regent as the Chief Executive was the head of the State; all executive power, as well as the power to override the Legislative Council, was vested in him; the functions of the Executive Department were performed, under the direction of the Regent, by the

--601--

Premier and the Minister of State, who formed a State Council or Cabinet; the Premier supervised the work of the Ministries through the powerful General Affairs Board, which had direct charge of their confidential matters, personnel, accounting and supplies; subordinate to the State Council were various bureaux, such as the Legislative Council; but, following the Japanese Constitution, the Regent had authority, when the Legislative Council was not in session, to promulgate ordinances upon advice of his Privy Council; and the Supervisory Council supervised the conduct of officials and audited their accounts. The Legislative Council was never organized and legislation was therefore enacted by ordinance of the Regent.

The General Affairs Board, the Legislative Bureau and the Advisory Bureau, in practice by way of contrast to form, constituted a Premier's Office. Upon establishment of the State, the Self-Government Guiding Board was abolished and its personnel were transferred to the Advisory Bureau, which continued the work of the Board through the Self-Government Committees previously established in the Provinces and Districts. The General Affairs Board, more than any other, was the agency of the Japanese for effective practical control and domination of every phase of the government and economy of Manchukuo.

The Ministers of State were generally Chinese, but each Minister had a Vice-Minister, who was Japanese. There existed a committee in the Government of Manchukuo not provided for in the Constitution which was known as the "Tuesday meeting". Each Tuesday, there was a meeting of the various Japanese Vice-Ministers, presided over by the Japanese Director of the General Affairs Board, and attended by the Chief of a Section of the Kwantung Army General Staff.

--602--

At these meetings, all policies were adopted, all rescripts, ordinances and other enactments approved; the decisions of the "Tuesday Meeting" were then passed on to the General Affairs Board to be officially adopted and promulgated as an act of the Government of Manchukuo. It was in this manner that Manchukuo was completely dominated by the Kwantung Army. In a telegram sent by General Honjo to War Minister ARAKI on 3 April 1932, Honjo said; "I believe you have no] objections that the execution of our policies regarding the whole of Manchukuo should, insofar as it involves negotiations with Manchukuo, be left chiefly to the Kwantung Army. in view of the recent conduct of the Japanese government Offices and various other representing organs in Manchuria, however, I fear that unless we make it thoroughgoing, confusion might arise." To this ARAKI replied: "I agree in principle to your opinion regarding unification in the execution of our Manchurian policies."

At first Japanese "Advisors" were appointed to advise all the important government officials of Manchukuo; but shortly after the formation of the State, these "Advisors" became full government officials on the same basis as the Chinese. Over 200 Japanese were holding office in the Central Government alone, not including those in the War Ministry and Military Forces, during the month of April 1932--one month after the formation of the State. In most bureaus, there were Japanese advisors, councillors, and secretaries. All important posts in the Supervisory Bureau were held by Japanese. Finally, most of the important officials of the Regency, including the Chief of the Office of Internal Affairs and the Commander of the Regent's Bodyguard, were Japanese. Even the Regent was "supervised" by General Yoshioka, who was appointed by the

--603--

Kwantung Army for that purpose. In short, as for the government and public services, although the titular heads were usually Chinese, the main political and administrative power was held by Japanese officials and advisors, councillors, supervisors, secretaries and vice-officials.

The Japanese Cabinet at a meeting on 11 April 1932, considered methods for "guiding" Manchukuo and approved the method outlined above. ARAKI was a member of the Cabinet as War Minister at that time. The decision was: "The new State shall employ authoritative advisors from our country and make them the highest advisors in connection with financial, economic, and general political problems. The new State shall appoint Japanese nationals to the leading posts in the Privy Council, the Central Bank, and other organs of the new State." The Cabinet then listed the offices of the government of Manchukuo which should be filled by Japanese; these included the Chief of the General Affairs Board and the Chief of each of that Board's sections, Councillors and Chief Secretary of the Privy Council, and offices in the revenue, Police, Banking, Transportation, Justice, Customs, and other Departments. This measure was found to be necessary so that the new State would manifest the "very characteristics that are important factors for the existence of the Empire in relation to politics, economy, national defense, transportation, communication and many other fields", and so that "a single self-sufficient economic unit comprising Japan and Manchukuo will be realized".

### **The Concordia Society and the "Kingly Way"**

The Concordia Society (*Kyo-Wa-Kai*) was organized by a committee composed of ITAGAKI and others in Mukden

--604--

during April 1932. The Kwantung Army Commander was made ex-officio Supreme Advisor of the Society. The special mission of the Concordia Society was to spread the spirit and ideology of the State, the "Kingly Way", and to strengthen Manchukuo so that she could subserve Japan in her struggle against the Anglo-Saxon World and the Comintern. The policy of the Government of Manchukuo was expressed in proclamations issued on 18 February 1932 and 1 March 1932; it was to rule in accordance with the fundamental principle of the "Kingly Way". In this manner, the consolidation of Japan's conquest of Manchuria was accomplished in the sphere of ideological propaganda. No political party other than the Society was allowed in Manchuria. The titular head of the Society was the Prime Minister of Manchukuo; but actually, the leader was a member of the Kwantung Army General Staff.

### **The Lytton Commission Visited Manchuria**

The Lytton Commission arrived in Manchuria in April 1932, and began its work of penetrating the veil of secrecy thrown over the situation by the intimidation of the inhabitants and obstruction of the Committee's efforts by the Kwantung Army and Japanese officials of Manchukuo. Under the excuse of offering "protection" to members of the Commission and prospective witnesses, the Army and the Gendarmes "supervised" their activities and movements. Pu Yi testified that, "We were all under the supervision of the Japanese Military Officers; and wherever Lord Lytton went, he was under the supervision of Japanese Gendarmes. When I interviewed Lord Lytton, many of the Kwantung military officers were beside me supervising. If I had told him the truth, I would have been murdered

--605--

right after the mission left Manchuria." Pu Yi delivered to Lord Lytton a statement prepared by Colonel ITAGAKI, which Pu Yi now declares did not reflect the true facts. People who spoke Russian or English were carefully supervised during the Commission's stay in Manchuria; some were arrested.

The Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army suggested, in a telegram sent to the War Ministry on 4 June 1932, that Japan show her contempt of the Lytton Commission by taking over the customs during the visit of the Commission. He said: "It is rather advantageous to take this action during the stay of the league's Inquiry Commission in order to display the independence of Manchukuo, and to indicate the firm resolution of Japan and Manchukuo in respect to the 'Manchurian Incident'".



### **The Assassination of Premier Inukai**

The opposition of Premier Inukai to the establishment of Manchukuo as an independent State cost him his life. The Premier had consistently opposed the recognition of Manchukuo by Japan, maintaining that such recognition would be a violation of the sovereign rights of China.

Within a few days after assuming office as Premier, Inukai sent a secret emissary by the name of Kayano to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to arrange terms of peace. Generalissimo Chiang was highly satisfied with Kayano's proposals, and negotiations were proceeding satisfactorily when one of Kayano's telegrams to Premier Inukai was intercepted by the War Ministry. The Secretary of the Cabinet informed Inukai's son that, "Your father is carrying on negotiations with Generalissimo Chiang. Concerning

---

--606--

---

this, the War Ministry is highly indignant." Although the negotiations were abandoned, the friction continued between the Premier and War Minister ARAKI.

The conflict between Premier Inukai and the *Kodo* or "Imperial Way" faction, of which ARAKI was leader at that time, reached the explosion point on 8 May 1932, when Inukai delivered an anti-militaristic and pro-democratic speech at Yokohama. On 15 May 1932, the Premier was ill and temporarily alone in his Official Residence, when several naval officers forced their way into his home and assassinated him. Dr. Okawa furnished the pistols for the killing; and HASHIMOTO admitted in his book, *The Road to Reconstruction of the World*, that he was implicated in the murder.

Lt. Colonel SUZUKI, who was an official in the Military Affairs Bureau of the War Ministry at that time, warned that if a new Cabinet should be organized under the leadership of political parties, a second or third assassination would occur. He made this warning at a dinner attended by KIDO, KOISO, and SUZUKI at Baron Harada's house two days after the murder. The opposition to the expansionist policy had come largely from representatives of the political parties in Japan.

### **Recognition of Manchukuo by Japan**

ARAKI and KOISO retained their positions, as War Minister and Vice-War Minister respectively, in the new Cabinet; and under their leadership, Manchukuo was recognized by the Government of Japan as an independent State. In replying on 4 June 1932 to a telegram from the Chief-of-Staff of the Kwantung Army, the War Minister said, regarding the question of recognition: "It has a very

---

--607--

---

delicate bearing on various circles at home and abroad, and therefore we are now determined and ready to effect the recognition whenever opportunity offers." He also revealed the plan to rule Manchukuo through the Kwantung Army; he said: "As regards unification of various organs in Manchuria, we are planning to establish a coordinating organ with the Army as its center, among other things aiming at the industrial development of Manchuria to meet with requirements for speedy stabilization of Manchukuo and national defense. Should such underlying motive by chance leak out at home or abroad, and especially in foreign countries, it would be extremely disadvantageous from the point of view of the direction of Manchukuo. Therefore, we hope that you will be very circumspect even in the study of the matter in your own office." About the middle of June 1932, ARAKI stated before the Supreme War Council that the resolutions of the League of Nations and statements made by Japan in regard to Manchuria before the establishment of Manchukuo could no longer be considered binding on Japan.

The Kwantung Army assisted ARAKI in forcing the Government to recognize Manchukuo by sending a so-called "Peace Mission" to Tokyo in June 1932. The purpose of this mission was to urge the immediate recognition of the new State; it worked in conjunction with the Black Dragon Society, which held conferences at Hibiya Toyoken to assist this "Mission".

In view of the change of Cabinets, the Lytton Commission returned to Tokyo on 4 July 1932, and held a series of conferences with the officials of the new Government in an effort to learn the views of the Cabinet regarding the situation in Manchuria. ARAKI was present at these conferences.

---

--609--

---

After the Commission returned to Peiping, that is to say on or about 8 August 1932, the "coordinating organ with the Army at its center", mentioned by ARAKI in his telegram to the Chief-of-Staff of the Kwantung Army, was established as planned. The "Four-in-One" system was replaced by the "Three-in-One" system; under this new system, the Commander of the Kwantung Army became the Governor of the Kwantung Leased Territory, and at the same time Ambassador to Manchukuo. The new system took effect on 20 August 1932. A change of personnel was made to put this system in effect. Muto, Nobuyoshi, replaced Honjo as Commander of the Kwantung Army. ITAGAKI remained on the Staff of the Kwantung Army, and was promoted to

the rank of Major General. Vice-Minister of War KOISO was sent to Manchuria as Chief-of-Staff of the Kwantung Army Special Service Organization, or Intelligence Service.

After the surrender, ARAKI stated: "At the conference of the Big Three (Foreign, Navy and War Ministers), when discussing recognition of Manchukuo as an independent state, I suggested that we exchange Ambassadors since Manchukuo was an independent state. The question came before the Cabinet at a meeting in August 1932. The discussion was as to when Manchukuo should receive recognition -- now or later. The Kwantung Army put in a request that we recognize immediately. I set the date of 15 September 1932 as the date to formally recognize Manchukuo. At this meeting we discussed the contents of the Treaty to be entered into with Manchukuo, and I approved the contents agreed upon."

HIRANUMA, as Vice-President of the Privy Council, called a meeting of the Council on 13 September 1932 to consider the question of "Signing of the Protocol between

--609--

---

Japan and Manchukuo." HIRANUMA, who had also been appointed a Member of the Investigation Committee of the Privy Council, read the report of the Committee to the full Privy Council. The reported stated, among other things, "Our Imperial Government firmly believed that it would be advisable to recognize that country without delay. Nevertheless, in order to use prudence and caution, our Government watched for half a year the developments in Manchukuo as well as the attitudes of the League of Nations and other countries. Indications are that our country's recognition of that country although it will, as may be easily imagined, cause for a time no small shock to the world, it will not bring about an international crisis. With the object of co-existence and co-prosperity, our country intends to take measures for recognizing Manchukuo by concluding an arrangement through this Protocol and the Notes exchanged between the two countries".

HIRANUMA was referring to four Notes as follows:

1. The first Note consisted of a letter and the reply thereto. The letter, which was dated 10 March 1932, the day after Pu Yi's inauguration, was addressed by Pu Yi to Honjo. In this letter, Pu Yi stated that he appreciated the efforts and sacrifices of Japan in establishing Manchukuo, but that the development of Manchukuo could not be expected without the support and guidance of Japan. Pu Yi then requested that Japan agree, among other things, to the following:
  - A. Japan to undertake, at the expense of Manchukuo, the national defence of the new State and the maintenance of order within the country, with the understanding that Manchukuo would furnish all military facilities required by the Kwantung Army;
  - B. Japan to undertake to control all existing railroads and other transportation

--610--

- 
- facilities and to construct such new facilities as may be deemed desirable; and
    - C. Japanese nationals to serve as government officials in all branches of the Government of Manchukuo, subject to appointment, removal and replacement at will by the Commander of the Kwantung Army.

Honjo's reply to the letter was simply that Japan had no objection to Pu Yi's proposals.

- - 
  3. The second Note was an agreement between the Prime Minister of Manchukuo and Honjo, dated 7 August 1932, relating to the control of transportation facilities, and making the Japanese control more absolute.
  4. The third Note was another agreement between the Prime Minister of Manchukuo and Honjo, dated 7 August 1932. It related to the establishment of the Japan Air Transportation Company. This Company was authorized by a Cabinet decision of 12 August 1932, to take over the air-routes which had already been established in Manchuria by the Kwantung Army under the pretext of military communications.
  5. The fourth Note was an agreement between Commander Muto and the Prime Minister of Manchukuo dated 9 September 1932, relative to mining concessions in Manchuria.

According to the report read by HIRANUMA, these Notes were to be retroactive to the dates of their signing and were to be deemed international agreements, but were to be strictly secret.

The Protocol, which was to be made public, provided that Japan had recognized Manchukuo; that Manchukuo affirmed all rights and interests possessed by Japan and her subjects in Manchuria at the time of the formation of Manchukuo; and that both parties agreed to



cooperate in the maintenance of their national security, recognizing that a threat to either was a threat to both and giving Japan the right to maintain troops in Manchukuo. The Investigation Committee recommended approval of the Protocol and Notes.

The discussion that followed the reading of the report of the Investigation Committee reveals that the members of the Privy Council fully realized that the proposed Protocol and notes violated the Nine-Power Pact ([Annex No. B-10](#)) and other treaty obligations of Japan. Privy Councillor Okada raised the question. The Foreign Minister had explained to the Diet that Japan would not be violating the Nine-Power Pact by recognizing Manchukuo, because Manchukuo had become independent, and Japan had not agreed to prevent the independence of the Chinese people. Okada expressed the opinion that the United States and others would not be satisfied by that explanation. As he explained, "The American might say that it would be all right if Manchukuo had become independent by the free will of her own people, but that it was a violation of the Pact and a disregard of China's sovereignty for Japan to assist and maintain that independence." The Foreign

Minister replied: "Of course, in this respect, various views are held in the United States and other countries, but these are their own views." ARAKI explained, "The national defense of Manchukuo is at the same time the national defense of our country". Councillor Ishii stated: "I feel very uneasy about Japan's contention in regard to the connection between the 'Manchurian Problem' and the League of Nations", and he further observed: "It was almost an established view of a large number of the people of the United States and other countries that our action in Manchukuo violated the Pact of Paris ([Annex No. B-15](#)) and the Nine-Power Pact." However, Councillor Ishii added: "Now that Japan has concluded an alliance with Manchukuo, for joint national defense I believe that there will be no room for opposing the stationing of Japanese troops in Manchuria, this will make the League's past resolution a dead letter." He then observed: "It was rather strange that the Manchurian and Mongolian races had started no independence movement up to now!"

The vote was taken, the Protocol and Notes were approved by unanimous vote and the Emperor withdrew. Ambassador Muto presented the Protocol to the Manchukuoan Prime Minister with the remark, "Here it is. This is the agreement that you have to sign". Although Pu Yi testified that he did not know of the existence of the Protocol up until the day it was presented for signing, he signed it on 15 September 1932.

### **Preparation for the Conquest of Jehol**

Efforts to persuade General Tang Ju-lin, who was Governor of Jehol Province, to declare his Province independent of China and place it under the jurisdiction of Manchukuo proved to be of no avail; therefore, with the conquest and consolidation of the Three Eastern Provinces completed, the Japanese

Army began to prepare for the conquest of Jehol. After the surrender, ARAKI tried to explain the decision to invade Jehol by saying, in speaking of the Privy Council meeting of 17 December 1931, where it was decided -- according to him -- to appropriate funds for the subjugation of Manchuria, "It had been decided that the three provinces comprising Chang Hsueh-liang's territory required pacification; but a statement by Chang to the effect that his jurisdiction extended over four provinces expanded the scene of activities to Jehol".

At the organization of the Supreme Administrative Council by the puppet Governors of the provinces on 17 February 1932, it was provided that Jehol should be represented on the Council; however, Governor Tang Ju-lin ignored the invitation and continued to rule the Province, although the Mongols of the various Leagues within the Province attempted to collaborate with the new State, and were claimed as subjects by Manchukuo.

The Japanese, having made their reservation at Geneva, needed only to find an excuse to proceed with their plan for the incorporation of Jehol into Manchukuo. The first excuse was presented when an official by the name of Ishimoto, who was attached to the Kwantung Army, staged a "disappearance" while traveling between Peipiao and Chinchow on 17 July 1932. The Japanese immediately claimed that he had been kidnapped by Chinese Volunteers, and sent a detachment of the Kwantung Army into Jehol on the pretext of rescuing Ishimoto. Although the detachment was equipped with artillery, it was repulsed and failed in its purpose, after occupying a village on the frontier of the Province. During this encounter, Japanese planes dropped bombs on the town of Chaoyang; and through the month of August 1932, Japanese planes continued to demonstrate over this part of Jehol Province. On 19 August

1932, a Kwantung Army staff officer was sent to Nanling, a small village situated between Peipiao and the boundary of Jehol, ostensibly to negotiate for the release of Mr. Ishimoto. He was accompanied by an infantry detachment. He claimed that on his

return journey, he was fired upon and in self-defense returned the fire. On the arrival of another infantry detachment, as if by pre-arrangement, Nanling was occupied.

Shortly after the engagement at Nanling, a declaration was issued to the effect that Jehol Province was the territory of Manchukuo, thus laying the foundation for its annexation through the action of the Kwantung Army. Military action continued upon one pretext or another, mostly along the Chinchow-Peipiao branch line of the Peiping-Mukden Railway, which is the only means of access to Jehol from Manchuria by railway. This was to be expected, as the main lines of communication at that time between China proper and the Chinese forces remaining in Manchuria ran through Jehol. It was evident to casual observers that an invasion of Jehol was imminent, and the Japanese Press freely admitted that fact. In September 1932, the 14th Mixed Brigade arrived in Manchuria with the announced mission of "mopping up" bandits in the Tung Pientao, which is the district on the north side of the Yalu River between Manchuria and Korea. The real mission of this brigade was to prepare for the invasion of Jehol.

### **The Lytton Commission Reported**

In Geneva, the Council of the League met on 21 November 1932 to consider the report of the Lytton Commission, which had been received on 1 October 1932. During the deliberations, the Japanese Delegate, Matsuoka, declared, "We want no more territory!" However, due to the fact that Matsuoka refused

--615--

---

to agree to any basis for settlement of the dispute, the Council was forced on 28 November 1932 to transmit the report of the Lytton Commission to the Assembly for action.

The Lytton Commission in its report stated: "It is a fact that, without declaration of war, a large area of what was indisputably the Chinese territory has been forcibly seized and occupied by the armed forces of Japan and has, in consequence of this operation, been separated from and declared independent of the rest of China. The steps by which this was accomplished are claimed by Japan to have been consistent with the obligations of the Covenant of the League of Nations ([Annex No. B-6](#)), the Kellogg Pact ([Annex No. B-15](#)) and the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington ([Annex No. B-10](#)), all of which were designed to prevent action of this kind. The justification in this case has been that all the military operations have been legitimate acts of self-defence." However, the Commission further stated in discussing the events at Mukden on the night of 18 September 1931: "The military operations of the Japanese troops during this night, which have been described above, cannot be regarded as measures of legitimate self-defence."

The Assembly of the League met on 6 December 1932; and after a general discussion, adopted a resolution on 9 December 1932 requesting the Committee of Nineteen, which it had appointed on 11 March 1932, to bring about a cessation of hostilities at Shanghai, study the report, draw up proposals for settlement of the dispute, and submit those proposals to the Assembly at the earliest possible moment.

The Committee of Nineteen drew up two draft resolutions and a statement of reasons indicating generally the basis on which it thought it possible to continue its endeavors. On 15 December 1932, the two draft resolutions and the statement of reasons were submitted to the parties. The Chinese and

--616--

---

the Japanese Delegates proposed amendments; and the Committee adjourned on 20 December 1932 to permit discussion of the proposed amendments between the Delegates, the Secretary-General of the League and the President of the Committee.

### **The Shanhaikwan Incident**

Before this discussion proceeded very far, the serious "Shanhaikwan Incident" occurred on 1 January 1933. Situated at the extremity of the Great Wall, halfway between Peiping and Mukden, this city has always been regarded as of great strategic importance. It is on the route followed by invaders, who, coming from Manchuria, wish to penetrate into what is now the Province of Hopei. Moreover, from Hopei is the easiest route into Jehol.

After Chinchow had been taken, the Japanese had advanced to Shanhaikwan -- up to the Great Wall -- and taken possession of the Mukden-Shanhaikwan Railway. The railway continues from Shanhaikwan to Peiping, where Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang was maintaining his headquarters. Although the railway station at Shanhaikwan is just south of the Great Wall, the Japanese trains from Mukden ran to the station; therefore, the Japanese maintained troops at the station under the pretense of guarding the trains. The Chinese trains from Peiping also ran into this station, and the Chinese maintained troops there. The Chinese Commander reported that all had been well at the station until this "Incident" occurred.



The fact that this "Incident" occurred during the discussion of the proposed amendments to the two draft resolutions submitted by the Committee of Nineteen strongly suggests that it was planned in order

--617--

to simulate justification of the action of the Japanese Government in rejecting all efforts of the Committee to arrive at a basis of settlement between China and Japan.

On the afternoon of 1 January 1933, the Japanese claimed that some Chinese had thrown a hand grenade. That was the excuse for a forthright assault on the walled city of Shanhaikwan. Smaller towns nearby were machine-gunned, American missionary property was bombed, and the fighting developed into old-fashioned trench warfare, so that the North China Plain between Peiping and the Great Wall became criss-crossed by hundreds of miles of trenches. Thousands of peaceful citizens were slaughtered; and the Chinese Government addressed an appeal on 11 January 1933 to the signatories of the 1901 Protocol ([Annex No. B-2](#)).

### **Japan Declined All Efforts of the Committee of Nineteen**

The Committee of Nineteen met pursuant to adjournment on 16 January 1933; and submitted to the parties a number of questions and requests for information in an effort to arrive at a basis of settlement between China and Japan. To all of its requests, the Committee received unsatisfactory replies from Japan; and on 14 February 1933, the Japanese Government informed the Committee that it was convinced that the maintenance and recognition of the independence of Manchukuo were the only guarantees of peace in the Far East, and that the whole question would eventually be solved between Japan and China on that basis. This put an end to the Committee's deliberations and it immediately reported to the Assembly.

--618--

### **The League of Nations Condemned Japan**

The Assembly of the League of Nations, on 24 February 1933, adopted the report prepared for it by the Committee of Nineteen condemning Japan as the aggressor in the war between her and China, and making recommendations for termination of that war. The Assembly reported that for more than sixteen months the Council or the Assembly had continuously tried to find a solution for the Sino-Japanese dispute; however, the situation tended constantly to grow worse, and the "war in disguise" continued. It declared that "Through all its wars and periods of 'independence', Manchuria remained an integral part of China; and that a group of Japanese civil and military officials conceived, organized, and carried through the Manchurian independence movement as a solution to the situation in Manchuria as it existed after the events of 18 September 1931; and, with this object made use of the names and actions of certain Chinese individuals and took advantage of certain minorities and native communities that had grievances against the Chinese administration." The Assembly decided that it could not regard as measures of self-defence the military operations carried out on the night of 18 September 1931 by the Japanese troops at Mukden and other places in Manchuria; and that this applied as well to the military measures of Japan as a whole, developed in the course of the dispute. It also stated that the main political and administrative power in the "Government" of "Manchukuo" rested in the hands of Japanese officials and advisors, who were in a position actually to direct and control the administration. It

--619--

found that the vast majority of the population did not support this "Government", but regarded it as an instrument of the Japanese. The Assembly declared that "It is indisputable that, without any declaration of war, a large part of Chinese territory has been forcibly seized and occupied by Japanese troops and that in consequence of this operation, it has been separated from and declared independent of the rest of China." The Assembly found as a matter of fact; "While at the origin of the state of tension that existed before 18 September 1931, certain responsibilities would appear to lie on one side and the other, no question of Chinese responsibility can arise for the development of events since 18 September 1931." This was a finding of aggression against Japan and a warning that similar conduct would meet similar condemnation in the future. Therefore, no person in Japan could rightly say thereafter that he honestly believed that conduct of this kind would be condoned. This Tribunal finds no basis for disagreement with the report adopted by the Assembly of the League on 24 February 1933.

The Accused SHIRATORI, who in his public announcements was one of the foremost assertors of the legitimacy of Japan's actions in Manchuria, expressed the truth in a private letter to Arita, then Japanese Minister to Belgium. Writing in November 1935, and speaking of Japanese diplomats who favored conciliation in international affairs he said: "Have they enough courage to return Manchuria to China, to get reinstated in the League of Nations, and to apologize to the world for the crime?"

### **Japan Withdrew From the League of Nations**

Rather than fulfill her obligations under the

--620--

Covenant ([Annex No. B-6](#)), Japan gave notice on 27 March 1933 of her intention to withdraw from the League. The notice stated her reason for withdrawal to be: "That there exist serious differences of opinion between Japan and these Powers (The majority of the Members of the League) concerning the application and even the interpretation of various international engagements and obligations including the Covenant of the League and the principles of international law."

### **Invasion of Jehol**

One day after the Assembly adopted its resolution condemning Japan as the aggressor in China, she openly defied the League by invading Jehol Province. Key points along the Great Wall, such as Shanhaikwan and Kiumenkou, fell into the hands of the Japanese as a result of the fighting that followed the "Shanhaikwan Incident", and the strategical situation of Jehol became very critical prior to 22 February 1933. On that date, the Japanese Army, in the name of the puppet State of Manchukuo, sent an ultimatum to China, stating that Jehol was not Chinese territory and demanding that Chinese forces in Jehol Province be withdrawn within 24 hours. The ultimatum was not satisfied, and the advance of the Japanese Army began on 25 February 1933. The Japanese advanced in three columns from their bases at Tungliao and Sui-Chung, and did not stop until all the territory north and east of the Great Wall was occupied and all the strategic gates along the Great Wall were captured. ITAGAKI and KOISO, as staff officers of the Kwantung Army, assisted in the completion of the occupation of all Manchuria by 2 March 1933.

--621--

---

### **Tangku Truce**

As a result of its advance to the Great Wall, the Japanese Army was in a favorable position to invade China proper; but time was needed to consolidate and organize its gains preparatory to the next advance; to gain this time, the Tangku Truce was signed on 31 May 1933. Commander MUTO sent representatives, vested with plenary power and armed with a draft of the Truce, which was prepared by the Kwantung Army, to negotiate with the Chinese representatives at tangku. The Truce as signed provided for a demilitarized zone south of the Great Wall. The terms were that the Chinese forces would first withdraw to a specified line. The Japanese were authorized to observe by airplane from time to time whether the withdrawal was complete; on being satisfied with the withdrawal, the Japanese Army was to withdraw to the line of the Great Wall; and the Chinese forces were not to again re-enter the demilitarized zone.

### **Araki, A Popular Figure**

The successful conquest of all Manchuria by the Japanese forces made War Minister ARAKI a popular figure among certain groups in Japan; and he was constantly in demand as a writer and public speaker. In a motion-picture adaptation of one of his speeches made in June 1933 and entitled, *The Critical Period of Japan*, he stated the ideals of the Military and revealed their plan to wage wars of aggression in order to dominate all of Asia and the islands of the Pacific. Among other things, he said: "Has peace reigned in Asia during the

--622--

---

last fifty years? What is the situation in Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet, Singkiang, and China? Are the waves of the Pacific really calm? Can we expect the waves of the Pacific of tomorrow to be as calm as they are today? It is the holy mission of Japan, the Yamato race, to establish peace in the Orient with its ideals and power. The League of Nations does not respect this mission of Japan. The siege of Japan by the whole world under the leadership of the League was revealed by the 'Manchurian Incident'. The day will come when we will make the whole world look up to our national virtues." (On the screen was shown Japan and Manchuria in the center, then China, India, Siberia and the South Seas). "Manchukuo, which was founded by the revelation of Heaven in the form of the 'Mukden Incident', and Japan will work together and will secure permanent peace in Asia." He then defined national defence as follows: "I would not adopt such a narrow view that defence of the nation may be defined in terms of geographic position. It is the mission of the Army to defend the 'Imperial Way', in space, in time, in enlargement and development, in eternity and continuity. Our troops have fought with the everlasting spirit of the song: 'The greatest honor is to die for the Emperor.' Our Country is destined to develop in space. It is of course expected of the Army to fight against those who oppose us in spreading the 'Imperial Way'. Compatriots! Let us look at the situation in Asia. Is it to be left unamended forever? Our supreme mission is to make a paradise in Asia. I fervently beseech you to strive onwards united." (On the screen appeared the words: "Light comes from the East!")

--623--

---

## **Section II. Consolidation and Exploitation of Manchuria Reorganization of Manchukuo**

After the signing of the Tangku Truce, Manchukuo was reorganized so as to strengthen Japan's control over that puppet State and to facilitate the economic exploitation of Manchuria in preparation for continuation of the war of aggression against China and the waging of wars of aggression against other Nations, who might oppose her domination of Asia and the Islands of the Pacific.



The Japanese Cabinet decided on 8 August 1933 to "develop Manchuria into an independent Nation possessing indivisible relations with the Japanese Empire." Control of Manchukuo was to be "executed by Japanese officials under the jurisdiction of the Commander of the Kwantung Army." The aim of the Manchurian economy was to be "the unification of Japanese and Manchurian economies in order to establish securely the foundation for the expansion of the Empire's economic powers to the whole world." "Co-existence and co-prosperity of Japan and Manchuria" was to be "restricted by the demands of the national defense of the Empire." ARAKI, who was a member of the Cabinet at the time this decision was made, had defined national defense in no uncertain terms. The concrete plan for the execution of this policy was to be approved by the Cabinet only after careful investigation, it was decided.

The investigations were not completed until after DOHIHARA had been assigned to the Headquarters of the Kwantung Army on 16 October 1933, and HIROTA had

--624--

---

become Foreign Minister on 14 September 1933. However, on 22 December 1933, the Cabinet, with ARAKI and HIROTA present, decided that: "It seems that the Manchurian Government is considering a swift reformation to Monarchy as soon as possible. It must be made clear that the enforcement of the Monarchy is not the restoration of the Tsing Dynasty, but the foundation of a constitutional monarch; and all causes of hindrances to the development of the national policy must be nullified, especially to contribute to the strengthening and expansion of the Japanese and Manchurian national defense power necessary to overcome the international crisis which we may encounter before long." It was decided: that the General Affairs Board of Manchukuo should be strengthened; that basic reformation of the internal structure of the Government of Manchukuo should be exercised, especially upon the personnel; and that the "existing conventions and agreements between Japan and Manchukuo should be acknowledged by the Monarchy."

This, be it noted, was the Cabinet of Japan formulating its decisions as to the manner in which Manchukuo would be governed, a country which it was proclaiming to the World as independent. The astounding thing is that the pretence was still maintained before us and supported by hundreds of pages of evidence and argument.

No better proof that this dependent status of Manchukuo did not change can be found than the telegram from Foreign Minister TOGO to the Commander of the Kwantung Army UMEZU dated 4 December 1941, which was only three days before the attack upon Pearl Harbor. In that telegram, TOGO gave the following instructions: "On the

--625--

---

fourth, in a Joint Conference with the Government Control Board, we decided upon steps which we will have Manchukuo take in case the international situation turns critical. Differing from what I said in my telegram No. 873, our policy was changed as follows: 'When the Japanese Empire commences hostilities, for the time being Manchukuo will not participate. Because Manchukuo is closely bound up with the Japanese Empire and because England and the United States and the Netherlands have not recognized the Government of Manchukuo, as a matter of fact, Changchun will regard those three nations as de facto enemies and treat them accordingly'."

--626--

---

The next step in the reorganization was the enthronement of Pu Yi as emperor of Manchukuo. After the Cabinet decision of 22 December 1933, General Hishikeri, who had succeeded General MUTO as Commander of the Kwantung Army, called upon Pu Yi and told him that he planned to convert Manchukuo into an Empire. A new set of Organic Laws was promulgated for Manchukuo on 1 March 1934. These laws provided for an Emperor to rule Manchukuo and prescribed his powers, however, they did not materially change the general construction of the Government. Japanese continued to hold important positions in the Government; the "Tuesday Meeting" was retained as the policy making organ; and General Yoshioka continued with his assignment of "supervising" the Emperor, even to the day of his capture after the surrender. On the day that the new laws were promulgated, Pu Yi, after paying obeisance to Heaven at a temple in Changchun, was enthroned as Emperor of Manchukuo. However, he had no power. Although he was allowed to give audience to his Ministers once a year, that audience was carefully supervised by the Japanese Director of the General Affairs Board.

Having installed Pu Yi as Emperor of Manchukuo and revised the laws of that State to facilitate its economic exploitation, the Cabinet met on 20 March 1934 to discuss the policy to be followed in carrying out that exploitation. Although ARAKI had resigned as War Minister on 23 January 1934 to become a Supreme War Councillor, Foreign Minister HIROTA was present at this Cabinet meeting. It was decided that fundamental policy would be "based on developing Manchukuo as an independent Nation possessing an indivisible relationship with Japan, establishing securely the base of Japan's world-wide economic expansion, and strengthening Manchukuo's economic powers." Transportation, communication and other enterprises in Manchukuo

were to be developed by special companies directly or indirectly under the supervision of Japan so as to contribute to the "national defense" of the Empire.

As though to remove all doubt regarding Japan's intentions toward China, HIROTA's Foreign Office issued a statement on 17 April 1934, which has come to be known as the "Hands Off China Statement" or the "Amau Statement", deriving the first name from its contents and the second name from the official who gave the statement to the Press. Amau was not only an official of the Foreign Office, but also its official spokesman. On 25 April 1934, Foreign Minister HIROTA, during an interview with the American Ambassador in Japan, on his own initiative referred to the "Amau Statement"; he stated that, under questioning of newspaper men, Amau had given out the statement without his approval or knowledge and that the World had received a wholly false impression of Japanese policy. HIROTA added that the policy of Japan was complete observance and support of the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty ([Annex No. B-10](#)) in every respect. HIROTA's statement to the American Ambassador was a private statement, not a public statement. The "Amau Statement" was never publicly repudiated. Amau was regarded by the expansionists as a hero for having issued the Statement; and Foreign Minister HIROTA never disciplined him for having issued the Statement without authority of the Foreign Ministry. This Statement conforms closely to subsequent developments in Japanese foreign policy; and the Tribunal finds upon the evidence that it was an official declaration by the Foreign Ministry of Japan's policy toward China at the time and was issued for the purpose of warning the Signatory Powers of the Nine-Power Pact that the Japanese Government would not tolerate any interference with her plans in China.

This Statement contained, among other things, the following: "Owing to the special position of Japan in her relations with China, her views and attitude respecting matters that concern China, may not agree with those of foreign Nations; but it must be realized that Japan is called upon to exert the utmost effort in carrying out her mission in fulfilling her special responsibilities in East Asia. We oppose, therefore, any attempt on the part of China to avail herself of the influence of any other country in order to resist Japan. Any joint operations undertaken by foreign Powers even in the name of technically or financial assistance at this particular moment after the 'Manchurian and Shanghai Incidents' are bound to acquire political significance. Japan, therefore, must object to such undertakings as a matter of principle."

### **"Two-in-One" System**

The Kwantung Army received a new Commander and a new Vice-Chief-of-Staff on 10 December 1934, namely" MINAMI and ITAGAKI respectively. These appointments heralded the completion of the reorganization of Manchukuo and the machinery for its control by Japan. By Imperial Ordinance, the Japanese Government created the Manchurian Affairs Bureau to deal with affairs concerning Manchukuo in all Ministries. The Bureau was organized to correspond to the new "Two-in-One" organization in Manchuria. The Commander of the Kwantung Army became Ambassador to Manchukuo as before, but the office of Governor of the Kwantung Leased Territory was abolished and its duties were taken over by the Director of the newly created Kwantung Bureau, which was placed under the Ambassador. Thus, MINAMI became Commander of the Kwantung Army; and at the same time, as Ambassador, he controlled the Government of the Leased Territories, the Embassy and the South Manchurian Railway Company. Although the Manchurian Affairs Bureau came under the Premier, the War Minister held the post of

President of the Bureau, so that the effective control of Manchukuo remained with the Kwantung Army and the War Ministry. MINAMI stated on interrogation that, as Ambassador, his prime duty was "to preserve the independence of Manchukuo." At that time, he advised the Government "on such matters as agriculture, transportation, education, etc." Upon being asked the question: "In fact, your advice in substance was a direction; was it not?", replied: "You might say so--Yes." MINAMI was succeeded as Ambassador and Kwantung Army Commander by General Ueda on 6 March 1936, who served until he was replaced by General UMEZU on 7 September 1939. UMEZU held the post until 18 July 1944.

### **Manchurian Affairs Bureau**

As mentioned, the Manchurian Affairs Bureau was organized to deal with affairs concerning Manchukuo in all Ministries, and set as the connecting link between the Japanese Government and the "Two-in-One" Administrator in Manchuria. It took charge of all matters concerning the Kwantung Bureau, the foreign affairs of Manchukuo, the corporations organized to exploit the economy of Manchuria, the colonization of Manchuria by the Japanese, cultural works for Manchukuo -- which probably included the opium trade, and any other matters concerning Manchuria or the Kwantung Territory. By virtue of their positions as War Minister, the following Accused served as President of this Bureau: ITAGAKI, HATA and TOJO. Also OKA and SATO each served as Secretary of this Bureau. The following served as Councillors to the Bureau at one time or another: KAYA, MUTO, SATO, SHIGEMITSU, OKA, UMEZU and TOJO.



### **Control of Public Opinion in Manchuria**

In order to control the news coming out of Manchuria and direct propaganda, the Kwantung Army Commander, or "Two-in-One" control organ, organized all the Press and news agencies in Manchuria. All the agencies, which up to that time had been under the Japanese Government, the Manchukuo Government or the Manchurian Railway Company, were organized into an association, which was known as the Koho Association. This association was charged with the duty of rigidly supervising all domestic and foreign news releases, and deciding the policy and means of propaganda, as well as enforcing that policy upon its member agencies and those agencies not members.

--631--

---

### **Hoshino Became Director of the Economy of Manchuria**

Under the new organization of Manchukuo, HOSHINO became the undisputed ruler of the economy of Manchuria. He began his training for this work when he left Japan on 12 July 1932, at the instance of the Japanese Minister of Finance, to accept an appointment as a Commissioner in the Finance Ministry of Manchukuo. He was told at that time that he was considered competent for the position as Chief of the General Affairs Board, the all-powerful agency of the Kwantung Army for control of the Manchukuoan Government. He was advanced by successive promotions to the position promised. Just before the completion of the reorganization of Manchukuo, he was appointed on 1 July 1934 as Chief of the General Affairs Bureau in the Finance Ministry of Manchukuo. Then on 9 June 1936, he became Vice-Minister of Finance for Manchukuo. On 16 December 1936, he became Chief of the General Affairs Bureau of the General Affairs Board, where he served until his elevation to the high office of Director of the Board on 1 July 1937.; He continued in this office until relieved to become President of the Cabinet Planning Bureau in Tokyo on 21 July 1940. Any exposition of the economic exploitation of Manchuria is essentially a story fo HOSHINO. When he left Tokyo in July 1932 to become a Commissioner in the Manchukuoan Finance Ministry, he took with him a trained staff to assist him in his duties; and he soon became recognized in Manchuria as the Japanese official in charge of economic affairs under the authority of the Kwantung Army.

--632--

---

### **Economy of Manchuria Seized**

At the very outset of the military occupation, the Japanese seized control of the economy of Manchuria. The first public utility seized was the railroads. All the Chinese-owned railways north of the Great Wall, and the monies standing to their credit in banks in Manchuria, were seized. All railroads were co-ordinated, connected with, and placed under the management of the Japanese Government agency known as the South Manchurian Railway Company. Electrical supply and distribution systems were quickly taken over. All sources of revenue were taken by force, and the revenues expended to finance the new Government. The customs were seized on the pretense that Manchukuo was an independent state. The Central Bank of Manchukuo was established on 14 June 1932 to replace the old provincial banks and the Frontier Bank, whose funds were used to capitalize the new organization. A new currency was issued by the Central Bank beginning on 1 July 1932. The telephone, telegraph and radio systems, being state owned, were seized and placed under Japanese control. On 14 April 1932, special officers were appointed to take charge of the Postal Administration; they had taken complete charge of this service by 26 July 1932. In all of these public services, Japanese officials and advisors were placed in the main political and administrative offices and exercised effective control of the organizations. The Japanese Cabinet confirmed this practice in its decision of 11 April 1932. It was soon after this decision that HOSHINO was sent to Manchuria. He was a recognized authority on fiscal and economic problems, and was sent to Manchuria to organize its economy.

--633--

---

### **Kwantung Army's Economic Plan for Guiding Manchukuo**

On 3 November 1932, after HOSHINO's arrival in Manchuria in July, Chief-of-Staff KOISO of the Kwantung Army, sent a telegram to the Japanese War Ministry outlining his plan for "guiding" Manchukuo. He said: "The administration shall be backed for the time being by inner leadership of the Commander of the Kwantung Army and shall be carried out with officials of Japanese lineage as its leaders. Economically, co-prosperity and co-existence shall be the basic principle. In the future, the system accompanying the establishment of a unit for an economic 'bloc' between Japan and Manchukuo shall be dept according to the race coordinate to Japan and Manchukuo. In order to realize the organization of the economy of Japan and Manchukuo into a single 'bloc', we must realize industrially the idea of 'Fit Industry for Suitable Locality' both in Japan and Manchukuo with the aim of abolishing the mutual customs barriers." All plans adopted thereafter by the Japanese Cabinet for the control and exploitation of the Manchurian economy were based upon these ideas.

### **Economic Construction Program for Manchukuo**

The day before the conquest of Jehol was completed, that is to say on 1 March 1933, the Government of Manchukuo promulgated an "Economic Construction Program for Manchukuo". The Japanese Cabinet approved the essential features of this "Program" in its decision of 8 August 1933 as related. In the announcement of the "Program", it was stated": Efforts will be

made to promote a healthy and vigorous development of the whole national economy by applying to capital such State control as may be necessary in

--634--

view of the evils of uncontrolled capitalistic economy and by making the most of the uses of capital." It was announced that economic development was to proceed upon the following basic principles: (1) "To apply State control and take measures in regard to the important branches of economic activity, in order effectively to open up the various national resources with which this country is endowed and to promote a co-ordinated development in all fields of economic endeavor; (2) To aim at the co-ordination and rationalization of the East Asian economy, to place the emphasis on co-ordination with the good neighbor Japan in view of the economic relationship of mutual dependence between the two countries, and to make increasingly closer this relationship of mutual helpfulness." In accordance with basic principles, it was announced that the Government proposed "to make it a guiding principle that important enterprises of the nature of national defense or public utilities should be managed by public bodies or special companies."

At the Japanese Cabinet meeting of 20 March 1934, which was after the reorganization of Manchukuo and the installation of Pu Yi as Emperor, the "Program" received further sanction of the Cabinet, and it was decided that those industries necessary for "national defense" should be operated by special companies, which should hold a dominant position in the business in Manchukuo, so that rapid development might be expected. The organization and operation of these special companies created monopolies in favor of the Japanese and effectively defeated the "Open Door Policy" in Manchuria. The United States and other Powers protested this unwarranted violation of existing treaty obligations intended to insure "equal opportunity" for trade in China.

--635--

However, the Japanese Government disclaimed all responsibility for the violation of treaties by Manchukuo on the theory that Manchukuo was an independent State.

#### **Japan-Manchukuo Joint Economic Committee**

A Joint Economic Committee was established in 1935 by an agreement between Japan and Manchukuo. The agreement provided that the Committee was to consist of eight members, four from each country. Japan's members were to be: Chief-of-Staff of the Kwantung Army; the Councillor of the Embassy in Manchukuo; the Chief of the Kwantung Bureau; and one member specially appointed by the Japanese Government. It is to be noted that the Commander of the Kwantung Army automatically controlled three votes by this arrangement. Manchukuo's members were to be: the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Industry, and Finance, and the Japanese director of the General Affairs Board. All questions before the Committee were to be decided by majority vote. In answer to a question put to him at the Privy Council meeting on 3 July 1935 during discussion of the question of ratification of the Agreement, HIROTA said: "I ask him (Councillor Motoda) to consider the fact that three out of the four members of the Committee from Manchukuo are Ministers and the remaining one is the Director of the General Affairs Board, who is, and will be a Japanese forever, I am confident. Although he is an official of Manchukuo, he is a central organ assuming leadership of that country. Therefore, in case of a difference of opinion between the two countries, it cannot be imagined that he will make any decision that will be disadvantageous to Japan." The Committee was to deliberate on all questions concerning the economic tie between the two countries and

--636--

supervise the Joint Holding Company to be organized by Japan and Manchukuo later to control the industries of Manchukuo; however, it was provided that matters important to the economic ties of both Governments, but which were in Japan's power, would not be discussed by the Committee; and because they were not to be deliberated by the Committee, those matters were to be made into unilateral contracts binding only upon Manchukuo. HOSHINO became a member of this Committee upon his appointment as Director of the General Affairs Board of Manchukuo. MINAMI was a member from the time of the creation of the Committee in 1935 until he was relieved as Commander of the Kwantung Army on 6 March 1936. UMEZU served on the Committee while Kwantung Army Commander from 7 September 1939 to 18 July 1944. ITAGAKI, who became Chief-of-Staff of the Kwantung Army on 23 March 1936, became ex-officio a member of the Committee on that date. Thus, ITAGAKI was one of the foremost figures in the construction of Manchukuo. Others who served on this Committee while Chief-of-Staff of the Kwantung Army were: TOJO, who served from 6 March 1937 to 30 May 1938, when he became Vice-Minister of War; KIMURA, who served from 7 November 1940 to 21 April 1941. Upon being appointed Vice-Minister of War, TOJO retained his post as a member of the Committee, but in the capacity as the Government Representative rather than as Chief-of-Staff.

#### **Yen Bloc Organized**

One of the first acts of this Joint Economic Committee was to integrate the currencies of the two countries. In November 1935, the yen bloc was established and Manchukuo's currency was no longer based on silver and was stabilized at par with the yen.

--637--



### **Release of Extra-Territoriality**

The next important economic arrangement made by this Joint Economic Committee was a Treaty which was signed between Manchukuo and Japan on 10 June 1936. The purpose of the Treaty appears to have been to give Japanese all the benefits of Manchukuoan citizenship without imposing on them the corresponding obligations. The Treaty recited that its purpose was to abolish, by progressive stages, the rights of extra-territoriality enjoyed in Manchukuo by Japan. However, it recited that "Japanese subjects shall be free within the territories of Manchukuo to reside and travel and engage in agriculture, commerce and industry, and to pursue callings and professions, and shall enjoy all the rights relating to land." A Supplementary Agreement went much more into detail and set out at great length the rights of Japanese in Manchukuo.

--638--

One of these provisions was, "The government of Manchukuo shall speedily take necessary steps in order that the rights of lease by negotiation hitherto possessed by Japanese subjects shall be converted into land-ownership or other rights relating to land." Thus was settled the highly controversial question involving the right to lease land growing out of the Notes attached to the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1915. This was very important, for Japan was colonizing Manchuria at a rapid rate. Between 1936 and 1940, approximately 221,000 Japanese migrated to Manchuria. By 1945, this number exceeded 1,000,000. Most of the Japanese men settling in Manchuria were fit soldiers and were used to man new Divisions of the Kwantung Army. The land for settlement of these Japanese was requisitioned at a nominal price, and the Chinese farmers so dispossessed were moved and allotted undeveloped lands.

### **Industrial Bank of Manchukuo**

The Industrial Bank of Manchukuo, which was organized in December 1936, with a capital of 60 million yen, served as an easy means of financing preferred industries to be developed under the Japanese Cabinet Policy. This bank handled all loans made for industrial purposes in Manchukuo. The Manchurians were permitted to make deposits in the Central Bank of Manchukuo and its branches, but they were not allowed to borrow from the industrial Bank; only Japanese were allowed to borrow from that Bank. A law of savings was enacted to force the people to save money and deposit it in the Central Bank for the Japanese. At the time of the surrender, approximately 600 million dollars were in this Bank -- all the result of the compulsory savings law.

--639--

### **Second Period Construction Plan**

HOSHINO said during his interrogation that instead of the haphazard development of the first five year period from 1931 to 1936, it was deemed necessary that a concrete, coordinated plan be formulated for the development of Manchukuo. HOSHINO, working with various Ministries of Manchukuo, the Cabinet Planning Bureau, the South Manchurian Railway Company, and ITAGAKI as Chief-of-Staff of the Kwantung Army, drew up an "Outline of Five Year Plan for Industrial Development of Manchukuo", which was completed in January 1937. HOSHINO says that the Commander of the Kwantung Army had the "final say" on all questions involving this plan. This Second Five Year Plan followed the basic principles underlying the First Five Year Plan, and laid emphasis on opening up resources in Manchukuo and making them available for "national defense", that is to say "war". the outline of the plan declared the policy with regard to mining and industries to be, "that munition industries for weapons of war, airplanes, automobiles, and rolling-stock will be firmly established, and basic major industries such as those of iron, liquid fuel, coal and electric power will be developed, and emphasis will be laid especially on the development of iron and liquid fuel industries, which materials are necessary for national defense."

This plan was adopted at a conference of Provincial Governors and the Chiefs of the General Affairs Bureau of the various Ministries in Manchukuo in January 1937. On 17 February 1937, the Government of Manchukuo issued its "Official Report on the Result of the First Period Five Year Administration and Outline of the Second Period Construction Plan." The outline stated: "Five

--640--

Years have elapsed since Manchukuo founded her country. In this period, the administrative and economic system have been rearranged, and the second 'Five-Year Plan' will be inaugurated in 1937, with which epoch-making construction activity will be commenced dashinglly." In effect, the second plan of the Kwantung Army for the exploitation of the economy of Manchuria was to be adopted without change.

--641--

The Industrialist Aikawa was sent to Manchuria to help direct the five year plan. He favored a hug holding company to control all industries in Manchuria, especially the heavy industries such as coal and steel.

### **Control of Industries**

On 1 May 1937, Manchukuo promulgated a "Law Controlling Important Industries", which was so drawn as to provide for the licensing of "Important Industries", practically all industries being classified as "important" under the law, The law was

promulgated in order to coordinate the economy of Manchuria with that of Japan. The "Essentials of the Five Year Program for Important Industries" released by the Japanese War Ministry on 29 May 1937 contained the following: "We plan systematically to promote the activity of important industries generally, so that by 1941, if anything happens, our country may be capable of self-supplying the important materials in Japan, Manchuria and North China". The plan then went on: "In promoting important industries for national defense, the requisite industries should be pushed ahead to the continent as far as possible according to the principle of 'Fit Industry for Suitable Locality'." It was in order to enforce this rule of "Fit Industry for Suitable Locality" that the "Law Controlling Important Industries" was promulgated by the puppet Government in Manchukuo.

### **Manchurian Heavy Industry Development Corporation**

The Cabinet decided on 22 October 1937 to establish the Manchurian Heavy Industry Development Corporation "in order to secure and advance the developing policy of Manchurian Industry and to establish synthetically and speedily the heavy industry of Manchukuo." This was to be a huge holding company; and its shares were to be held

--642--

only by Manchukuo, Japan and their nationals. The original issue of stock was to be sold one-half to the Government of Manchukuo and one-half to Japanese private interests. The management of this company was to be "entrusted to a powerful suitable person among the Japanese civilians. The powerful suitable person among the Japanese civilians is prearranged as Aikawa, Gisuke, the present President of Nissan." The Directors and the President of the Company were to be appointed by the two Governments. Pursuant to this Cabinet decision, an agreement was entered into with Manchukuo for the establishment of the Company.

### **Manchukuo a Work-House for Japan**

The economic organization completed by Japan with the organization of the Heavy Industry Development Corporation, proved to be of benefit only to Japan and the Japanese. Its sole purpose was to make of Manchuria a work-house for the production of war goods for use by Japan. The effectiveness with which this purpose was realized is vividly expressed by HOSHINO, the one man more responsible than any other for such success; he stated that Japan took everything out of Manchuria which could be obtained. Since Chinese business men were not allowed to enter important industries and were not allowed to make loans, most of them went into bankruptcy. The Chinese farmers lost their lands to Japanese immigrants. The savings law reduced the Chinese laborer to working for mere subsistence. The monopolies on rice and cotton deprived the Chinese of adequate food and clothing, in order to furnish the best rice and cotton for Japan's Army. A labor and civil service law was put into effect by UMEZU while he was Commander of the Kwantung Army, which required all persons between 18 and 45 to render labor service to the Japanese Army in opening highways, digging mines, and constructing

--643--

public works. These laborers were kept in concentration camps where they were fed short rations and furnished no medical attention whatever. Heavy penalties were imposed for escape. In the result a system was developed whereby the Japanese came first, Koreans second, and Chinese last.

### **Opium and Narcotics**

In order to finance her operations in Manchuria and also in order to weaken the power of resistance of the Chinese, Japan sanctioned and developed the traffic in opium and narcotics. As early as 1929, the National Government of China was making an effort to fulfill its obligations under the Opium Conventions of 1912 and 1925. (Annex No. [B-11](#) & [B-12](#)). That Government had issued its Laws for the Prohibition of Smoking Opium, effective as of 25 July 1929. The plan was gradually to suppress the production and consumption of opium by 1940. Japan as a signatory to the above opium conventions was obligated to assist the Chinese Government in the eradication of the drug habit by limiting the manufacture and sale of the drugs within her territory and by preventing smuggling of the drugs into China.

The principal sources of opium and narcotics at the time of the Mukden Incident and for some time thereafter, was Korea, where the Japanese Government operated a factory in the town of Seoul for the preparation of opium and narcotics. Persian opium was also imported into the Far East. The Japanese Army seized a huge shipment of this opium, amounting to approximately 10 million ounces, and stored it in Formosa in 1929; this opium was to be used later to finance Japan's military campaigns. There was another source of illegal drugs in Formosa. The cocaine factory operated at Sinei by Finance Minister Takahashi of Japan until his assassination in 1936, produced from 200

--644--

to 300 kilos of cocaine per month. This was one factory that was given specific authority to sell its produce to raise revenue for war.



Wherever the Japanese Army went in China, Korean and Japanese drug peddlers followed closely upon its heels, vending their merchandise without hindrance from the Japanese authorities. In some cases, these traffickers were sent ahead of the invading Army to prepare a way for it by engaging in intrigue, espionage and sabotage; such seems to have been the case in North China and also in Fukien Province, where the Genki Plot was perpetrated. Even the Japanese soldiers and their officers at times indulged in this lucrative business of vending opium and narcotics. The Japanese Special Service Organization was charged with the duty of regulating the opium and narcotic traffic in territories immediately following their capture; and this organization in the Kwantung Army became so involved in the illicit traffic under KOISO that it was necessary for MINAMI, when he became Commander of the Kwantung Army in December 1934, to abolish the organization to prevent it from destroying all discipline in that Army. DOHIHARA was one of the foremost officers of this organization; and his connection with the drug traffic has been fully shown.

The general principle of gradual suppression of the traffic in and use of opium and narcotics was the underlying principle, not only of the drug laws promulgated by China, but also of the international Opium Conventions of 1912, 1925 and 1931 (Annexes No. [B-11](#), [B-12](#), [B-13](#)). Japan, having ratified those Conventions, was bound by them. Using this principle of gradual suppression to their advantage, the Japanese promulgated Opium Laws in the territories occupied by them in China; these laws ostensibly followed the principle of gradual suppression by licensing known addicts to smoke in licensed shops.

---

--645--

However, these laws were merely a blind or cover for Japan's real intention and operations. These laws created government controlled monopolies for the distribution of opium and narcotics to licensed shops; and these monopolies were nothing more than revenue collection agencies, which encouraged the use of the drugs in order to increase the revenue therefrom. In all areas occupied by the Japanese, the use of opium and narcotics increased steadily from the time of such occupation until the surrender.

This was the procedure followed in Manchuria. In the Fall of 1932, the Opium Law was promulgated by Manchukuo and the Manchukuo Opium Monopoly Administration was created as the administrative agency to enforce the law. This agency was under the general supervision of the Director of the General Affairs Board and became one of the important sources of revenue for Manchukuo. The reliability of the revenue from these sources is attested by the fact that the Industrial Bank of Japan was willing to underwrite the 30 million yen founding bond issue secured by the opium revenue of Manchukuo and negotiated by HOSHINO soon after his arrival in Manchuria.

This procedure was repeated in North China and again in South China; however, the administrative agency in those places was the *Ko-A-In* or China Affairs Bureau, which maintained its main offices in Tokyo with branch offices all over North, Central and Southern China. These organizations created such demand for opium that the Cabinet was forced from time to time to authorize the farmers of Korea to increase their acreage devoted to growing poppies. The trade became so lucrative that Japanese trading companies, such as the Mitsubishi Trading Company and Mitsui Bussan, were induced by the Foreign Ministry to sign a contract limiting their trade areas and the amount of opium to be supplied by them.

---

--646--

Japan's real purpose in engaging in the drug traffic was far more sinister than even the debauchery of the Chinese people. Japan, having signed and ratified the Opium Conventions, was bound not to engage in the drug traffic, but she found in the alleged but false independence of Manchukuo a convenient opportunity to carry on a worldwide drug traffic and cast the guilt upon that puppet State. A large part of the opium produced in Korea was sent to Manchuria. There, opium grown in Manchuria and imported from Korea and elsewhere, was manufactured and distributed throughout the world. In 1937, it was pointed out in the League of Nations that ninety per-cent of all illicit white drugs in the world were of Japanese origin, manufactured in the Japanese concession in Tientsin, Dairen and other cities of Manchuria, Jehol and China, always by Japanese or under Japanese supervision.

---

--647--

---

[Table of Contents](#) \*\* [Previous Chapter](#) (4) \* [Next Section](#) (5A)

---

*Transcribed and formatted for HTML by Patrick Clancey, HyperWar Foundation*

Source: International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) Judgment  
<http://www.ibiblio.net/hyperwar/PTO/IMTFE/IMTFE-5.html>

## *Chapter V*

### *Japanese Aggression Against China*

#### *Sections III-VII*

#### **Section III.**

##### **The Plan to Advance Further Into China**

Japan's occupation of Manchuria and Jehol was completed when the Tangku Truce was signed in the spring of 1933. Jehol, facing another Inner Mongolian Province of Chahar on the west and the North China Province of Hopeh on the south, became the frontier of the newly formed puppet state of Manchukuo. If Japan were to advance further into China from the territory she had already occupied, her advance would be from Jehol westwards into Chahar or southwards into Hopeh, besides the other route which linked Manchuria with the rest of China through the narrow corridor of the Liaoning Province around Shanhaikwan on the eastern end of the Great Wall.

On 17th April 1934, the Japanese Foreign Office issued the "Amau Statement" warning the Powers who subscribed to the Nine-Power Treaty ([Annex No. B-10](#)) that the Japanese Government would not tolerate any interference with her plans in China. Although HIROTA later explained, upon inquiries, to the American Ambassador Grew, that the "Amau Statement" had been issued without his approval or knowledge, the fact remains that the "Amau Statement" truly represented Japan's policy towards China. Already, it appeared possible that Japanese ambitions in regard to China had not been satisfied by her occupation of Manchuria and Jehol. Very shortly thereafter, in May and June 1935, there took place two incidents, of trifling importance when compared with the demands based by the Japanese upon their occurrence, which resulted in the position of the National Government of China on both the Hopei and the Chahar fronts being substantially weakened.

---

--648--

---

##### **The Hopei Incident**

In the middle of May 1935, two Chinese newspapermen were assassinated by unidentified assailants in the Japanese Concession in Tientsin. The journalists were said to have been pro-Japanese in sentiment. UMEZU was then Commander of the North China Garrison Forces, and with his approval, certain demands were presented by his Chief of Staff to General Ho Ying-Chin, head of the Chinese military organization in Peiping. On the 10th of June 1935, the incident was settled, the Chinese authorities agreeing to withdraw the Chinese 51st Army from the province of Hopei; to close the party offices and to ban all party activities of the Koumintang in that province, and to ban all anti-Japanese activities in that province.

The above settlement is the so-called "Ho-UMEZU Agreement".

The defense submit that no pressure of any kind was put upon the Chinese authorities to induce them to agree to the above major limitations on their sovereignty over the great province of Hopei. They say that the Japanese made no more than some "suggestions" which might improve future relations between the nations. In this connection, the evidence of the defense witness, Kuwashima, should be noticed. He was then Director of the Bureau of Asiatic Affairs in the Japanese Foreign Office, and Sino-Japanese relations were his direct concern. He testified that he learned from the Japan Legation at Peiping that the Japanese had made "a considerably strong demand" upon the Chinese. A consideration of the whole of his evidence makes it plain that Kuwashima understood that the Chinese had been presented with an ultimatum. There is also an entry in the Harada-Saionji

---

--649--

---

Diaries in which Okada, the then Premier of Japan, is recorded as having said that "in the beginning only an exceedingly light, friendly warning" had been intended "from which such a serious thing had resulted." When, on 30th May 1935, KIDO drew the attention of SHIGEMITSU, then Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, to a report in the morning newspaper that the Japanese Garrison in North China had lodged a momentous claim against the Chinese government, SHIGEMITSU did not deny the report, but rather speculated as to the personalities in the Japanese Army who were responsible for such action.

---

--650--

---

##### **The North Chahar Incident**

In June 1935, about the time when the Hopei incident was being settled by the "Ho-UMEZU Agreement", four members of the Japanese Army entered the Changpei District of Chahar province. This is the southwestern part of Chahar, a little to the north of the Great Wall. As they did not have the required permits from the Chahar Provincial Government, they were taken to the headquarters of the Chinese Divisional Commander, who communicated with the general in command of the Chinese 29th Army. The latter ordered their release and that they be allowed to continue on their projected journey to Kalgan and Peiping, but



with the warning that the appropriate permits must be obtained in future. The matter was at first taken up by the Japanese Consul at Kalgan, who represented to General Ching, Deputy Commander of the Chinese 29th Army, that the Chinese Guards had insisted on searching the Japanese personnel, had pointed rifles at them, had detained them some four or five hours at Divisional Headquarters, and had thus insulted the Japanese Army. Very shortly thereafter, the Consul stated that the matter was very grave and was beyond his power to settle. The matter had been transferred to the army. In December 1934, MINAMI had become Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army and ITAGAKI had become his vice-chief of staff. DOHIHARA, then attached to the Kwantung Army, was appointed to negotiate with General Ching. In the end, it was agreed that the commander of the regiment concerned and the judge advocate of the division concerned should be dismissed and punished.

--651--

---

These measures, one would have thought, should have amply met the occasion, if these officers had been in the wrong. By far the most important provisions of the agreement, however, are those which followed, and they are largely, if not wholly, unconnected with the incident. All units of the Chinese 29th Army were to be withdrawn from the districts north of Changpei, that is to say, from substantially the whole of Chahar province. The maintenance of peace and order there was to be entrusted to the Peace Preservation Corps, an organization of the nature of a police force. In the future, no Chinese were to be permitted to migrate to and settle in the northern part of Chahar province. No activities of the Koumintang were henceforth to be permitted in Chahar province. All anti-Japanese institutions and acts in Chahar province were to be banned. This is the so-called "Ching-DOHIHARA Agreement".

Again the defense submit that no pressure of any kind was put upon the Chinese authorities to induce them to submit to the above major restrictions on the sovereignty of China over the great province of Chahar. General Ching in his evidence calls it a "temporary settlement" accepted by the Chinese Government "in order to secure peace and under pain". Thus, by June 1935, in less than two months, and nominally in settlement of two incidents of trifling importance in international affairs, the Japanese right flank in Jehol had been freed from any immediate threat of attack from Chahar; two Chinese armies, though to be hostile to the Japanese, had been removed from Chahar and Hopei, and all activities of the Chinese National Party and all anti-Japanese activities had been banned in both provinces.

--652--

---

### **Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government**

In the beginning of 1935, Prince Teh, the leader of the Mongols of Inner Mongolia, was striving to set up an autonomous Mongolian Government there. The subsequent history of this government is taken from the evidence of General Tanaka, Ryuichi, a witness whom both prosecution and defense adduced from time to time, as occasion demanded, and when both prosecution and defense cross-examined as a witness of no credit, again as occasion demanded. In this matter of the establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous regime there is no reason to distrust his account and he was certainly in a position to be familiar with the details.

Tanaka's account of this matter follows. MINAMI and ITAGAKI gave earnest support to the establishment of an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government, which they intended to be subservient to the wishes of Japan. In April 1935, MINAMI sent Tanaka and another officer to interview Prince Teh with a view to establishing such a government, and Prince Teh did not at this time come to terms. It should be noticed that there now followed the so-called "Ho-UMEZU" and Ching-DOHIHARA Agreements of June 1935, the latter of which substantially affected the northern part of Inner Mongolia, the province of Chahar. According to Tanaka, in August 1935, MINAMI had an interview with Prince Teh at which the Prince promised close cooperation with Japan and MINAMI promised financial assistance to the Prince. In December 1935, MINAMI sent two battalions of cavalry to assist Prince Teh in taking over the northern part of Chahar province. On 11th February 1936, Prince Teh transferred the seat

--653--

---

of his autonomous regime from Pailinmiao, in Suiyuan province, to West Sunito, and Japanese civilians were sent there to act as advisers to him.

There is a significant cable, dated 2 October 1935, from the Secretary General of the Japanese Embassy at Peiping to Foreign Minister HIROTA *inter alia* to the following effect: "the Japanese Forces' Mongolian Policy is making steady progress as I and Consul at Changchiakou repeatedly reported to you. The other day Major General DOHIHARA made a trip from Changchiakou to Changte and back and saw the Governor of Chahar Province and Prince Teh; his mission was no doubt to promote the Inner Mongolian self-government."

References will also be found in the Japanese Army plan for dealing with North China, transmitted to the Japanese forces in China on 13 January 1936, which make it plain that this Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government was supported and controlled by the Kwantung Army. This document will be considered more fully a little later.

### **Attempt to Set Up a North China Autonomous Government**

General Tanaka testified that in September 1935, MINAMI sent DOHIHARA to Peiping with orders to set up an autonomous regime in North China. Tanaka was then a staff officer with the Kwantung Army and he stated that he had a hand in the drafting of DOHIHARA's instructions. he also said that DOHIHARA, ITAGAKI, and Sasaki considered that "Anti-Communism" should be added as a slogan to the objective of creating an autonomous regime in North China. We accept this evidence, for it fits in with what followed, and its statement as to the

--654--

real authors of the so-called autonomous movement in North China is confirmed by various documents from Japanese sources which will be noticed hereafter.

We have little evidence as to the events of the next two months. This is not surprising, for they were presumably months of intrigue, of dangerous intrigue. Negotiations on such matters are seldom recorded or made public.

DOHIHARA first tried to persuade Wu Pei-Fu to become the head of a North China Autonomous Government and failed. DOHIHARA thereafter tried to induce general Sung Che-Yan, then Garrison Commander of the Peiping-Tientsin Area, to lead such a government, and failed. DOHIHARA and Takahashi, who was Military Attaché of the Japanese embassy, then passed from persuasion to demands that a North China Autonomous Government should be formed, and DOHIHARA and Matsui, who was Chief of the Japanese Special Services Board, further demanded that special economic concessions should be granted to the Japanese in North China.

It is proved that when inducements failed to produce an autonomous government, DOHIHARA, in November 1935, betook himself to threats of force, and even to the issue of an ultimatum for the purpose of procuring the establishment of such a government; and that the Kwantung Army backed up his threats by concentrating a striking force of tanks, mobile troops, and airplanes at Shanhaikwan at the eastern end of the Great Wall, ready to advance into the Peiping-Tientsin area.

About the end of the year 1935, there emerged

--655--

two new forms of government in North China. One, which was set up directly as a result of DOHIHARA's effort, was called the "East Hopei Anti-Communist Autonomous government." It was established about the end of November 1935, with Yin Ju-Keng as its chairman. he had been administrative commissioner of the demilitarized zone south of the Great Wall in East Hopei. It proclaimed itself independent of the National Government of China. Its capital was Tungchow in the demilitarized zone, northeast of Peiping. the Japanese maintained garrison troops there. Its control extended over many districts of the demilitarized zone. The witness Goette traveled in this area many times after the establishment of this government, saw the Japanese garrison troops, and saw the Chinese gendarmerie of the new government, recruited, trained, and officered by Japanese. Being in the demilitarized zone, this new government was beyond the reach of the forces of the National Government of China. That government protested to the Japanese against the existence of this so-called autonomous government, but without effect.

Another new governmental organ which made its appearance in North China about this time was the Hopei-Chahar Political Council. It was created by the national Government of China as a result of pressure exerted by DOHIHARA, and ostensibly to conform to his wishes. According to the Japanese Year Book, it was a new political organ which had power to negotiate with Japan and Manchukuo for the maintenance of amicable relations.

DOHIHARA's hopes of these regimes can be gathered from his report made to MINAMI in Tanaka's presence in the end of 1935. DOHIHARA reported that

--656--

the Hopei-Chahar regime and the East Hopei regime, though unsatisfactory, had been established and would more or less obey the Kwantung Army, and that the North China regime would be established with the Hopei-Chahar regime as its core.

Similar hopes were entertained by the Japanese Army at home at this time. On 13 January 1936, it transmitted to the Japanese forces in China a plan for dealing with North China. the object of the plan was stated to be the realization of self-government in the five northern provinces of China. This, it will be recalled, was the object for which MINAMI had dispatched DOHIHARA to



Peiping in September 1935. The plan suggested that Japanese advice and guidance should be given to the Hopei-Chahar Political Council; that Eats Hopei independence should be upheld so long as the Hopei-Chahar Political Council remained unsatisfactory, but, when it was established so as to justify confidence, a merger should be introduced; that measures should be avoided which might lead to Japan being misunderstood as if she were setting up a separate state like Manchukuo; that accordingly, Japanese advisers should be limited in number; that measures towards Inner Mongolia should be continued as before, but measures which had become obstacles to the self-government power of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council should be held back for the time being; that management of North China should be the duty of the Commander of the Japanese troops in China; and that as a rule, he should execute this informally by direct contact with the Hopei-Chahar and East Hopei Governments.

--657--

---

### **The Japanese Army's Plans for an Advance Into North China**

About the time when DOHIHARA was expressing to MINAMI, commanding the Kwantung Army, his expectation that the Hopei Chahar Political Council would more or less obey the Kwantung Army, and that an independent North China regime would be established with the Hopei-Chahar regime as its core, the Kwantung Army sent to Tokyo a Propaganda Plan which is most significant as to Japanese intentions towards North China. It was dispatched by the Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army to the Vice Minister of War on 9 December 1935. Certain passages in it merit quotation in full. As to the time of execution, it is stated:

Prior to the advance of our military forces in to China proper, this propaganda shall be launched, chiefly to support from the side of propaganda of the Japanese Government and the Japanese forces stationed in China. After the advance of our forces into China proper it shall be performed so as to facilitate our military activities.

The general principle is stated to be:

We start our propaganda to convince the whole world of our lawfulness as soon as the advancement of the Kwantung Army into China proper takes place. We shall launch out on a movement to estrange the inhabitants of North China from the Central Government by fomenting anti-Koumintang and anti-communism agitation among them. As for the Chinese people and army of the rest of China, we shall take a measure to form an anti-war atmosphere.

We quote also the types of propaganda which are to be used.

1. The Central Government has regarded

--658--

---

North China as a colony in a sense, and has long made it the object of exploitation. The inhabitants in North China therefore have been cherishing a strong desire to establish a separate government of their own in order to shake themselves from the fetters of the Central Government. Burning with strong aspiration for independence, the people concerned have expressed their firm resolution to establish an independent country.

2. The enactment of the nationalization of silver has made the Central Government the object of resentment, and as a result of it, the movement to establish a new independent government in North China is making rapid progress.
3. It is the greatest desire of the Japanese Government to form an anti-Communist front with the North China independent government, for it may be considered the first ray of hope for the establishment of lasting peace in the Orient by the harmonious cooperation among Japan, China and Manchuria. We therefore shall assume a definite attitude to support wholeheartedly the establishment and development of the independent government in North China.
4. The Chinese Central Government has violated the agreement of cessation of hostilities in North China and other military agreements; they have been disturbing the peace of Manchuria; instigating a boycott of Japanese goods and an anti-Japanese sentiment; and has become a great menace to the Japanese interests and residents in North China and the existence of the Manchurian Empire; therefore, we have to make it clear that we shall be obliged to resort to arms if

--659--

---

the Chinese Government continues such underhanded tactics.

5. It must [be] made clear that when we do dispatch our forces to China in the future, we do it for the purpose of punishing the Chinese military, and not the Chinese people at large.
6. We shall try to enhance an anti-war sentiment among the people by propagandizing extensively that the employment of military forces by the Chinese Central Government or other military lords will reduce the people to the greatest misery and will lead to the destruction of the country.

7. As for the Chinese forces, we will take a measure to promote antagonism between them and to increase their admiration for the strength of the Japanese military power, thus depriving their fighting spirit.
8. Our propaganda for Manchuria will be that the appearance of the independent government in North China is nothing but a concrete manifestation of their longing for the fine administration of the Manchurian Government, and it will brighten the future of Manchuria.

We have quoted from this document so fully in order that its proposals, advanced on 9 December 1935, may be contrasted with the contention proposed by the defense in general, and by MINAMI, UMEZU, ITAGAKI, and DOHIHARA in particular, that the so-called North China independence movement was a spontaneous movement on the part of the people of North China, neither initiated nor furthered by Japan.

Relevant also to the question of the attitude and intention of the Japanese towards the so-called autonomous movement in North China is a "Draft of Outline

--660--

for the Military Disposal of Various Railways in North China": sent by General Tada, then Commander of the Japanese garrison forces in North China, to the Ministry of War in Tokyo on 2 December 1935.

This document contains detailed plans for the working of certain railways in North China on behalf of Japanese troops engaged in military [a] operation in North China. The document does not specifically mention the nature of this proposed military operation. The operation is described in such vague terms as the "military objective", "military operations", and "when the army find it inevitable to settle the issue by armed force." A critical examination of the whole document, however, reveals that the Japanese Army proposed to move from about the line of the Great Wall, driving before it the military forces of the National Government of China, and clearing Shantung, Hopei and Shansi, the three southern provinces of the five northern provinces of China. It is clear also that the operation was to be embarked on to support the proposed North China Autonomous Regime. Thus, the Chinese employees of the railways were to be made to "understand the spirit of the North China Autonomous Movement", and General Tada expresses a private and strictly confidential opinion as to the disposal of the railways when normal political conditions is restored. He says:

When the situation in North China is restored to its normal condition after the military operations are over, the railways will be turned over to the North China Regime . . . Under the management of the Communication Ministry of the North China Regime, Japanese advisers

--661--

and/or some railway employees will be employed. Addenda. The following demands will be made of the North China Regime on the occasion of the abolition of the headquarters of the 'Japanese' Railway Corps.

1. Employment of advisers and high-ranking officials by each railway.
2. The right of guarding the railways and of posting troops at the principal places along the railway lines.
3. Cession of the Shantung Railway and the section of the Lunghai Railway east of Suchow.
4. The right of construction new railways.

Moreover, the document shows that certain steps had already been taken in North China to pave the way for the operation. Thus:

2. We shall endeavor to check the southward transfer of rolling stocks in counter opposition to the Nanking Government's policy of carrying away rolling stocks and other materials to the south. For this purpose we shall do our best in applying all possible indirect means, but in the case of Peiping-Shanhaikwan Railway we shall check it even by might if necessary. In case such forcible measure is taken, we shall give as the nominal reason self-defense and protection of the Peiping-Shanhaikwan Railway against the anti-Japanese military operations of the Nanking Government. (This is being enforced by the dispatch of military police under an agreement made with the Peiping-Shanhaikwan Railway Co.)

Thus, during the latter half of the year 1935, the Kwantung Army and the North China Garrison Army,

--662--

with the support of, and at times as directed by, the Japanese Ministry of War, were engaged in an attempt to detach the five northern provinces of China from allegiance to the National Government of China, and to set up an autonomous regime or regimes there, which would be subservient to Japan. The plan contained the two essential elements which had been present in the Japanese conquest of Manchuria and Jehol, namely: (1) military domination by Japan, and (2) a declaration of independence by such few Chinese figures as could be induced to serve Japan's purpose. In the Manchurian case, however, military conquest



had preceded the artificially engendered declaration of independence. In the case of North China, the Japanese military had hoped to avoid the appearance of military conquest, and had tried hard to induce the establishment of an artificially engendered North China Autonomous Government, at first by persuasion, and later by threat of the use of force. By the end of the year 1935, the Japanese military had evolved the plans for invasion which we have just considered. The efforts of the Japanese military were known to the Japanese Foreign Ministry and were resented by it, but only because they were regarded as an attempt by the Army to encroach on the Foreign Ministry's domain -- the conduct of the foreign relations of Japan.

### Hirota's Three Principles

While Japan's armies in China were formulating plans in anticipation of military operations in North China, the Japanese Cabinet was working on a program of subjugating China through diplomatic measures.

--663--

On 5 August 1935, Foreign Minister HIROTA sent to the diplomatic and consular officials in China a plan prepared on his instructions by the Bureau of East Asiatic Affairs of the Foreign Office, as a result of the re-investigation of Japan's policy towards China which had been made by that Bureau in collaboration with the Army and Navy authorities. Three general principles were stated in the plan, as follows:

1. China should carry out strict control over all anti-Japanese speeches and activities, and both Japan and China should make efforts to promote friendship and cooperation on the basis of the principles of mutual respect of independence, cooperation and mutual assistance, and should work for the development of relations between Manchukuo and China;
2. While the ultimate aim of the development of relations was that China would give formal recognition to Manchukuo and that Japan, Manchukuo and China would conclude an agreement to regulate the new relations among the three countries, China for the time being should not deny the fact of Manchukuo's existence, at least in North China and in the Chahar district which bordered the Manchukuo territory, and should enter into actual relations of interdependence and cooperation with Manchukuo in the economic and cultural fields;
3. Japan and China should cooperate in Chahar and other districts bordering Outer Mongolia, with a view to removing the communist menace.

In a subsequent telegram dated 28 September 1935, addressed to Japanese diplomatic and consular officials in China and Manchukuo, HIROTA reiterated the three principles as the basis of Japan's foreign policy to stabilize East Asia and to work for common prosperity

--664--

by means of cooperation and mutual assistance between Japan, Manchukuo and China, putting Japan as its center. In substance, the three principles were recited as follows:

1. China should carry out strict control of all anti-Japanese speeches and activities, and should cooperate with Japan on concrete questions, putting an end to her policy of depending upon European and American countries;
2. China must ultimately give a formal recognition to Manchukuo, but for the time being, China should give tacit consent to the independence of Manchukuo and enter into relations of interdependence and cooperation with Manchukuo in the economic and cultural fields, at least in North China, which is an area bordering Manchukuo territory;
3. China should cooperate with Japan in removing the communist menace in areas bordering Outer Mongolia.

The telegram appended the additional instruction that in the event the above-mentioned principles were carried into execution steadily and China's sincerity sufficiently manifested, a general agreement would be concluded for the regulation of the new relations among Japan, Manchukuo and China. One material alteration in this statement of the three principles as compared with the statement of 5 August 1935 is that the later version omits the statement that Japan and China should cooperate on the basis of the principle of mutual respect of independence.

After considerable discussion with the Army and the Navy, the plan as set out in the second version of 28 September 1935 was adopted on 4 October 1935 by the Premier, the Foreign, War, Navy and Finance Ministers. Japanese diplomatic officials abroad were again

--665--

notified and instructed to keep the matter strictly secret. On 21 January 1936, the three principles were made known to the public through HIROTA's address to the Diet. On the part of China, however, no enthusiasm was shown for their acceptance, inasmuch as these principles would involve China's recognition of the *de facto* status of Manchukuo. Thus, the diplomats of Japan would have secured for Japan the fruits of her conquest of Manchuria.

While HIROTA, on 21 January 1936, was announcing his three principles of Japanese policy towards China, the Japanese Foreign Office was fully aware of the Army's plan to set up an autonomous government in the five northern provinces of China, for on that same day, 21 January 1936, it had transmitted a copy of that plan to the Japanese Ambassador in China.

### **The February Incident**

The February Incident was an outburst of the Army's resentment against the government under the premiership of Okada, which was known as a Navy cabinet and reputed to be opposed to the Army's policy of expansion on the continent of Asia by military force. The Incident occurred on 26 February 1936. Earlier, when Okada was Navy Minister in the Saito Cabinet, great difficulties were experienced by the Cabinet because the Cabinet was pursuing a policy of reducing the Army budget against vigorous opposition of the Army. When Okada became Premier in 1934, the power of the Army was increasing. There were already indications, while the Cabinet was being formed, that the army would bring about disturbances and trouble with the new government.

--666--

---

On 26 February 1936, some 22 officers and 1,400 men revolted against the Government, terrorized Tokyo for three and a half days, seized the Premier's official residence, the Diet Building, the Home and War Offices, the Metropolitan Police Building and the General Staff Building, assassinated Finance Minister Takahashi, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Saito and General Watanabe, and attempted to assassinate Grand Chamberlain Suzuki and Okada himself. As a result of the incident, the Okada Cabinet resigned on 8 March 1936, and HIROTA succeeded as Premier.

The purpose of this Incident was to replace the Okada Cabinet by another with stronger policies which would fit into the policy of the Army for further expansion on the continent. Okada testified that he supposed the Incident was a spontaneous outbursts of resentment on the part of a group of young officers against the Government's lack of sympathy with the ambitions of the military.

### **Formation of the Hirota Cabinet**

On 9 March 1936, as a result of the February Incident, HIROTA succeeded Okada as Premier of Japan. Instead of taking measures to enforce military discipline and eradicate the interference of the Army in political affairs, some dire effects of which had just been exhibited, already in the formation of his Cabinet he yielded to Army demands as to the choice of some of his ministers. Moreover, in May 1936, shortly after he assumed the premiership, the organization of the Army and navy was changed to require that Army and Navy ministers should be of rank not lower than lieutenant general and vice admiral, and vice ministers of rank

--667--

---

not lower than major general and rear admiral, and that they should all be on the active list. Since 1913, the organization had in form permitted the appointment of reserve officers as Ministers of War and of the Navy. While the change did, in fact, make the law conform to the existing practice of appointing War and Navy ministers from senior officers on the active list, it was done in compliance with the demand of the army, who were thereby assured that whoever became War Minister, whether on the active list or recalled from the reserve list, would be subject to Army discipline and command, and thus to control by the Army.

### **Foreign Policies Under the Hirota Cabinet**

On 30 June 1936, the War and Navy Ministries agreed on a "Basis of National Policy." The fundamental policy was to consist in advancing toward and developing the South Seas, as well as obtaining a firm position in the East Asiatic Continent for stabilizing Japan's national defense. The principles stated were:

1. Japan must strive to correct the aggressive policies of the great powers and to realize the spirit of the "Imperial Way" by a consistent policy of overseas expansion;
2. Japan must complete her national defense and armament to secure the position of the Empire as the stabilizing power in East Asia;
3. Japan expects the sound development of Manchukuo and thus hopes to stabilize Japan-Manchukuo national defense; in order to promote economic development, Japan intends to get rid of the menace of the U.S.S.R.; to prepare against Britain and the United States and to bring about close collaboration between Japan, Manchukuo and China; in the execution of this continental policy

--668--

---

- Japan must pay due attention to friendly relations with other powers;
4. Japan plans to promote her racial and economical development in the South Seas, and without rousing other powers, will attempt to extend her strength by moderate and peaceful measures.



Thus, with the establishment of Manchukuo, Japan may expect full development of her natural resources and develop her national defense.

These plans were adopted on 11 August 1936, as the "Basic Principles of National Policy: by the Five Ministers' Conference, consisting of the Premier, HIROTA, and the War, Navy, Foreign and Finance Ministers. While HIROTA contends that they were to be achieved by peaceful means and were defensive in nature, the contents of these principles speak for themselves. Japan proposed to assume the role of the leader of East Asia, thus bringing the entire sphere under her domination through expansion on the continent and to the South Seas, to the exclusion of the influence of western power. As has been previously observed, the use of the words "national defense" in this document should be noted. They occur in many statements of Japan's policy. They are never confined to defense by Japan against the aggressive acts of other nations. They always mean military support by Japan of her own policies, aggressive or not.

### **Itagaki's Mongolian Policy**

While the HIROTA Cabinet was formulating its expansionist foreign policy under the name of national defense, the Kwantung Army had its attention directed toward Mongolia in the north. Earlier, on 28 March 1936, five days after ITAGAKI was promoted to Chief of

--669--

---

Staff of the Kwantung Army, he had an interview with Ambassador Arita, expounding his views on the strategic importance of Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia. ITAGAKI said: "Outer Mongolia is of importance from the point of view of Japanese-Manchukuoan influence today, because it is the flank defense of the Siberian Railroad which is a connecting line between Soviet territory in the Far East and Europe. If Outer Mongolia be combined with Japan and Manchukuo, Soviet territory in the Far East will fall into a very dangerous condition and it is possible that the influence of the Soviet Union in the Far East might be removed without fighting. Therefore, the Army aims to extend Japanese-Manchurian power into Outer Mongolia by all means at hand."

In connection with Inner Mongolia, he said: "Western Inner Mongolia and the zone to the west of these are of great value for executing the continental policy of Japan. Should the said zone be placed in the sphere of Japanese and Manchurian influence, it means that will be a base for pacification of their brothers of the same race in Outer Mongolia. Moreover, that the influence of Soviet Russia which comes from Province of Sinkiang, as well as a land link between Soviet Russia and China will be blocked. . . . From the above standpoint, the Imperial Army has been furthering its work with regard to Western Inner Mongolia for several years. The Imperial Army is resolved to further its work, overcoming all sorts of obstacles."

This statement made by ITAGAKI shows what the Kwantung Army had done and would continue to do in

--670--

---

those areas in line with Japan's "continental policy". It is to be recalled that a part of Inner Mongolia had already been brought under Japanese sway by the establishment of the Inner Mongolia autonomous regime under Prince Teh through the efforts of DOHIHARA and others of the Kwantung Army in 1935. All that was left to be done was to extend the Japanese influence further west and to Outer Mongolia. This explains why the seat of the Inner Mongolia autonomous regime under Prince Teh was moved from Pailingmiao to West Suntio in February 1936, and again to Teh-Hua in June of the same year.

### **State-Founding Conference in Mongolia**

As a result of the adoption of a positive Mongolian policy by Japan, the autonomous movement in Inner Mongolia made steady progress. In April 1936, Prince Teh and Li Shou-Hsin met with the Japanese Special Service Chief Tanaka, Hisshi, at West Wuchumuhsin. Representatives of Mengchenhui, Heilinkuolemeng, Tsakharmen, Ulanchapmeng, Tumotechi, Alashan, Kashimouchi, Ikechiameng, Tsinghai and Outer Mongolia also attended this meeting, which was called the State-Founding Conference, lasting from 21 to 26 April 1936. The principal matters decided at the conference were: (1) A plan to found the Mongolian State by amalgamating Mongolia and Tsinghai; (2) A plan to set up a monarchy, with a committee system to serve the purpose for the time being; (3) A plan to found a Mongolian Congress; (4) A plan to organize a military government; and (5) A plan to conclude a mutual assistance agreement with Manchukuo.

--671--

---

By June 1936, the seat of the regime was moved to Teh-Hue and an independent Mongolian government was set up there. In July 1936, an agreement between this government and Manchukuo was concluded, providing for mutual political and economic aid. After the conclusion of this treaty, Prince Teh set out to equip his army. The object was to increase cavalry divisions, which had hitherto numbered three, to nine. Both MINAMI and ITAGAKI gave their earnest support for the creation of the Mongolian State. The army's policy was carried out in utmost secrecy. Preparations were made by the Japanese Army to recognize the independence of Inner Mongolia.

## **Japan's Policies Toward North China -- 1936-1937**

ON 11 August 1936, "The Second Administrative Policy Toward North China" was decided by the appropriate ministries in the HIROTA Cabinet. The main purpose of the policy was stated to be to assist the people in North China to procure perfect independence in administration, to set up an anti-Communist, pro-Japanese and pro-Manchukuoan area, to secure necessary materials for Japan's national defense and to improve the facilities of transportation against the possible invasion of Soviet Russia, thus making North China a base for cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo and China. The five provinces in North China should finally be put under self-government. Advice should be given to the East Hopeh regime to reform their internal administration so as to serve as an example throughout Hopei and Chahar. the object of economic development in North China was stated to be to create an inseparable

--672--

connection between China and Japan based on the mutual economic interest promoted by free investment and also to make it contribute toward the preservation of friendly relations between Japan and North China, both in time of war or peace. Iron, coal and salt in the North China provinces should be utilized for Japan's national defense and for the promotion of transportation facilities and electric power. The same plan provided in detail for the unification and improvement of transportation facilities and the methods of developing natural resources in North China. There is internal evidence in this plan that the hopes entertained by Japan at the end of 1935 that the Hopei-Chahar Political Council would prove subservient to Japan had been disappointed. This plan says a fair and square attitude is required for the guidance of the leaders of Hopei and Chahar. It says the system should be improved, the personnel purged and changed, and efforts made to abolish the financial, economic and military administration of the Chinese military clique.

The content of the self-government which Japan now proposed for North China was that the new regime should have control of finances, industry and transportation and should be free of the anti-Japanese interference of the National Government of China. The plan at the same time provided that acts must be avoided which would make it appear as if Japan was infringing China's territorial rights or establishing an independent country, or making North China an extension of Manchukuo. A similar provision, it will be remembered, appeared in the first plan, or Army plan, for North

--673--

China forwarded by the Foreign Office to the Japanese Ambassador to China on 13 January 1936. The framers of Japan's policies still believed that black could be made to look white in the eyes of the world. The exposé by the League of Nations of Japan's duplicity in regard to Manchuria had taught them nothing.

Subsequently, on 20 February 1937, "The third Administrative Policy Toward North China" was decided upon by the appropriate ministries of the Hayashi Cabinet. There was no substantial change in contents. Again, on 16 April 1937, "The Plan for Guiding North China" was decided upon by the Foreign, Finance, War and Navy Ministers of the same Cabinet. The essence of the plan was to make the Chinese Government recognize the special position of North China and to carry out economic measures. Both the Third Administrative Policy toward North China and the Plan for Guiding North China decided upon by the Hayashi Cabinet will be treated in more detail later.

### **The Fengtai Incident**

In May 1936, as a result of negotiations conducted between the Japanese forces and the Chinese authorities in North China, one Japanese battalion was permitted to be stationed at Fengtai, a town west of Peiping. On 18 September 1936, an incident occurred when a company of Japanese soldiers carried out maneuvers in Fengtai. As they passed through the garrison line of the Chinese troops there, the Chinese patrols attempted to halt them and a clash ensued. Although it was immediately settled, the Japanese used this incident as a pretext for reinforcement, and occupied Fengtai. With the occupation of the Japanese were in a

--674--

position to control the communications of the Peiping-Hankow railway line and to cut off North China from Central China. This was the stage-setting for the Lukouchiao Incident, sometimes referred to as the Marco Polo Bridge Incident which occurred on 7 July 1937. The bridge is on the railway from to Peiping, and if the Japanese could gain control of the bridge, their control of Peiping from the west would be facilitated. The Japanese forces stationed at then repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of the Chinese garrison from Lukouchiao and also from Chang-Sin-Tien, another strategic point on the railway leading to Peiping. In the winter of 1936, the Japanese intended to reenforce their garrison force in this vital strategic area and planned the building of barracks and an airfield there. For this purpose, they wished to purchase large tracts of land in the area between and Lukouchiao. These demands, however, were refused by the Chinese.

### **The Chang-Kawagoe Talks**

In the autumn of 1936, a series of talks was held between the Chinese Foreign Minister Chang Chun and the Japanese Ambassador Kawagoe, with a view to adjusting Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. Kawagoe also had an interview with



Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at the end of November 1936, and there was a mutual expression of the desire to see the diplomatic relations between the two countries adjusted. During the talks with the Chinese Foreign Minister, the Japanese side submitted a proposal embodying the following important points: (1) Sino-Japanese economic cooperation; (2) Sino-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement; and (3) North China to be designated a special area in view of its relationships with Japan. Chang Chun responded that he was, of course, in favor of Sino-Japanese economic cooperation, but wished this to be based on the principle of

--675--

reciprocity and equality. He was also very much in favor of Sino-Japanese Anti-Comintern agreement, but here too he wanted to see that the agreement would not infringe upon China's sovereignty. As to making North China a special area on account of its relation with Japan, he could only recognize a special economic relation, but would not be able to recognize any special administrative changes. These talks achieved no results since the attitude of the Chinese Government was incompatible with Japan's policies, particularly with regard to North China.

### **The Fall of the Hirota Cabinet**

ON 20 January 1937, one of Japan's two political parties, the Seiyukai Party, issued a declaration attacking the HIROTA Cabinet on the ground, *inter alia*, that its members were too much influenced by the dogmatic prejudices of the bureaucrats and of the military, and that the wish of the military to interfere in every sphere was a threat to constitutional government in Japan. On 22 January 1937, War Minister Terauchi tendered his resignation because, as he stated, the views on the prevailing situation held by the political party which had some members sitting as cabinet members differed fundamentally from the Army's. Under the then existing situation, there was no hope of getting a new War Minister who could in any manner reconcile the extremist policy of the Army with the party politics, and the HIROTA Cabinet had to resign.

### **Ugaki Failed to Form a Cabinet**

Upon the resignation of the HIROTA Cabinet, Ugaki, on 24 January 1937, was given the Imperial Mandate to form a new Cabinet. Ugaki was not

--676--

regarded with favor by the Army, which took appropriate and effective steps to prevent his accession to office. This was an important and significant happening, discussed in more detail in another part of this Judgment. Accordingly we do no more than mention the matter at this point as part of the narrative of events.

### **The Hayashi Cabinet and Its North China Policy**

The Hayashi Cabinet was formed on 2 February 1937. UMEZU remained as Vice-Minister of War, and KAYA was made Vice-Minister of Finance. The general policy of the Government was not changed. Continuing the estrangement policy of the HIROTA Cabinet with regard to North China, "The Third Administrative Policy Toward North China" was decided on by the Ministries concerned on 20 February 1937. The principal object of administering North China was stated to be to complete Japan's aim of making Manchukuo strongly pro-Japanese and anti-communistic, to procure defense materials, to protect transportation, to prepare defense against the U.S.S.R. and to establish unity among Japan, Manchukuo and China. To attain the above-mentioned object, Japan should carry out her economic policy in North China, secretly aid the government of North China and make the Chinese National Government recognize the special position of North China and the unity of Japan, Manchukuo and China.

Again, on 16 April 1937, the "Plan for Guiding North China" was decided on by the Foreign, Finance, War and Navy Ministers. the essence of the guidance of north China was stated to be "to make the said area virtually a firm anti-communistic pro-Manchukuo

--677--

Japanese region, and also to contribute to the acquisition of communicational facilities, thus partly preparing against the Red threat and partly forming a foundation for realizing the unity of mutual aid of Japan, Manchukuo and China." Regarding economic exploitation, the plan provided that the development of those military resources vital to national defense, such as iron, coal salt and so forth, and the establishment of communications, should be speedily realized, by special capital if necessary. Again the provision appears that actions which will cause other powers to misunderstand Japan's intentions must be avoided. The formulation of these policies in the Cabinet, participated in by the various Ministries concerned, revealed that not only the Army but also the other departments of the Government stood ready for some positive progress in regard to North China to be carried out in the near future.

### **The First Konoye Cabinet and Further Planning Against North China**

After the fall of the Hayashi Cabinet, Prince Konoye assumed the Premiership on 4 June 1937, with HIROTA as Foreign Minister and KAYA as Finance Minister.

In Army circles, there was agitation for further military action in China. TOJO, Hideki, then Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, sent a telegram on 9 June 1937 to the Army General Staff with the suggestion that judging from the present situation in China, from the point of view of military preparations against Soviet Russia, Japan should "deliver a blow" first of all upon the Chinese National Government to get rid of the menace at the back if Japan's military power

---

--678--

permitted it. In less than one month, the suggested blow against the National Government of China was delivered.

The events we have just reviewed show that the seizure of Manchuria and Jehol was only the first step in Japan's plan gradually to control the whole of China so that the country, with its great market for Japan's manufactured goods and its enormous natural resources, would help to make Japan the overlord of East Asia. No sooner had Manchuria and Jehol been seized, and while yet their conversion to satellite feeders of Japan's economy was hardly begun, than in the spring of 1934, Japan was claiming a special position in regard to the five northern provinces of China. By June 1935, Japan had forced the conclusion of the so-called "Ho-UMEZU" and Ching-DOHIHARA Agreements, whereby the hold of the National Government of China over two of these provinces, Hopei and Chahar, was substantially loosened. By the end of the year 1935, the support of Japan had established two so-called independent governments, which were her creatures, the Inner Mongolian government of Prince Teh and the East Hopei Anti-Communist Autonomous Government, whose capital was at Tungchow. By that time also, there had been set up the Hopei-Chahar Political Council which Japan expected to be able to turn into a government of the five northern provinces, which would be independent of the National Government of China and subservient to Japan's will. Japan intended to follow the anticipated declaration of independence of the five northern provinces by a military occupation of them, and the military plans for this

---

--679--

occupation and for the propaganda which was to accompany the movement were prepared for execution by the end of the year 1935. Neither persuasion nor the threat of force induced the Hopei-Chahar Political Council to proclaim the independence of the five northern provinces and, in our opinion, the occupation of these provinces by the Japanese Army would have occurred much earlier than it did if events in Japan had not compelled the Japanese Army to increase and consolidate its influence over the Government of Japan so that it might control that government in support of its military adventure. As a result of the military revolt of February 1936, the Army got rid of the Okada Cabinet which was not supporting the Army's ambitious policies, but that revolt revealed a grave lack of discipline and responsibility among the younger elements in the Army which called for a pause while discipline was re-established. HIROTA, the next Premier, and the War, Navy, Foreign and Finance Ministers in his Cabinet, were wholly in favor of the expansionist policy which the Army advocated, and the latter half of the year 1936 saw the adoption by some or all of them of the "Basis of National Policy of June 1936" and of the "Basic Principles of National Policy" and the "Second Administrative Policy Toward North China" of August 1936. Meantime, the Army had secured a footing at which should enable it to seize the Marco Polo Bridge, cut off the five northern provinces from the rest of China to the southward, and control Peiping. But the HIROTA Cabinet was not wholly in favor of the policies of the Army. There were elements in it which resented the increasing control of the military over

---

--680--

the Government. These had to be got rid of, and in January 1937, the military brought about the fall of the HIROTA Cabinet and the failure of Ugaki to form a government. Finally, in the beginning of June 1937, Prince Konoye formed his first Cabinet, and government support for the adventures of the military was at last assured. The way was clear for the next step in Japan's plan to subjugate China.

---

--681--

### **Section IV. From the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (7 July 1937) to the Konoye Declaration of 16 January 1938**

Under the Boxer Protocol of 7 September 1901 ([Annex No. B-2](#)), China granted to the powers having legations at Peiping the right to station guards in the Legation Quarters and at twelve specified points along the railway between Peiping and Tientsin for the maintenance of open communication between the capital and the sea. By a supplementary agreement of 15 July 1902, foreign troops stationed at these points were given the right to carry on field exercises and rifle practice without informing the Chinese authorities, except in the case of *feux de guerre*.



At the beginning of July 1937, Japan maintained a force, variously estimated from 7,000 to 15,000, in North China, while the other Protocol powers had only small detachments. The British had a total of 1,007, including 252 members of the Legation Guards; the strength of the French effectives stationed in Hopei Province varied between 1,700 and 1,900, the bulk of whom were at Tientsin. The number of Japanese troops greatly exceeded that need to carry out the duties under the Protocol. From June 1937, the Japanese troops carried out intense night maneuvers in the vicinity of Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge). These maneuvers were held every night, while night maneuvers held by other foreign garrison troops were very much less frequent than those conducted by the Japanese. The Chinese had requested that notice be given beforehand of the night maneuvers, in order that the inhabitants of the territory should not be disturbed. To this the Japanese had agreed. On the night of 7 July 1937, the maneuvers

---

--682--

---

were carried on without notice. It was therefore under an atmosphere of tension and unrest, that on that night the Lukouchiao Incident broke out.

At about ten o'clock in the evening, the Chinese authorities received a telephone message from Matsui, Kotaro, Chief of the Japanese Special Service in Peiping, alleging that one of the Japanese soldiers was reported missing after the Chinese garrison forces in Manping had opened fire at the Japanese maneuvering troops, and demanding that the Japanese troops be allowed entry into the city of Wanping to conduct searches. Wanping is in the neighborhood of Lukouchiao, which being on the main communication line west of Peiping was of considerable strategic importance. Prior to July 1937, the Japanese forces at had repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of the Chinese forces stationed at this place.

We have already noticed that in 1936, the Japanese had endeavored to take up a large tract of land between , to the west of Peiping, and Lukouchiao, for the purpose of erecting barracks and an airfield, and how that endeavor failed. the strategic effect on North China of the removal of Chinese troops from Lukouchiao and the establishment of military posts by the Japanese between and Lukouchiao is obvious. Peiping would be completely cut off from the South and West.

General Chin Teh-Chun, at the time acting as Commander of the 29th Army in the absence of General Sung Che-Yuan, who was then on leave at his home, instructed the Chinese liaison authorities to reply to the Japanese demand for entry into Wanping that the maneuvers held under

---

--683--

---

the circumstances of that night were illegal and therefore the Chinese authorities had no responsibility whatsoever for the allegedly missing soldier. However, he said that he would order the Chinese troops stationed at Wanping to conduct a search on their own behalf. The Japanese, not satisfied with the reply, insisted on conducting the search themselves.

Wang Len-Chai, Administrative Commissioner in the city of Wanping, was ordered by General Chin to investigate and report on the maneuvering of the Japanese troops and whether any Japanese soldier was missing. In the meantime, a report came to the Chinese authorities that a battalion of Japanese troops with six pieces of artillery was advancing from to Lukouchiao. Chinese troops were thereupon ordered to be alert, while Wang Len-Chai was sent to negotiate with Matsui. While the investigation conducted by Wang Len-Chai did not located the allegedly missing soldier, and subsequent discussion with Matsui brought about no result, it was decided that a joint investigation should be conducted on the spot. After Wang Len-Chai and the Japanese representative Terahira entered the city, the Japanese troops encircled it on three sides and opened fire. Chinese forces defended the city from the walls. At five o'clock in the morning of 8 July 1937, while the investigation was still going on, a Japanese battalion under its Commander Ichiki attacked the Chinese troops at Lungwangmiao in the neighborhood of Lukouchiao. At about six o'clock, the Japanese began to attack the walled city of Wanping with machine gun fire.

### **Subsequent Operations and Negotiations for Truce**

In the morning of 8 July 1937, the railway bridge

---

--684--

---

leading to Chang-Sin-Tien was captured by the Japanese. In the afternoon of the same day, the Japanese sent an ultimatum to the Commander of the city of Wanping to surrender before seven o'clock in the evening, failing which, bombardment would begin. The Chinese, however, stood firm, and promptly at seven, the Japanese bombardment began. On the next day, 9 July 1937, the Japanese, through Matsui and others, informed General Chin that the missing soldier had been found, and asked for a truce with the following conditions: (1) All military actions should cease on both sides: (2) Troops of both sides should return to their original positions; (3) The 37th Division, which entertained more hostile feeling towards Japan, should be replaced by another unit of the 29th Army for the defense of Wanping. An understanding was also to be reached on both sides to refrain from developing henceforth incidents of similar nature. The truce was agreed to on the same day.

Chinese units under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Chi Hsin-Wen retreated to their original positions, while the Japanese units were to withdraw toward. At this point, the incident might well be considered as having been settled, if the Japanese and conformed to the terms of the truce. But, it was later ascertained that some one hundred Japanese soldiers along the railway tunnel were not withdrawn as agreed. During midnight on 9 July 1937, the Japanese troops there again fired into the city. Thereafter, Japanese troops continued to pour into the troubled area. By 12 July, there were 20,000 Japanese troops and 100 airplanes in the area. There then occurred sporadic clashes between the two forces until the 27th of July,

--685--

---

when, as hereafter related, hostilities on a large scale broke out.

### **Attitude of the Japanese Government**

The official telegram reporting the outbreak of hostilities reached Tokyo on 8 July 1937. On the following day, the Konoye Cabinet, in an extraordinary meeting, decided that the government attitude should be to hold fast to the policy of arresting the scope of the disturbance and to seek a prompt local settlement of the matter, Notwithstanding this decision of the Cabinet, the General Staff decided on 10 July 1937 to re-enforce the garrison by sending two brigades from the Kwantung Army, one division from Korea and three divisions from Japan. The Cabinet, of which HIROTA and KAYA were members, approved the Army plan on 11 July. Units of the Kwantung Army were sent to the Peiping and Tientsin area. However, on the night of 11 July 1937, upon receipt of the report from the North China Forces that the Chinese had come to terms, the Supreme Command decided to stop mobilization of the divisions in Japan proper. On 13 July 1937, the Supreme Command adopted the "Policy for the Treatment of the North China Incident", which provided that while the Japanese Army would follow the localization policy and would decide mobilization of the homeland forces in the light of future developments, they would nevertheless take resolute steps, if the Chinese neglected the terms they agreed upon, or showed their insincerity by moving their troops to North China.

From 17 July 1937, while negotiations were being carried on between the North China Garrison Forces and the 29th Army on the spot, and between the Japanese

--686--

---

diplomatic officials and the Chinese Government at Nanking, the Japanese Supreme Command proceeded to prepare for mobilization in Japan which had been interrupted on 11 July 1937. Even after Sung Che-Yuan, Commander of the 29th Army and head of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, was reported to have come to terms on 18 July 1937, the Japanese Supreme Command still pushed forward preparations for mobilization on the ground that the Chinese Government had shown no sincerity. On 29 July 1937, the Cabinet authorized mobilization of three divisions. One week later, the Commander of the North China Garrison Forces reported that, having exhausted every means of peaceful settlement, he had decided to use force to chastise the 29th Army and requested approval, which was given by the Supreme Command. In the meantime, mobilization orders were issued for four divisions. Also, ostensibly for the protection of Japanese residents in Shanghai and Tsingtao, one division was to be reserved for each city.

It is important to note that under the "Draft of the Outline for the Military Disposal of Various Railways in North China" of 2 December 1935, which provided for a sweep by the Japanese forces of the provinces of Shantung, Hopeh and Shansi, Tsingtao was the port at which reinforcements from Japan were to be landed to take part in the sweep.

On the diplomatic front, the Japanese Foreign Office took prompt measures to strengthen the diplomatic staff in North China, following the Cabinet meeting on 11 July 1937, in which the important decision was made to take necessary steps in connection with the dispatching of troops to North China. On 11 July 1937, Hidaka, Counsellor

--687--

---

to the Japanese Embassy at Nanking, was instructed by the Foreign Office to notify the Chinese Government of the intention of the Japanese Government to settle the matter locally and to request the Chinese Government not to obstruct the Japanese efforts (to save the situation promptly). When the Chinese foreign Minister demanded the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the places of disturbance and the cessation of sending re-enforcements from Manchuria, Korea, and Japan proper, Hidaka evaded the issue by asking the Chinese Foreign Minister whether the Chinese Government had any intention of denying any agreement reached between the Japanese and Chinese authorities on the spot. After the Chinese Foreign Minister had pointed out in an official note that any local understanding or agreement would take effect only on confirmation by the Chinese Government, Hidaka was again instructed by the Japanese Foreign Office on 17 July 1937 to demand that the Chinese Government should not obstruct the execution of the terms of the settlement reached on the spot. It had thus become clear that what the Japanese authorities conceived as local settlement was the acceptance of Japan's demands by the North China authorities, without the confirmation of the Chinese Government. Acceptance of this proposal would obviously have the dual effect of weakening the



power of the local authorities by depriving them of the support of the Central Government and of virtual recognition by the Central Government of an autonomous North China.

### **United States Offer of Good Offices**

The hostilities which broke out in North China had caused serious concern to the third powers who desired

--688--

to see peace in the Far East. On 17 July 1937, United States Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, issued a [statement](#) to the effect that the United States constantly and consistently had advocated maintenance of peace, national and international self-restraint, abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy, adjustment of international differences by peaceful means, faithful observance of international agreements, upholding of the sanctity of treaties, respect of nations for rights of others, and a revitalizing and strengthening of international law, and that the United States would void entering into alliances or entangling commitments, but believed in cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the above principles.

It was on the same day that the Chinese Government sent a memorandum to all the powers signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty ([Appendix No. B-10](#)), and on the next day, 17 July 1937, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek made a speech emphasizing that China was not seeking war, but merely meeting attacks on her very existence. He then mentioned as minimum considerations for peaceful solution the following four points:

1. No encroachment on China's sovereignty and territorial integrity;
2. No alterations in the administrative system of the Hopei and Chahar provinces;
3. No involuntary removal of principal officers appointed by the Central Government; and
4. No restrictions to be imposed on the garrison districts of the 29th Army.

On 19 July 1937, the Chinese Ministry of foreign Affairs presented a memorandum to the Japanese Embassy in Nanking, in which the Chinese Government renewed its proposal for simultaneous cessation of troop movements on both sides and mutual withdrawal

--689--

of troops to their original positions on a date to be agreed upon by both parties. It also stated unequivocally that for the settlement of the incident, the Chinese Government was prepared to accept any pacific means known to international law or treaties, such as direct negotiations, good offices, mediation and arbitration.

Mr. Hull, in an effort to settle the matter before it spread too far, held a talk with the Japanese Ambassador on 21 July 1937. Among other things, he told the Japanese Ambassador that the United States Government was ready, and would be most glad at any time, to say or do anything, short of mediation, which, of course, would require the agreement of both parties in advance, which might in any way contribute towards composing the present matters of controversy between Japan and China. But the attitude of Japan was made clear by Foreign Minister HIROTA who, in a speech made on 27 July 1937 before the Budget Committee of the Diet, stated that the Japanese Government would reject third power intervention. On 10 August 1937, three days before the outbreak of hostilities in Shanghai, Mr. Joseph Grew, the United States Ambassador in Tokyo, told the Japanese Foreign Minister that his Government had authorized him to make a definite offer of good offices. Following this, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, in a note to the Department of State dated 13 August 1937, stated that while Japan concurred in the principles contained in the statement made by Mr. Hull on 16 July 1937 concerning maintenance of world peace, it was the belief of the Japanese Government that the objectives of those principles would be attained only by a full

--690--

recognition and practical consideration of the actual circumstances of the Far Eastern region. The United States Department of State, however, on 23 August 1937, issued a press release reaffirming the principles laid down by the Hull statement of 16 July 1937, and urging the settlement of differences by negotiations.

### **The Langfang Incident**

Despite the truce, fighting again broke out on 14 July 1937. Wanping was continuously shelled by Japanese artillery. On 18 July 1937, Sung Che-Yuan called on Katsuki, Commander of the Japanese Garrison Forces, and expressed regrets, as demanded by the Japanese Army. However, this did not ease the tension. Numerous incidents occurred. On the 25th of July, a clash occurred at Langfang, between Peiping and Tientsin, between a company of Japanese troops and Chinese forces. There was another clash the next day at the Kwangamen Gate of Peiping as a battalion of Japanese infantry endeavored to enter the city for the purpose of protecting the Japanese residents. While the exact cause of the outbreak of these incidents is not clear, it is significant that on

the 26th, the Japanese had sent an ultimatum to the Chinese demanding, *inter alia*, the withdrawal of the Chinese 27th Division from the Peiping Area within twenty-four hours, failing which, Japan would attack with large forces.

### **Japan's Ultimatum Rejected**

On 27 July 1937, the day after the Japanese had delivered the ultimatum, Premier Konoye announced that in sending troops to North China, the Government had no other purpose than to preserve peace in East Asia. Japan's

--691--

ultimatum was not accepted. Fighting broke out on 27 July 1937 at and in the vicinity of Lukouchiao. Katsuki, Commander of the Japanese Garrison Forces, ordered reinforcements from Tientsin and Tungchow with strong equipment and more than thirty airplanes. In the early morning of 28 July 1937, the Japanese made an onslaught at Nanyuan, outside the city of Peiping, with aircraft and artillery, inflicting heavy casualties on the Chinese. Large scale hostilities had thus developed.

### **Reaction in Germany**

On 28 July 1937, the Japanese Ambassador, Mushakoji, called upon the German Reichminister, Weizsacker, and stated that Japan felt that Germany did not understand the anti-communistic efforts which the Japanese action in China constituted. He tried to show that Japan was doing anti-communistic work in China also for Germany's benefit. However, Weizsacker replied that he could not deduce an obligation on the part of Germany to approve or assist morally a Japanese action which might easily lead to the fostering of communism in China, the very opposite of the aim of both Germany and Japan.

On the same day, Weizsacker sent a telegram to the German Ambassador in Tokyo, instructing him to advise the Japanese to be moderate. He told the Ambassador that attempts of Japan to base measures in China as a fight against communism on the strength of the Anti-Comintern Pact were devious, as the said Pact had not the objective of fighting Bolshevism in the territory of third states. On the contrary, Japan's actions were rather considered to be contrary to the Anti-Comintern Pact because they would obstruct the consolidation of China and thus promote

--692--

the spread of communism. Weizsacker further stated that the radio propaganda carried on by Japan in Germany, attempting to represent the war against China as a fight against communism, was unwelcome.

In the light of the German attitude, and the nature of the operations adopted by the Japanese, very grave doubts are thrown on the Japanese reiterated declarations that they were primarily concerned in combating communism. Such declarations were repeatedly made by DOHIHARA and ITAGAKI in their initial efforts to establish the autonomous movement in North China. The Reichminister seemed to have foreseen a situation which was later testified to by a witness in this trial, that the Chinese communists began to gather strength in the troubled conditions developing after the outbreak of the Lukouchiao Incident, and that it was the Japanese who thus nurtured the communist movement.

### **Peiping Captured**

On the same day, 28 July 1937, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek ordered General Sung Che-Yuan to retreat to Paoting in southern Hopei and to direct operations from there. During the next two days, 29 and 30 July 1937, intense fighting took place in Tientsin, where the Chinese forces put up a stiff stand, but subsequently they fell back toward the south along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, while other troops fell back along the Peiping-Hankow Railway. Thus, Peiping was isolated and finally captured on 8 August 1937 by the Japanese forces under the command of Kawabe, Shozo, who paraded the streets of Peiping with his troops; announced by proclamations posted at important places that he was the military governor,

--693--

and threatened with death anyone who would defy his edicts. According to neutral observers, within eight weeks after the outbreak of hostilities, the Japanese had about 160,000 troops fighting in North China.

### **The Oyama Incident**

While the hostilities in North China were progressing, and following the capture of Peiping by Japanese troops on 8 August 1937, another incident causing grave concern to the world occurred at Shanghai on the very next day. In the afternoon of 9 August 1937, Sub-Lieutenant Oyama and his driver, Seaman Saito, of the Japanese Naval Landing Party, were killed in front of the airdrome on Hungjao Road in a suburb of Shanghai while trying to enter the airdrome. The evidence as to the details of the incident is contradictory. However, one point is established beyond doubt; namely, that Oyama had no authority to enter the airdrome. In any event, the incident, though it contributed to the tenseness of the situation generally, is of little importance as the Japanese did not allege it as an excuse or justification for their subsequent operations.



### Other Events Preceding the Shanghai War

After the Oyama Incident occurred, the situation in Shanghai became extremely tense. Within less than forty-eight hours thereafter, Japan concentrated about thirty warships in Shanghai and increased her armed forces by several thousands. At the same time, demands calculated to remove or undermine Chinese defense were made on the Chinese authorities. Hostilities broke out on 13 August 1937, and furious fighting continued thereafter.

--694--

As may be recalled, in the early part of 1932, the hostilities in the Shanghai region were brought to an end by the conclusion of the Cease-Fire Agreement of 5 May 1932, which stipulated that the Chinese troops would remain in the positions which they occupied at that date, pending later arrangements upon the establishment of normal conditions in the area. The Chinese delegation to the Shanghai Conference, in accepting the Agreement, then declared in particular that it was understood that nothing in this Agreement implied any permanent restriction on the movements of Chinese troops in Chinese territory. In June 1937, acting on a report that the Chinese were reinforcing the Peace Preservation Corps in what he called "the forbidden area", and were constructing defense works there, including the reconstruction of the Woosung Fortress, Okamoto, the Japanese Consul-General in Shanghai, called for a meeting of the Joint Commission set up under the Cease-Fire Agreement. At the meeting held on 23 June 1937, Mayor Yui Hung-Chun, the Chinese representative, took the position that the matter was not within the province of the Joint Commission, whose duty was, as was clear from the Agreement, to supervise the withdrawal of troops. The representatives of the participating powers concluded that they could not express an opinion on conflicting interpretations. While stating that he was not authorized to give any information concerning the number of Peace Preservation Corps in the Shanghai area, and the question of fortifications, the Chinese representative did give an assurance that nothing undertaken in the area had any hostile intention or the nature of warlike preparation.

On or about 15 July 1937, after the hostilities

--695--

broke out in North China, Mayor Yui invited Consul-General Okamoto and the Japanese military and naval attachés to a meeting at which the Mayor expressed his desire to prevent the spread of hostilities to Shanghai, and asked the Japanese to cooperate. Okamoto promised cooperation and asked that China control terrorism and anti-Japanese movement. Thereafter, they maintained close touch with each other. At times, the Mayor called on Okamoto two or three times a day, requesting the latter to restrain certain actions on the part of the Japanese marines. The actions which the Chinese complained of were such as maneuvers and emergency guard measures taken by the Japanese marines. According to Okamoto, he and the Commander of the Japanese Naval Landing Party agreed to restrain the maneuvers, but as to the emergency guard measures, he explained that they were taken as a result of the disappearance of a Japanese sailor by the name of Miyasaki, who was, however, subsequently found.

In Japan, following the occurrence of the Oyama Incident, the Army was notified by the Navy on 10 August 1937 that for the time being the units in Shanghai would take no further steps, but circumstances might require preparations for sending troops. The Japanese Government then decided that it would be worthwhile to study the proposal for eventual mobilization. After the Incident, the Japanese Naval Landing Party at Shanghai was reinforced by 1,000 men from Japan. By noon of 11 August 1937, there was a relatively large fleet, including the Flagship *Izumo* and other naval vessels, at the Shanghai waterfront.

On 12 August 1937, another meeting of the Joint Commission was held in Shanghai. While reiterating that the Commission had no authority over the issues, the Chinese

--696--

representative pointed out that it was Japan who had rendered the Cease-Fire Agreement null and void by stationing the armed forces at Paitzuchiao, or the Eight Character Bridge, a place far beyond the railway from which it had been agreed that the Japanese forces would be withdrawn, and consequently Japan had no right to invoke the agreement. He further pointed out that Japanese armaments and supplies were being landed, and further reinforcements were on the way; that these measures constituted a serious threat to the peace and order in Shanghai, and that China had the right to adopt measures for self-defense. The Japanese representative admitted, in the meeting, that Japanese forces had been in the Paitzuchiao area and made no denial of the naval concentration and reinforcements, other than an explanation that the Naval Landing Party had not yet prepared to do anything, while the Chinese representative also reiterated the statement that the right to adopt measures of self-defense accounted for her military movements.

At the same meeting on 12 August 1937, when the parties were asked to give assurances not to make an attack within forty-eight hours, the Chinese stated that they would not attack unless they were first attacked, while the Japanese rejoined that they would

cause no trouble unless provoked or challenged, and then related the case of the arrest of a Japanese newspaperman by the Chinese as an illustration of provocation. The meeting brought about no solution of the trouble.

### **The Shanghai War**

On 13 August 1937, fighting broke out at a point near the headquarters of the Japanese Naval Landing Party and at another point in the Paitzuchiaio area. The

--697--

Japanese alleged that the cause of the outbreak was the firing by Chinese troops on the Japanese Landing Party. On this point the evidence is contradictory. Even if their version was correct, it would not, in our opinion, justify the extent and magnitude of the operations which followed, as hereafter related.

As soon as the clash occurred, the Japanese Government on 15 August 1937, announced its decision to dispatch a force of two divisions from the homeland for the declared purpose of protecting Japanese subjects in Shanghai. A mobilization order was also issued on the same day, and MATSUI, Iwane, was appointed Commander of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in Shanghai. Clearly, the Japanese Cabinet had decided to abandon the policy of localization. Fighting in the Shanghai area was intense. Further Japanese reinforcements arrived at Shanghai on 23 August 1937. Aircraft were brought into action by both sides. Japanese airplanes bombed Nanking, the capital of China, and numerous aerial bombardments were carried out on the ports, and also on cities in the interior. The Japanese fleet, while cooperating with the forces on land, patrolled the coast to prevent supplies from being brought to the ports by Chinese ships, a number of which were sunk.

While the fighting at Shanghai was in full swing, Horinouchi, the Japanese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a radio broadcast to the United States on 1 September 1937, defended Japan's actions in China on the ground of China's anti-Japanese acts and asserted that Japan's intentions were peaceful. He stated that the ultimate object of the current hostilities in North China and

--698--

Shanghai was the realization of a situation permitting genuine cooperation between the two countries. Speeches of similar purport were subsequently delivered to the Japanese Diet by Foreign Minister HIROTA. It is clear that while these speeches were made, they had in mind Japan's policy of making North China a special area subservient to Japan, a policy which had been openly adopted by the successive cabinets since 1935. To implement this policy, a full scale war was being waged, extending as far south as Shanghai in Central China.

As hostilities continued, still further reinforcements were poured into the Shanghai area. Between the end of September and the beginning of November 1937, the Japanese Supreme Command dispatched five battalions from Japan and five more divisions from North China. In the beginning of November 1937, three divisions landed in Hangchow Bay, about fifty miles south of Shanghai, and again, in the middle of the same month, one more division landed at Paimaokiang, sixty miles up the Yangtze River from Shanghai. As the area of conflict was thus being expanded, the Expeditionary Forces under MATSUI and the divisions of the Tenth Army which had landed at Hangchow Bay were amalgamated in to the newly formed Central China Expeditionary Forces with MATSUI as its Commander in Chief. The battle continued for three months, and by 12 November 1937, the Chinese Army retreated to the West.

On 5 December 1937, the Shanghai Ta-Tao City Government was set up, under the sponsorship of Colonel Kusumoto of the Military Attaché's Office, Japanese Embassy, and Colonel Kagesa of the Headquarters of the Japanese Supreme Command, with Su Hsi-Wen, a Japanese-educated

--699--

Chinese, as the Mayor.

### **Continued Military Activities in North China**

To coordinate the Japanese military activities being carried on in China, HATA, Shunroku, was appointed on 26 August 1937, as Inspector General of Military Education, one of the three chiefs who would nominate the War Minister whenever there was a cabinet change. DOHIHARA, in command of the 14th Division, in August 1937 took part in the drive along the Peiping-Hankow Railway, and TOJO, in command of an army corps, was engaged in hostilities in Chahar Province. At the same time, the 5th Division under ITAGAKI was driving up the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway toward Kalgan, which was captured on 26 August 1937. It is worthy of note at this point that in November 1938, the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, and Shansi were organized as separate local government territories under the Autonomous Federation of Mengchiang. This was an organization



intended by the Japanese to rule Mongolia and Sinkiang. At the head of the Federation was Prince Teh, whose advisors were Japanese Army officers and others who took charge of political and economic questions in the Federation.

On 31 August 1937, at Hwailai, approximately one hundred miles northwest of Peiping, where ITAGAKI had an interview with European and American correspondents, he declared that it was possible for him to turn south to the Yellow River. This statement is the first indication to the public that the Japanese plans contemplated an advance to the South beyond the limits of North China, which, in fact, followed soon after. On 4 September 1937, an Imperial Edict was issued, explaining the object of the Japanese military expedition in China as "to urge grave

--700--

---

self-reflection upon China and to establish peace in the Far East without delay".

These military activities were accompanied by propaganda in the form of press interviews, speeches and other utterances, with the purpose of breaking the morale of the Chinese.

On 24 September 1937, Paoting, capital of Hopei Province, was captured. The Japanese generals participating in the fighting at that time stated to a foreign newspaperman that the military aim of the Japanese Army was "not so much the acquisition of territory as the annihilation, smashing, and killing of Chinese Nationalist Armies". This policy of annihilation of the Chinese Armies had been previously expressed by HIROTA in his speech of 5 September 1937, delivered in the Diet, in which he said, "we firmly believe that it is in accordance with the right of self-defense as well as with the cause of righteousness that our country is determined to deal a decisive blow to such a country, so that it may reflect upon the error of its ways. The sole recourse open to the Japanese Empire is to administer the foregoing blow to the Chinese Army, so that it may lose completely its will to fight". In the same speech, he reiterated Japan's policy in regard to North China, and concluded that the urgent need for Japan at that moment was to take "a resolute attitude and compel China to mend her ways". Japan, he said, had no other objective than to see a happy and tranquil North China, all China freed from the danger of recurrence of such calamitous hostilities as the present, and Sino-Japanese relations so adjusted as

--701--

---

to enable them to put into practice Japan's above-mentioned policy.

ITAGAKI's troops made further advances, and on 14 October 1937, occupied Kwisui, the capital of Suiyuan Province. On the next day, 15 October 1937, an Imperial Ordinance was enacted in Japan, creating the Cabinet Advisory Council, of which ARAKI was appointed a member, the responsibility of which was to participate in "the deliberation and planning of the Cabinet in regard to important state affairs concerning the China Incident".

On 9 November 1937, Japanese troops captured Taiyuan, the capital of Shanshi province. Immediately, the Japanese set about organizing an autonomous government at Taiyuan to govern the northern part of Shanshi Province. This puppet government was later combined with those organized at Kalgan and Kueihua as part of the new "Autonomous Federation of Mengchang" to which reference has already been made. In the Shantung Area, the North China Expeditionary Forces on 25 December 1937, captured Tsinan, capital of Shantung Province. At this stage, the Japanese Army had practically brought all the key points in North China under military occupation.

### **China Appealed to the League of Nations**

On 12 September 1937, China appealed to the League of Nations against Japan, invoking Articles 10, 11, and 17 of the Covenant ([Annex No. B-6](#)). On 21 September 1937, the League of Nations invited the Japanese Government to participate in the Twenty-Three Powers Consultative Committee. Japan, however, maintaining an attitude of non-participation in any political activity of the League of Nations, on the ground that she had withdrawn from the League, refused

--702--

---

the invitation. At that time, HIROTA was the Foreign Minister in the First Konoye Cabinet.

On 6 October 1937, the League of Nations found that the military operations carried on by Japan against China were out of all proportion to the incident which was the cause of the conflict, that such action could not possibly facilitate or promote friendly cooperation between the two nations which Japanese statesmen had affirmed to be the aim of their policy, that it could be justified neither on the basis of existing legal engagements nor on that of the right of self-defense; and that it was in contravention of Japan's obligations under the Nine-Power Treaty of 6 February 1922 ([Annex No. B-10](#)), and the Pact of Paris of 27 August 1928 ([Annex No. B-15](#)). These conclusions were, on the same day, concurred in by the United States Government.

### **Japan's Terms for Peace**

While military operations were being successfully carried on, the Japanese Government adopted, on 1 October 1937, an "Outline Regarding the Settlement of the China Incident". It provided that the incident should be brought to a speedy conclusion through the efforts of armed forces combined with timely diplomatic action. In North China, there should be designated a demilitarized zone in which peace and order were to be maintained by armed Chinese police. Japan would have the right to station troops, but she might reduce the number of occupation troops and limit them to the number present at the outbreak of "the Incident". While the Tangku Truce was to remain in force, other arrangements such as the "DOHIHARA-Chin Agreement", the "UMEZU-Ho Agreement", and the

--703--

---

arrangement concerning through railway traffic, mail service, air service, etc., should be dissolved. The Hopei-Chahar Political Council and the East Hopei Autonomous Council would be abolished and the administration in these areas would be conducted by the Chinese Government as it pleased. However, it was desirable that the administrative leaders of this area should bring about realization of friendly relations between Japan and China. As for the Shanghai area, there should also be designated a demilitarized zone in which peace and order should be maintained by the international police or the restrictedly armed Chinese police, to be assisted by the Municipal Police of the International Settlement. Japanese land forces might be withdrawn, but this should not include the right of anchorage of Japanese warships. For the general readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations, negotiations should be simultaneously or subsequently conducted along political, military, and economic lines. China should grant formal recognition of Manchukuo and conclude an anti-Comintern pact with Japan, enforcing strict control in the North China demilitarized zone. The Chinese customs tariffs on specified goods should be reduced and the freedom to prevent smuggling in East Hopei should be restored to the Chinese Government. This outline was approved by Premier Konoye, Foreign Minister HIROTA, the War and Navy Ministers.

### **British Offer of Good Offices**

Prior to 27 October 1937, conversations were held between Foreign Minister HIROTA and British Ambassador Craigie concerning the cessation of hostilities in China. According to Horinouchi, then Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, HIROTA expressed, as his personal views, the

--704--

---

following conditions for solution: (1) Creation of a demilitarized zone in North China; (2) Adjustment of relations between North China and Manchukuo on a practical basis; (3) Control by China of anti-Japanese movements; and (4) Equal economic opportunities in the North China region. These views were conveyed by Ambassador Craigie to the Chinese Government, and the views of the latter were also conveyed on two or three occasions to HIROTA through the British Ambassador.

On 27 October 1937, HIROTA, in an interview with the ambassadors from Great Britain, the United States, Germany and Italy, stated that while the Japanese Government could not accept the invitation to attend the Brussels Conference, it desired to have any one of the four powers use its good offices for bringing about direct peace negotiations between Japan and China. The British Ambassador soon called upon HIROTA and informed the latter of his government's willingness to use its good offices for negotiations between the two countries. Horinouchi testified that HIROTA accepted, but it was realized afterwards that there was strong opposition within the army against Britain acting as a go-between and the scheme had to be held in abeyance. However, Horinouchi admitted in cross-examination that it was Japan's policy to reject intervention or arbitration at any time and that although good offices of third parties were always welcome, it was the desire and policy of the Japanese Government to effect a settlement of the trouble between Japan and China by direct negotiations.

### **The Brussels Conference**

After the League of Nations had failed to bring

--705--

---

Japan to the conference table for the settlement of differences by negotiations, another means was being sought for the achievement of the same purpose. On two occasions, October 20 and November 7, 1937, the Belgian Government invited Japan to attend a meeting at Brussels, with a view to examining, in accordance with Article VII of the Nine-Power Treaty ([Annex No. B-10](#)), the situation in the Far East, and of studying means of settling the conflict amicably. Japan again declined the invitation, explaining that since the League of Nations, to which the convocation of the proposed conference was closely linked, had expressed views hostile to Japan, the Japanese Government believed that frank and full discussion to bring about a just solution of the conflict could not be expected. On 15 November 1937, by a resolution adopted in the Brussels Conference, Japan was pronounced the aggressor in the Sino-Japanese conflict.

### **The Imperial General Headquarters**

Confronted with difficulties both at home and abroad, Premier Konoye desired to resign in the middle of November 1937, but was dissuaded by KIDO.



On 20 November 1937, the Cabinet set up the Imperial General Headquarters, an organization to be established in war time only. It had control of operations and tactics. The Chief of Staff thus obtained virtual control over the War and Navy Ministers. Meetings were held once or twice a week. It had a great deal of influence on the Japanese Government prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War, since its utterances were not only those of the Army General Staff and the Naval General Staff, but also of the Emperor, who was its head.

--706--

---

### **The Attack on Nanking**

When MATSUI was appointed Commander of the Shanghai Expeditionary Forces and left Tokyo for the fighting area, he already had thoughts of pushing on to Nanking after the intended capture of Shanghai. He requested five divisions for the Shanghai Expeditionary Force before leaving Tokyo. Actual preparations for the advance upon China's capital were made, for he had previously made a study of the topography in the vicinity of Shanghai and Nanking. on 8 October 1937, MATSUI issued a statement in which he said "the devil-defying sharp bayonets were just on the point of being unsheathed so as to develop their divine influence, and that the mission of the Army was to fulfill all its duties of protecting Japanese residents and interests, and to chastise the Nanking Government and the outrageous Chinese." As the area of hostilities around Shanghai was likely to expand, MATSUI was appointed Commander in Chief of the Central China Expeditionary Forces.

MUTO, Akira, was appointed MATSUI's Vice-Chief of Staff in late November 1937. Approximately one month after the capture of Shanghai, the Japanese Army arrived outside the city of Nanking. MATSUI issued an order to the effect that, as Nanking was the capital of China, its capture was an international event, and careful studies should be made so as to dazzle China with Japan's military glory. The Japanese demand for surrender was ignored by the Chinese Government. Bombardment started, and the city fell on 13 December 1937. The Japanese Army that entered Nanking was a newly-formed organization, but it was composed of experienced troops.

--707--

---

MATSUI made his triumphant entry on 17 December 1937. From 13 December onward, there occurred what has come to be known as the "Rape of Nanking", which will be dealt with in a later phase.

On 1 January 1938, a provisional self-governing body was set up, flying the old discarded five-coloured Chinese flag instead of the Blue Sky and White Sun which is the official national flag of China.

### **Germany Acted As Go-Between**

Having ignored the offers of good offices made by the United States and Great Britain, the Japanese Army desired that Germany should be asked to act as go-between. On 5 November 1937, certain peace terms proposed by Japan were conveyed to the Chinese Government through Trautmann, the German Ambassador in Nanking. Subsequently, on 28 and 29 November and 2 December, the German Ambassador again communicated the intentions of the Japanese Government and informed the Chinese authorities that the terms proposed by the Japanese Government early in November were still to stand. China was prepared to take the points proposed by Japan as the basis of discussion. The proposed terms were embodied in what was called the August Plan drafted in July 1937, by officials of the Japanese Foreign, War, and Navy Ministries, but approved on 5 August 1937 by the above-mentioned ministries. It consisted of three main points: (1) Establishment of unfortified zones along the River Paiu-Ho and the withdrawal of Japanese and Chinese troops from the areas specified as such; (2) No annexation of territories; and (3) No indemnities. Negotiations on the lines of these terms were being conducted between Japanese Ambassador Kawagoe and

--708--

---

the Chinese, when they were interrupted by the outbreak of the Shanghai hostilities on 13 August 1937.

One day in December 1937, according to the testimony of Horinouchi, Foreign Minister HIROTA was told by German Ambassador Dirksen that he had information from Ambassador Trautmann in Nanking that the Chinese Government had the intention of reopening peace negotiations on the basis of the Japanese terms, and was asked if there was any alteration in the peace terms of the August Plan. Thereupon, the question was submitted to the Liaison Conference of the Government and the Army and Navy, and was placed on the agenda for the meeting of 20 December 1937. The fall of Nanking on 13 December 1937 had considerably stiffened the attitude of the Japanese towards China. The Liaison Conference decided upon four fundamental terms of peace, which were as follows: (1) Collaboration with Japan and Manchukuo in an anti-communist policy; (2) Establishment of demilitarized zones and special administrative organs in designated areas; (3) Creation of close economic relations among Japan, Manchukuo and China; and (4) Necessary reparations by China. The differences between these Peace Terms and those of August 1937, which had been communicated to the Chinese Government, were so great fundamentally that their acceptance by the Chinese would have involved, amongst others, one that China had refused to accept from 1931; namely,

the independence of Manchuria. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the overtures led to no practical solution of the difficulties.

On 22 December 1937, HIROTA communicated the above terms to Ambassador Dirksen, stating that as there

---

--709--

---

had been a great change in the situation, it was not possible any longer to offer the earlier conditions. He said that if the Chinese side would generally agree on the new terms, Japan would be ready to enter into negotiations; otherwise, Japan would have to deal with the incident from a new standpoint. These new terms were communicated to the Chinese Government on 27 December 1937, through Ambassador Trautmann.

On 13 January 1938, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs replied to Trautmann that, as the new peace terms proposed by Japan were so general in their terms, the Chinese Government desired to be informed in detail of their nature and content, in order to make a careful examination and reach a definite decision. The Chinese reply was communicated to HIROTA on 14 January 1938.

### **The Imperial Conference on 11 January 1938**

While the peace terms were being offered to China, there developed a difference between the Army and the Government in Japan. The Army General Staff thought that the terms of peace were not only vague, but also aggressive. They were in favor of giving more specific terms. The General Staff was concerned about the protracted nature of the war in China. Not only was it a drain upon Japanese resources, but it embarrassed military and economic preparations for war against Russia, America and Great Britain. The Government under Konoye preferred to state them in general terms. Foreign Minister HIROTA and Education Minister KIDO supported Konoye's view; Home minister Suyetsugu drafted the four terms, and Foreign Minister HIROTA caused them to be communicated to the

---

--710--

---

Chinese Government. On 11 January 1938, while the reply of the Chinese Government was being awaited, an Imperial Conference was held, which was attended by HIRANUMA, who was President of the Privy Council. HIROTA explained the "Fundamental Policy for the Disposition of the China Incident", providing for close collaboration and unity between Japan, Manchukuo, and China. Based upon this policy, two alternative measures were adopted at the conference. on the one hand, the conference decided that if China should ask for conciliation, Japan would negotiate in accordance with the conditions of peace as contained in an addendum to the "Details of the Conditions of the Negotiations for Peace between Japan and Chin," which included, among other items, formal recognition of Manchukuo by China; establishment of an anti-communist self-government in Inner Mongolia; creation of demilitarized areas in occupied territories of Central China and recognition of Japan's right to station troops in designated areas of North China, Inner Mongolia, and Central China. On the other hand, if China refused to reconsider, Japan would not only consider the Chinese Government her opponent, but would assist in the formation of a new Chinese Government with which Japan could cooperate. Thereupon, the Chiefs of Army General Staff and Navy General Staff and the President of the Privy Council expressed their approval. Thus were the details of peace conditions drawn up.

On the day when the Imperial Conference adopted the above plan, Ambassador Trautmann reported to his government that the telegram which he received from Tokyo

---

--711--

---

contained no further information except that Japan seemed to be altering for the second time their peace proposals which were issued through the German Embassy, and "we are losing face with the Chinese through this".

### **The Konoye Declaration of 16 January 1936**

Upon receipt of the Chinese reply of the 14th of January through the German Ambassador, saying that the terms covered a very wide scope, that they desired further details in order to make a final decision, HIROTA became very angry and declared that it was China and not Japan who was beaten and must ask for peace. When reminded that officially China had knowledge of only four fundamental conditions, and the rest had been kept, at his wish, in a very indefinite form, HIROTA agreed to take the matter up with the Cabinet. In an all-day session of the Cabinet on 14 January 1938, according to KISO, HIROTA reported the course of the peace negotiations with China and concluded by asserting that there was not good faith on the Chinese side. The Cabinet decided not to deal further with the Chinese National Government under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

On 15 January 1938, a meeting of the Liaison Conference was held, and, after lengthy discussion, the government plan was adopted, although some members of the General Staff still preferred reconciliation. On 16 January 1938, Konoye issued a public



statement announcing Japan's firm policy as decided by the Cabinet and the Liaison Conference. This historically important document

--712--

which decided the trend of relations between these two Asiatic countries, as translated for this Tribunal, reads as follows: The Imperial Government has been patient enough, after the occupation of Nanking, to give the last opportunity to the Chinese National Government for reconsidering the situation. But they do not understand our real intention, attempt foolishly to counter-attack, disregard the greatest distress of the people at home and do not mind the peace of the entire East Asia. Thereupon, the Imperial Government will not care for the National Government thereafter, and expect the establishment and development of a new government of China and will really be worthy coalition with our Empire. We desire to strive, rising under cooperation with such new government, to arrange the relation between the two countries and to construct a new revived China. Of course, there will be not even a slight change in our policy that respects the territoriality and sovereignty of China and the rights and interests of other powers in China. Our responsibility for the peace of East Asia is now increasing heavier and heavier. It is the most earnest desire of the Government that our people devote themselves to perform this important mission.

The door was thus closed to further negotiations, and the stage was set for further invasion and the development of local regimes ultimately for the creation of a "new government" in China which would cooperate with Japan.

--713--

### **Section V**

#### **The Provisional Government in North China**

Prior to Konoye's declaration that Japan would not deal with the National Government of China, new regimes had already been set up by the Japanese in occupied territories, such as those in Northern Shansi, Kueihua, Kalgan and Shanghai, as well as so-called "Peace Maintenance Organizations" in various localities. These were merely local authorities governing areas of limited extent. There was one which covered a much larger area and was in line with Japan's policy of establishing a pro-Japanese autonomous regime in North China, *i.e.*, the Provisional Government in Peiping. When hostilities first broke out in North China, Wang Keh-min, a retired high-ranking Chinese official who later headed the Provisional Government, was in Hong Kong. He was persuaded to come North by Japanese Army men stationed in Peiping and Shanghai, and staff officers from Peiping and Formosa were dispatched to Hong Kong for the purpose. As a result, Wang came to Shanghai on 24 November 1937, and on 6 December 1937, was flown to Japan and went then to North China. The Japanese authorities in North China had made great efforts under the plan to make the North China regime the Central Government of China in the future, and arranged to invite not only Wang, but also other notable figures in South China through army officers who were stationed in Shanghai. After Wang's arrival in Peiping, on 14 December 1937, the day after the fall of Nanking, the Provisional Government was formally inaugurated in the presence of officers of the Japanese Army. Foreign journalists were invited to attend.

--714--

Wang Keh-min became also the chairman of the *Hsin-Min-Hui* or New People's Association, which had been created in December 1937 under orders of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in North China. The function of this association was to make known to the people the policies of the puppet government and to keep the latter in touch with the people. The vice-chairman of the association was a Japanese.

The Konoye declaration of 16 January 1938 gave fresh impetus to this Provisional Government. The various peace maintenance organizations in the Peiping and Tientsin areas had joined it and subsequently, on 30 June 1938, the East Hopei Regime was also amalgamated with it.

By the end of January 1938, the Provisional Government had revised the Chinese customs tariffs on certain articles in the foreign export and import trade of North China. The United States Ambassador Grew delivered, on 31 January 1938, a protest to HIROTA, stating that the National Government of China was the only one authorized to do this, and that the United States was addressing her representation to Japan, because "for the creation and the acts of the provisional regime the Japanese Government has an inescapable responsibility." The Federal Reserve Bank of China was incorporated in February, and commenced its business of 10 March 1938, and was authorized by the Provisional Government to issue paper currency. While the governor and vice-governor were Chinese, the directing personnel were mainly Japanese.

This Provisional Government, together with the Renovation Government in Central China, later accepted the

--715--

invitation of Wang Ching-wei to participate in the organization of a so-called new Central Government.

Confirmation of the part played by Japan in the formation of the Provisional Government is derived from a document produced from the records of the General Affairs Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. It recorded that:

In 1937, following the collapses of Teh-chow, Suiyuan, Changte, Taiyuan, etc., in North China, at the end of November the National Government had broken up and removed to Hankow, Chungking and Changsha and finally Nanking collapsed on 13 December, deciding the general trend of the war situation. Thus the opportunity to establish a new regime which was prearranged among the important men in North China had matured.

The circumstances in which Wang-Keh-min consented to become the head of the North China regime are as follows: At the beginning of the incident he was at Hong Kong. The head of special service facilities in Peking, Major General Kita, eagerly made efforts through Fijii Yamamoto, who was in Shanghai, to persuade Wang to accept the invitation; meanwhile, staff officers from Peking and Formosa were specially dispatched to Hong Kong for the same purpose. As the result Wang came to Shanghai on 24 November, and on 6 December made a flight to Fukuoka and went to North China with Yamamoto and Yu Chin.

It is said that when Wang entered Shanghai, he had not yet consented to become the head of the North China regime but on condition that he made an inspection trip he consented to the journey.

The North China army authorities had made great

--716--

efforts under the plan to establish the North China regime as the Central Government of China in the future and arranged to invite not only Wang but other influential men from South China through Yoshino and Imai (military officers) who were stationed in Shanghai. Toward this policy the central army and General Terauchi gave approval; however, a section of the military officers in Shanghai expressed opposition, especially Colonel Kusumoto was opposed to pulling out many influential men from Shanghai, on the ground that there is no necessity to determine North China as the political center from the beginning.

After the arrival in Peking, Wang keh-min decided to accept the chairmanship of the North China regime and determined government organization and fundamental principles. On 14 December 1937, the Provisional Chinese Government was established at Peking.

### **The Renovation Government in Central China**

The foregoing document further shows:

Movement for establishment of a new government in Central China.

When the Japanese force crushed the Chinese Army in Shanghai, and its vicinity, and subsequently on December 13, 1937, captured Nanking, movements for creating a new regime in the Central China were launched. First of all, the Shanghai Tatao Municipal Government was organized in Shanghai on December 5. In various places other than Shanghai public order maintenance associations came into being. Among these, the major organs are the Nanking Public Order Maintenance Association and the Hangchow Public Order Maintenance Association established on

--717--

January 1, 1938. Nevertheless, in Shanghai area the influence of the Chiang regime and the Nationalistic Party proved to remain strong, far more than what was anticipated, even after the fall of Nanking, so that it was impossible for pro-Japanese elements to openly approach the Japanese even in the International Settlement. Thus, the matter of building up a substantial regime had long been difficult unlike the case in North China."

Following the declaration of 16 January 1938, Premier Konoye and HIROTA addressed the Diet on 22 January 1938, and discussed Japan's policy, emphasizing the prospective emergence of a new Chinese regime to cooperate closely with Japan for the ultimate establishment of a new order in East Asia. On 27 January 1938, the Konoye Cabinet decided on a "Programme for the Establishment of a Central China New Regime." That is to say, notwithstanding protestations that this was a spontaneous Chinese movement, the Japanese Government took it upon itself to decide upon the "Programme for the Establishment of a Central China New Regime." The document already referred to as having been produced from the records of the General Affairs Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Office discloses the extent of Japanese direction of the movement:

#### **I. General Principles.**

1. They shall found a highly pro-Japanese regime, gradually free themselves from dependence on Europe and America, and establish the foundation of a district in China dependent on Japan.



2. The direction of that regime shall be so exercised that the regime, in the course of its future

--718--

development shall smoothly amalgamate with the North China Regime. The direction shall stop at general inner direction by Japanese advisors. Detailed direction and interference in administration by appointing Japanese officials shall be avoided.

3. Chiang Regime shall be annihilated. At the same time, elimination of Communists and destruction of the Nationalist Party in a short time within the area under Japanese occupation shall be realized. Afterwards similar operations shall be speedily extended to neighboring areas."

The programme provided for nominal Chinese control, but as to administration and finance, it was directed. "The foundation of finance shall speedily be established, banking organs adjusted, and Japan-China economic collaboration in Central China realized. Measures for it are described in another programme." The direction upon arms was -- "As for armaments, minimum army shall be trained for maintenance of peace and order, and make efforts, under the guidance of the Japanese Army, to restore public order. But the navy and air force shall be included in the defence plan of Japan." The new regime was to be developed as follows.

The New Regime shall be speedily set up, and, by nurturing it, antagonistic influence shall be destroyed with physical and moral pressure.

For this purpose, local autonomous bodies which are being set up successively in the areas under Japanese occupation, shall be strengthened, and public sentiments desiring the establishment of a New Regime backed by

--719--

Japan shall be powerfully stimulated. Moreover, in and around Shanghai, economic rehabilitation shall be speedily realised, thereby to contribute to the establishment of the New Regime set up.

Of the expenditures in the initial stage of the New Regime, considerable part shall be borne by Japan.

For the relief of war sufferers, and rehabilitation of industries, emergency measures shall be speedily taken. Especially, agricultural produce shall be smoothly supplied to the market; and farmers shall take to spring farming without uneasiness.

For this purpose, maintenance of local peace shall be undertaken by the Japanese Army to the best of their ability until the establishment of new local government organs.

Order of the establishment of the new administrative setup is as follows:

1. Central Government setup, especially legislative and executive departments.
2. Shanghai Special Municipality setup.
3. Provincial Governments setup.
4. Organization of country autonomous bodies and downwards.

In parallel with the execution of 1 and 2, the influence of *Tsingpan* and *Chihpan* (Chinese secret societies) shall be turned pro-Japanese, and made to assist the New Regime directly and indirectly.

In fixing new administrative districts, former ones shall generally be preserved.

In foreign settlements, with the strengthening

--720--

of the New Regime, Japanese influence shall be gradually extended, and, after the establishment of the New Regime, the organs of the old regime under the control of Japanese Army and Navy shall be taken over by the New Regime at proper opportunity, causing at the same time outstanding issues to be speedily settled.

In the early stage of the war, movements for creating a new regime had already been started. MATSUI, through Sugano, sought to persuade certain senior Chinese officials to form a new regime, but without success. When Liang Hung-chi, who later headed the Central China regime, and others came into the matter with the assistance of the Japanese Army and Navy special service

organs, the new regime began to assume a more definite shape. On 28 March 1938, the Renovation Government, which was sometimes referred to as the Reformed Government or the Restoration Government, was formally established. Together with the Provisional Government in North China, it later accepted Wang Ching-wei's invitation to organize a so-called new Central Government.

Thus was realized the Japanese planning for the creation of a pro-Japanese, and indeed a Japanese-dominated, Chinese "Government."

### **Other Cities Invaded by Japanese Troops Under Hata's Command**

HATA was appointed Commander of the Japanese Central China Expeditionary Forces on 14 February 1938, succeeding MATSUI. Three days later, HATA became Commander-in-Chief of all Expeditionary Forces in China, succeeding Nishio, and remained in that post until November 1938.

--721--

HATA's original task was to conquer the triangular area between the cities of Shanghai, Nanking and Hangchow. There developed later the purpose of continuing the operations and to expand the area of conflict farther into the interior if China did not come to terms. In a talk between Honjo and KIDO, the former was quoted by KIDO as having said: "After the battle of Suchow (Hsuehchow) it is, on the one hand, necessary to show an attitude of advancing to Hankow, but, at the same time, it is essential to take steps for settling the incident. If things do not turn out as hoped for, I believe it would, by all means, be necessary to establish a close connection also with the Supreme Command and enter into protracted warfare by planning to continue for about three years." KIDO agreed generally with Honjo's opinion and promised to do his best, as he records in his diary of 19 May 1938.

HATA, having secured the triangular district referred to, proceeded against Hankow, which fell to the Japanese on 25 October 1938. In that campaign, he had a force of 300,000 to 400,000 men sent to him from North China. These forces moved deep into the interior of China, and at the dates shown below, had captured the following important cities:

19 May 1938, Hsuehchow, strategic junction of the Tientsin-Pukow and Lunghai Railways; 6 June 1938, Kaifeng, capital of Honan Province; 27 June 1938, Matang, important fortification on the Yangtze River; 25 July 1938, Kiukiang, leading commercial city in Kiangsi Province; 12 October 1938, Sinyang, important point on the-Hankow Railway; 25 October 1938, Hankow, in the center of China.

--722--

With the occupation of such important cities over so vast an expanse of territory, it is not surprising that HATA in interrogation acknowledged that it was a war that was being waged in China, rather than that which the Japanese Government euphemistically called it, an "incident".

### **The National General Mobilization Law**

In anticipation of a protracted war, the Japanese Government enacted a National General Mobilization Law. The draft had been prepared by the Mobilization Plans Bureau and approved by the Cabinet. When it came before the Diet in February 1938, SATO, then in the Military Affairs Bureau, assisted Premier Konoye in making the necessary explanations and securing the passage of the bill. It went into effect on 5 May 1938. It was designed to control and operate all human and material resources so as to utilize the national power most effectively for "national defense purposes" in time of war "(including an incident corresponding to a war)". It authorized the general mobilization of all Japanese subjects or juridical persons or other organizations to cooperate with state or other organizations or persons nominated by the Government.

### **Itagaki Became War Minister**

Pursuant to the wishes of the Army, ITAGAKI on the 3 June 1938, was appointed War Minister in the Konoye Cabinet after its reorganization in May. Immediately before this, ITAGAKI had been successively Vice-Chief of Staff and then Chief-of-Staff of the Kwantung Army, Commander of a Division in China and on the General Staff. MUTO in July 1938, was appointed Vice-Chief of Staff of the North China Expeditionary Forces. Japan had hoped the Hsuehchow Battle

--723--

would be decisive by engaging and defeating the main forces of the Chinese Army. As the Chinese Government did not yield, even after the capture of Hsuehchow, the Japanese Supreme Command proceeded with the plan to drive on to Hankow to deliver yet another blow to the Chinese in the hope of reaching an end of the Chinese war. ITAGAKI, realizing that the war threatened to become a protracted one, sought to bolster the determination of the Japanese people. In his first press interview after assumption of the post of War Minister, on 26 June 1938, he told the Domei News Agency that the army must be prepared to continue hostilities perhaps for ten more years. He said also that Japan would follow her own policy without fear or hesitation,



notwithstanding the attitude of Third Powers. He explained that there was no need for a formal declaration of war in view of the official declaration of the Japanese Government of the 16th January.

Minister of War ITAGAKI took part in the Five Minister's Conferences, some of the decisions of which will be discussed presently.

### **China Policy and the Five Ministers' Conference -- 1938**

The practice of holding conferences apart from the Cabinet among the Premier, Foreign Minister, War Minister, Navy Minister and Finance Minister was not new when ITAGAKI joined the Cabinet. Discussions had been held and plans developed in this way under the HIROTA and Hayashi Cabinets. But meantime, the Conferences had gained in importance and frequency because of the circumstances following the intensifying of the war which developed after

--724--

---

ITAGAKI became War Minister. Between June and October 1938, the Five Ministers' Conference, with ITAGAKI participating, made successive decisions of the utmost importance concerning policies toward China, directed not only to the conduct of the war, but also to the establishment of a Japanese-dominated or "puppet" government for the whole of China as distinct from the local "puppet" governments already established. For instance, on the 8 July, it was decided in the event of the surrender of Chiang Kai-shek's Government:

In case of surrender of the Central Government of China, Japan will regard it as one of the regime and treat it according to the "Must be made to join the newly established Central Government of China" policy decided upon by the Imperial Conference.

In case the present Central Government of China surrenders and accepts the third condition, (item three of the document, the conditions for surrender) stated later, it shall either be considered as a friendly regime and will be permitted to join the newly established Central Government, or be made to establish another new central government in cooperation with various existing pro-Japanese regimes.

The conditions for the recognition of the surrender of the present Central Government of China include:

Retiring from public life of Chiang Kai-shek.

On the same day, alternative decisions were made in the event of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek continuing to fight on.

It is to be noted that the constant policy was to foster and enlarge the Japanese-controlled "Central"

--725--

---

Government, the creation of which by Japan has already been discussed.

Again, on 15 July 1938, the Five Ministers' Conference decided in respect of the "new" Central Government of China:

Though the establishment of the new Central Government of China shall be undertaken mainly by the Chinese, it shall be internally assisted by Japan. The principle of the collaboration of individual local governments shall be adopted to their government form.

A Joint Commission shall be established as soon as possible through the cooperation between the Provisional Government and the Restoration Government, to be joined later by the Mongolian and Sink-Kiang (Mengkiang) Joint Commission. Then we should guide this regime so as to grow into a real central government by gradually absorbing various other influences or collaborating with them.

It was "we", the Japanese, not Chinese, who were to guide the growth of the "new" Central Government.

The new Central government shall not be established until after the fall of Hankow, with the Chiang Kai-shek regime reduced to a mere local government or until the reformation of the present Central Government is brought about by Chiang Kai-shek's retirement from public office.

In case the Chiang Kai-shek regime is broken up or reformed, and should a pro-Japanese government turn up, we would make it a factor of the central government system and proceed to set up a central government.

Adjustment of the relations between Japan and China in connection with our control of the establishment

of the new Central Government of China, shall be done on the following basis, and its concrete matters shall be decided separately.

The "basis" included:

The establishment of the general policy for the collaboration among Japan, Manchukuo and China based upon reciprocity, particularly on neighbourly friendship and goodwill, anti-Comintern and joint defense and economic cooperation. In order to attain the above objectives, Japan will give internal guidance during a certain period.

The Military position of the "new" Chinese Government was settled in the following decision of the Five Ministers' Conference:

We will urge the surrender of the Chinese Army, conciliate them, and bring them under control. We will strive to make them support the new government by promoting their anti-Chiang Kai-shek and anti-Communist consciousness, and making as many Chinese troops as possible cooperate with the Japanese Army for destruction of the Anti-Japanese and pro-Communist Army, and thus guide the racial conflict toward an ideological opposition.

The necessary Japanese troops will be stationed at ports, railways, waterways, etc. in the occupied areas which are strategic for communications, as well as at the locations of important resources; and in remote districts armed Chinese troops will be organized to ensure the preservation of peace. The numerical strength of the troops will be decided in accordance with the actual local situation.

We will conclude an anti-Communist Military

Alliance and gradually reorganize the Chinese Army to place it under the direction of the Japanese Army. When the circumstance permit, we will reduce our military strength to the minimum necessary for our national defense.

The decisions upon economic matters included the following:

The development of the economy and communication will contribute to the establishment of the national defense of Japan, Manchukuo and China, and satisfy the development of the economy of the three countries and the welfare of its people. Japan especially will materially hold the necessary transportation. In North China the demand for national defense shall be the first consideration and in Central and South China the interests of the people will be particularly considered.

We shall carry out the development of economy following the principle of ministering to each other's wants among Japan, Manchukuo and China and advance energetically for the accomplishment of the three countries' economic sphere. However, we shall respect the rights and interests, already obtained by the third countries, and not interfere with their participation in the economic development.

Railway, water transport, aviation and communication will be materially placed under Japan's power, and satisfy the accomplishment of military activities and contribute to the welfare of the people.

These quotations from the policy decisions of the Five Minister's Conference indicated the general scheme to create a government in China completely dominated by Japan,

but built up behind a façade of Chinese autonomy.

### **The Dohihara Agency**

To advance the programme of establishing a new central government in China along the lines just discussed, the Five Ministers' Conference on the 26th July decided upon the creation of a Special Commission on Chinese Affairs. In particular, the decision was as follows:

The Special Commission for China belongs to the Five Ministers Council and is an executive organ exclusively for working out important stratagems against China and establishing the new Chinese Central Government in accordance with the decision of the Council.



Every organ at the actual places concerned with the above-mentioned business is directed by the Special Commission for China in connection with the said business.

The Army and Navy Ministers will be in charge of the liaison between Special Commission for China and the Imperial Headquarters.

On the 29th July, the Commission was set up under DOHIHARA, Tsuda and Banzai, its functions being defined thus: The important stratagems against China in Paragraph 1 are understood as political and economic strategies which are not directly connected with military operations." Although DOHIHARA was the youngest of the commissioners, he was the only one who was a soldier in active service. He it was who undertook the administration of the affairs of the Commission and for the purpose set up an establishment in Shanghai under the name of the "Dohihara Agency". DOHIHARA was able to make use of his wide knowledge of China and familiarity with the Chinese. He started accordingly

--729--

to enlist Tang Shao-Yi and Wu Pei-Fu, retired Chinese statesman and general respectively, for the purpose of establishing and anti-Chiang Kai-shek government in the "enemy's midst" among high-ranking Chinese. Wu Pei-Fu was then living in retirement at Peking. DOHIHARA aimed to bring him out from retirement for active collaboration with Japan. This scheme came to be referred to as the "Wu Project". The expenses in connection with this project were to come from surplus revenues of the maritime customs in occupied China.

Tang Shao-Yi was assassinated, and negotiations with Wu Pei-Fu failed, so DOHIHARA turned elsewhere. The DOHIHARA Agency in China aided the development of a scheme to bring Wang Ching-Wei to Central China. It reported to Tokyo a conference with associates of Wang Ching-Wei concerning arrangements for Wang Ching-Wei's coming to Shanghai, etc. Although DOHIHARA claimed that he was in Tokyo at that time, it is clear that he was in control of these plans.

### **The "Federated Committee" of Puppet Regimes**

While DOHIHARA and others were making efforts to carry out the policy of establishing a new central government in China through Chinese personages, the Japanese military authorities in Japan disclosed their determination in pursuit of this policy. SATO, then Chief of the Press section of the War Ministry, made two speeches upon the "China Incident" and said that the fundamental attitude of the government was to be found in the declaration of 16 January 1938, and that the plans for the establishment of a new regime were absolutely unchangeable. On 27 and 28

--730--

August 1938, representatives of the Tokyo government and of the Japanese Army authorities in Tientsin met at Fukuoka, Japan, and decided on a basic plan for the coordination of the Provisional Government, the Renovation Government and the Mongolia-Sinkiang Federation. On 9 September 1938, a plan for the establishment of a Federated Committee, or "Joint Committee", of these pro-Japanese organs in China was adopted by the Five Ministers' Conference. Consequent upon these decisions made in Japan, the work of developing a "new" Central Government was pursued by the Japanese on the continent. On 9 and 10 September 1938, representatives of the Provisional Government and the Renovation Government met Japanese representatives at Dairen and arranged for the establishment of a "Federated Committee" at. It was to coordinate and unify the various puppet regimes, particularly the Provisional Government and the Renovation Government, and to prepare for the establishment of the future "new" central government. On 22 September 1938, the inauguration ceremony was held in and the first meeting of the Committee was held on the next day.

### **Occupation of Canton and Hankow**

Pursuant to a decision of the Five Ministers' Conference, held 8 July 1938, prescribing the occupation of certain strategic points in China, Japanese troops captured Canton on 20 October 1938, and Hankow on 25 October 1938. Steps were taken to provide for the administration of these two important cities and their adjoining areas under Japanese occupation according to the familiar pattern. On 28 October 1938, the arrangements for administration of the Canton and Hankow districts were agreed upon

--731--

among the War, Navy and Foreign Ministers. They provided for Japanese control of political affairs and for the development of a "Peace Maintenance Association". Although such regimes were to be established ostensibly at the initiative of the Chinese, political guidance was to be given by the Japanese. They were to be kept in close connection and cooperation with the Special Commission on Chinese Affairs, which, as previously noted, was a special agency under the leadership of DOHIHARA. With regard to Canton, a special instruction was given by the War, Navy and Foreign Ministers as follows: The organization of a local regime shall be initiated by the Chinese side. However, the establishment of the regime shall be accelerated with the cooperation of our political guiding agency (The Liaison Conference of the War, Navy and Foreign

Ministry authorities at Kwantung), chiefly by our strategy agency (The Special Committee Towards China). After the establishment of the regime the political guiding agency shall take up its internal guidance.

The policy of occupying strategic points in China was carried much farther than the capture of Canton and Hankow, for on 25 November 1938, the Five Ministers' Conference decided upon the seizure of Hainan Island, in the extreme south of China. this island was captured by the Japanese on 10 February 1939.

### **Japan Terminated All Relations With League of Nations**

Although Japan had notified her withdrawal from the League of Nations in March 1933, she continued to participate in certain of the activities of the League.

--732--

After the fall of Hankow and Canton, the attitude of Japan towards third powers stiffened. On 2 November 1938, at a meeting of the Privy Council, which was presided over by HIRANUMA and attended by the Premier and Ministers of State, including ARAKI, KIDO, ITAGAKI and Privy Councillors MINAMI and MATSUI, continuance of cooperation with the League was considered, inasmuch as matters relating to diplomacy and treaties were within the province of the Privy Council. On the ground that a resolution had been adopted on 30 September 1938 by the Council of the League of Nations condemnatory of Japan, it was considered impossible, having regard to national honour, for Japan to have further cooperation with the organs of the League, and consequently, a plan for the termination of cooperative relations between Japan and the various organs of the League, except the mandatory rule of the South Sea Islands, was drawn up and adopted by unanimous vote at the Meeting. Notice to that effect was immediately served on the League of Nations.

### **The New Order in East Asia**

Following her decision of complete withdrawal from the League of Nations, Japan proceeded to what it called the "New Order in East Asia." On 3 November 1938, the Japanese Government issued a statement advising the world that with the fall of Canton, Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang, chief cities of China, the National Government had been reduced to a local regime, and that the ultimate aim of Japan was to establish, in collaboration with Manchukuo and China, a New Order which would secure eternal peace in the Far East.

--733--

On 29 November 1938, Foreign Minister Arita submitted a report to the Privy Council of which the following are some of the more significant passages:

As to the policy for adjustment of new Sino-Japanese relations, it is our intention to proceed on the basis of the following points with a view to establishing a New Order in East Asia through mutual collaboration in political, economic and cultural fields among Japan, Manchukuo and China: . . . as to the problem of making peace with the Chiang Kai-shek Government . . . it is our policy not to carry this out . . . Our country will foster the establishment of a new Central Government on the basis of the pro-Japanese regime which has been established in Hankow and Canton, and after the new Central Government has been firmly established, we hope to achieve the following: . . . General collaboration of Japan, Manchukuo and China; . . . Establishment in North China and Mangchiang of a zone of high degree of Sino-Japanese unity in defense and economic spheres; . . . Establishment along the lower basin of the Yangtze River of a zone of high degree of Sino-Japanese unity in economic collaboration . . . In South China, besides the establishment of special zones on certain specified islands along the coast, endeavours shall be made to secure the foundation of Sino-Japanese cooperation and collaboration with the major cities and towns as starting points . . . Regarding . . . principle of joint defense, we hope to have Japan, Manchukuo and China, with the chief objects of jointly defending themselves against the Comintern and at the same time cooperating with each other

--734--

in the maintenance of common public order and peace, adopt the following programme: . . . The early withdrawal of Japanese troops, excepting the stationing of troops in specified zones, and islands for the purpose of guarantee and the maintenance of public peace and order . . . Recently Britain, the United States, etc. have made various representations based on the principle of open door and equal opportunity. In this connection it is the intention of the Imperial Government to cope with the situation by adopting the policy of examining the so-called open door and equal opportunity principle from the standpoint of the establishment of a Japan-Manchukuo-China economic bloc based upon the necessities for the existence and defense of our Empire, and of not recognizing such a principle within the extent that it is incompatible with this standpoint . . . our chief objects are that: (a) Japan shall control in substance the development of natural resources for national defence and principally North China and Mengchiang; (b) The currency system, customs and maritime customs system in new China shall be adjusted from the standpoint of Japan-Manchukuo-China economic bloc. So long as the powers' rights and interests in China do not conflict with the foregoing two objects, we will not purposely exclude and restrict them.

Premier Konoye made a further speech on 22 December 1938, reiterating Japan's resolution to exterminate the Chinese National Government and to establish a New Order in East Asia.



This Japanese "New Order in East Asia" caused the United States grave concern. On 30 December 1938,

---

--735--

Ambassador Grew, under instructions from his Government, addressed a note to the Japanese Government, in the course of which he said: "Further, with reference to such matters as exchange control, compulsory currency circulation, tariff revision, and monopolistic promotion in certain areas of China the plans and practices of the Japanese authorities imply an assumption on the part of those authorities that the Japanese Government or the regimes established and maintained in China by Japanese armed forces are entitled to act in China in a capacity such as flows from rights of sovereignty and further in so acting to disregard and even to declare non-existent or abrogated the established rights and interests of other countries including the United States." Again, on 31 December 1938, Ambassador Grew delivered a note informing the Japanese Government of the view of his own Government that the so-called "New Order" could not be created by Japan's *ex-parte* declaration.

ITAGAKI was quoted by *Japan Advertiser* newspaper of 17 March 1939, as having declared in the Diet that in order to establish to so-called New Order, conflict with third powers was inevitable. Britain and France were Japan's next objective, while Russia was the first.

On 7 July 1939, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge) Incident, ITAGAKI was reported as giving a press interview, in the course of which he said that Japan's mission of constructing a New Order in East Asia would necessitate the stamping out of unjust interference by third powers.

---

--736--

### **The Ko-A-In or Asia Development Board**

After the Japanese Army had made deep penetration into the interior of China, steps were taken by the Japanese to review the administration of the occupied areas, hitherto undertaken by the special service organs of the Japanese Army, preparatory to the formation of a New Central Government. Foreign Minister Ugaki desired to have a new organ to deal with China Affairs within the Foreign Office, but this suggestion was opposed by the Army. It was later decided, at the instance of the Army, that a China Affairs Board or some such organization be planned. The new organ to be set up was distinct from the Special Commission on Chinese Affairs created by the Five Ministers' Conference on 26 July 1938. The latter was an agency concerned with the means of crushing the Chinese National Government and establishing a new central government, while the Board to be established was to be concerned, primarily, with matters of administration in occupied areas.

On 16 December 1938, this new organ came into being under the name of *Ko-A-In*, or Asia Development Board, but more frequently referred to as the China Affairs Board. The Premier was the President and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, War and Navy were Vice-Presidents. According to the regulations governing its organization, the Board was put in charge of the following: politics, economics and culture, and the formulation of policies relating thereto; the supervision of commercial concerns to undertake enterprises in China under special laws or to do business in China; and the coordination of administrative affairs in China conducted by Japanese Government agencies.

---

--737--

Its head office was in Tokyo, with four branch offices in Shanghai, Kalgan and Amoy, and two sub-branch offices in Canton and Tsingtao. SUZUKI, Teiichi, was one of the organizers of the Board and the head of the political or administrative division. Decisions made by the head office in Tokyo were transmitted to the Branch of "liaison" offices which dealt with the local Chinese authorities in working out methods of implementing decisions made in Tokyo.

Notwithstanding the establishment of the Board, the Japanese Army in China did not forsake matters of administration. Special service organs continued to exist, and army interference was defended as necessary because of military operations.

Among the various matters handled by the Asia Development Board was opium. It studied the opium needs in different parts of China and arranged for the distribution from Mongolia to North, Central and South China. Japan's policy upon narcotics in China is treated elsewhere.

### **Wang Ching-Wei Departed Chungking**

The movement for the establishment of the "New" Central Government in China received an impetus when Wang Ching-Wei left Chungking, China's wartime capital, on 18 December 1938. He was Vice Chairman of the Koumintang Party and Vice Chairman of the National Defense Council. As early as the spring of 1938, Kao Tsung-Wu and Tung Tao-Ning, former officials

of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, were brought into touch with Kagesa, Chief of the Chinese Section of the Army General Staff, and were taken to Japan

--738--

by an army plane. There, Kagesa had talks with them on reestablishment of peace between China and Japan. It was proposed that some person other than Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek must be sent to promote peace between the two countries and that Wang Ching-Wei would be a suitable person. The conversations were reported to the Army General Staff, which took up the discussions. In the autumn of 1938, an officer of the Army General Staff returned from Shanghai to Tokyo bringing "Tentative Terms of Peace between Japan and China" which had been drawn up by Kao Tsung-Wu and Mei Ssu-Ping. This was brought by ITAGAKI before the Five Ministers' Conference, and amendments made to the "tentative Plan" in accordance with the "Policy for the adjustment of Relations between Japan and China" which had previously been drawn up by the Japanese Government. On 18 November 1938, Kagesa, under orders of ITAGAKI, went to Shanghai to confer with Kao Tsung-Wu and Mei Ssu-Ping. After several amendments were made to the proposed terms, it was arranged that Wang Ching-Wei would leave Chungking according to a pre-arranged plan, upon which the Japanese Government would announce the suggested terms of peace. These arrangements were approved by the Five Ministers' Conference on 25 November 1938, and by the Imperial Conference on 30 November 1938. As stated above, on 18 December 1938, Wang Ching-Wei left Chungking. He reached Hanoi in Indo-China on 20 December 1938. It is to be noted that the date of Wang Ching-Wei's intended departure from Chungking was known to the Japanese Government at least six days previously, as KIDO recorded in his diary on 12 December "it was reported that Wang Chao-Ming (Wang Ching-Wei) on the

--739--

18th would escape from Chungking, and for the present it was not good to disclose any political unrest in our country."

### **Konoye's Three Principles**

On 22 December 1938, subsequent to Wang Ching-Wei's "escape" from Chungking, Premier Konoye issued a statement as pre-arranged. The essential points of this statement were as follows: (1) Japan, Manchukuo and China should unite with the establishment of a New Order in East Asia as their common object, and, in order to realize this, China would abandon resistance to Japan and hostility to Manchukuo; (2) Japan considered it essential for the readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations that there be concluded an anti-Comintern agreement between the two countries in consonance with the spirit of the anti-Comintern agreement among Japan, Germany and Italy. In view of the circumstances prevailing in China, Japanese troops should be stationed at specified points. Inner Mongolia should be designated as a special anti-Communist area; (3) Japan did not desire economic monopoly in China or limitation on third powers' interests; but she demanded that China should, in accordance with the principle of equality between the two countries, recognize freedom of residence and trade on the part of Japanese subjects in the interior of China, to promote the economic interest of both, and should extend to Japan facilities for the development of China's natural resources, especially in North China and Inner Mongolia.

As planned, Wang Ching-Wei on 29 December 1938, made a speech in Hanoi in which he declared that the three points in the Konoye Statement were consistent with the spirit

--740--

of peace, since the Japanese Government had solemnly declared that she would respect the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of China and would neither aim at an economic monopoly in China nor demand the restriction of third powers' interests in China. He urged that the Chinese Government should, as soon as possible, exchange views for a speedy restoration of peace between the two countries.

Thus was the ground prepared for acceptance of Japanese peace terms by the "New" Government intended to be created by Japan under Wang. By these means, the difficult and embarrassing war with China would be ended, leaving Japan free to pursue its strategic plans elsewhere. At the same time, a complacent Government would be created by Japan, giving the latter complete control of China, both militarily and economically.

### **Hiranuma Formed a Cabinet**

Toward the end of 1938, Premier Konoye contemplated resigning. HIRANUMA was opposed to this because, as he told KIDO, Wang Ching-Wei had left Chungking and the plot was proceeding steadily. Konoye, however, persisted with his resignation, and was succeeded by HIRANUMA on 5 January 1939. ARAKI remained as Education Minister, KIDO accepted the position as Home Minister, and ITAGAKI continued to be War Minister.

Before ITAGAKI agreed to continue, he stipulated on behalf of the Army seven requirements, viz:



1. With regard to the "China Incident", the aims of the "Holy War:" should be achieved and in accordance with fixed policies, particularly the declaration of 22 December 1938, containing

--741--

- 
- the basis of readjustment of the relationship with China, which should be adopted in its entirety;
  2. The plan for national defense should be established and expansion of armament should be the aim in order to cope with the new circumstances in East Asia;
  3. The relations among Japan, Germany and Italy should be strengthened;
  4. The system of national total mobilization should be reinforced and the Planning Board should be expanded and reinforced;
  5. All efforts should be made to increase productivity;
  6. National morale should be stimulated; and
  7. Trade should be promoted.

The first consequence of these demands was the adoption by a Cabinet Conference in January 1939 of the "Outline of the Plan for Expansion of Productive Power" drawn up by the Planning Board. This provided for the establishment of a comprehensive productive power expansion plan for Japan, Manchukuo and China, for the improvement of national defense and basic industries by 1941, in preparation for the "epochal development of our country's destiny in the future." On 21 January 1939, Premier HIRANUMA made a speech before the Diet, in which he said that his cabinet was committed to the same immutable policy as the previous cabinet with regard to the China Affair, and that for those who failed to understand and persisted even in their opposition to Japan, there would be no other alternative than to exterminate them. In the meantime, Japan continued her military operations in China. As has been related, the Hainan Islands were captured on 10 February 1939, and Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi Province, was captured on 26 March 1939.

--742--

---

### **Wang Ching-Wei Taken to Shanghai**

The declarations of 22 and 29 December 1938, made by Konoye and Wang Ching-Wei respectively, were but a prelude to the establishment of a new central government in China. In March 1939, the Five Ministers' Conference in Japan decided to send Kagesa to Hanoi to take Wang to a "safety zone", which was decided upon as Shanghai. He reached Hanoi on 17 April 1939, carrying personal letters to Wang from Foreign Minister Arita, War Minister ITAGAKI, *Ko-A-In* Division Chief SUZUKI, and Navy Minister Yonai. Wang informed Kagesa that he would launch a movement for peace, with Shanghai as his base. Wang was conveyed by the Japanese with the utmost secrecy from Hanoi to Shanghai, where he arrived on the 8th May 1939.

### **Wang Ching-Wei Visited Japan**

While in Formosa with Wang, on their way to Shanghai, Kagesa reported to the War Ministry in Tokyo that Wang, in view of expected opposition, wished to have himself set up as soon as possible at the place most convenient for his various activities. Later, Kagesa actually set up headquarters for Wang in Shanghai. A Kagesa Agency was developed also to coordinate the work of the Japanese Gendarmerie and Wang's men.

Wang was concerned to ascertain the views of the Japanese Government. Accompanied by Kagesa and other Japanese, he left Shanghai for Tokyo on 31 May 1939. While in Tokyo, he conferred with HIRANUMA, ITAGAKI, Konoye, Arita and Yonai. In his talk with HIRANUMA, soon after his arrival in Tokyo, HIRANUMA told him that his cabinet had inherited the ideas of the Konoye statement and was

--743--

---

firmly adhering to it. On 15 June 1939, Wang had in interview with War Minister ITAGAKI, acting as the proxy of Premier HIRANUMA. ITAGAKI pointed out that Japan could not dissolve the two existing regimes, the Provisional Government and Renovation Government, as those associated with them had been loyal to the plan of peaceful cooperation between Japan and China. He suggested the establishment of a political council in the Provisional Government and an economic council in the renovation Government as the basis of maintaining Sino-Japanese relations locally. Wang was not opposed to this. ITAGAKI further suggested changing the Chinese national flag, because the Blue Sky and White Sun ensign was regarded as the symbol of anti-Japanism. ITAGAKI also asked Wang's opinion upon the recognition of the independence of Manchukuo, to which the latter answered that, as his aim was peace with Japan, he was firmly convinced that there was no alternative but to recognize Manchukuo.

### **Decision of the Five Ministers' Conference--June 1939**

HIRANUMA says that in his talk with Wang Ching-Wei on the 10th of June 1939, he discussed the future of China and gave it as his opinion that there was no way but to "take the measure which China thought proper"; yet four days before, on 6 June 1939, while Wang Ching-Wei was still in Japan, the Five Ministers' Conference decided on a "Policy for the Establishment of a New Central Government". The Policy, generally speaking was directed to the establishment of a pro-Japanese political system, with a "New" Central Government and a group of constituent local governments -- a form of federal government, "but its details

--744--

shall be conformed to the plan of adjusting a new relation between Japan and China". As top the Chungking Government, the plan provided that it could become a constituent element "provided that it change its mind and be reformed". In more detail it said "When the Chungking Government gives up its anti-Japanese and pro-communism policy and accomplished the required personnel changes . . . it shall be made a constituent element of the new central government, concluding (*sic*) that it has surrendered to us". The policy provided that "the time of establishment and its details shall be settled after consultation with Japan". The decision was reached also that "positive and internal aid necessary for this movement shall be given from the side of Japan". This statement of policy was drawn up because of discussions then taking place with Wang, and set out a series of conditions to be required of him, as well as a "Plan of Guidance of Wang's Movements". A consideration of this policy decision discloses a clear purpose of using Wang in the development of a Japanese-controlled government throughout the entire area of China. This is the fact, although Kagesa in his evidence said the Wang's party submitted a request containing broad principles such as respect for China's sovereignty, non-interference with domestic administration, the providing of Japanese advisers only at China's request, etc., and that these suggestions on the part of the Chinese were "generally admitted".

### **Cabinet Reshuffled in Japan and Continued Military Operations in China**

Within a period of four and a half months between

--745--

the end of August 1939 and the middle of January 1940, there were two cabinet changes in Japan. As a result of the signing of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact on 22 August 1939, the HIRANUMA Cabinet, which had been striving for the conclusion of a Tri-Partite Pact with Germany and Italy, submitted its resignation. On 30 August 1939, General Abe formed a new Cabinet. HATA succeeded ITAGAKI as War Minister and MUTO became Chief of the military Affairs Bureau. On 12 September 1939, ITAGAKI was appointed Chief of Staff of the General Headquarters of the China Expeditionary Forces stationed at Nanking, where he continued his intrigues by supporting Wang Ching-Wei's "National Salvation Peace Movement". Military operations in China continued into the interior of China. On 20 July 1939, a "Situation Estimate" was made by the Army in Central China and presented to the Vice-Minister of War and other organs. This stated, among other things, the future plans of the Army in China. It said that the Army had decided that a new central government should be established with Wang Ching-Wei as its head, and should be given positive support in its development.

ON 23 December 1939, Japanese landed in Lungchow in southernmost China. On the next day, they captured Nanning, the capital of Kwangsi Province. At the end of 1939, Japan ordered her air force to bomb the Yunnan railway with a view to disrupting transshipment of war materials to the interior of China from the seaports of French Indo-China. In January 1940, another government change took place in Japan. Premier Abe resigned on 12 January 1940, and was succeeded by Yonai. The general policy of Japan towards China, however, remained unchanged.

--746--

### **Inauguration of the Puppet Central Government**

After his return from Japan, Wang Ching-Wei conferred with General Tada, Commander of Japanese Forces in North China, and with the leaders of the Provisional and Renovation Governments in regard to the proposed establishment of a puppet central government. By that time, July 1939, Kagesa had established in Shanghai the Kagesa Agency, which worked with the War, Navy and Foreign Ministries, as well as with the Asia Development Board. This Agency assisted in the establishment of the Central government. A loan of 40 million Yen was advanced to Wang Ching-Wei by Japan for that purpose. From 28 August to 6 September 1939, Wang conducted the "Sixth National Congress", which revised the platform of the Party and adopted as "principles" Japan's proposals, and discussed a Central Political Conference to establish the new Central Government. Thereafter, Wang issued invitations to the Provisional and the renovation Governments to participate in organizing the Central Political Council to create the new government.

In Japan, according to Kagesa, steps were being taken to implement a tentative plan which had been prepared by the Asia Development Board in October, and this was agreed upon by the Japanese Government and Wang Ching-Wei on 30 December 1939. Details retarding the establishment of a new Central Government were also agreed upon by a representative of Wang and



Japanese officials in Tokyo. Then in January 1940, representatives of the Provisional and the Renovation Governments, as well as of the Japanese Army met at Tsingtao and decided to amalgamate the existing regimes. On 30 March 1940, Wang's government was formally inaugurated.

--747--

---

## **Section VI**

### **Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere**

Closely associated with Japan's programme of dominating China on the continent was the idea of establishing a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. This was recognized as being bound to bring her into conflict with the interests of third powers. On 7 July 1939, two years after the outbreak of hostilities at Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge), ITAGAKI and Yonai, War and Navy Ministers respectively of the HIRANUMA Cabinet, were reported in the *Japan Times and Mail* as stating that the unjust interference of third powers in the execution of Japan's mission of constructing a New Order in East Asia should be stamped out. "All the people in the country", the article continued, "must express their firm determination that Japan will never abandon her aim of making East Asia for East Asiatics. No pains must be spared for the attainment of the goal". On 29 June 1940, Japan's Foreign Minister Arita broadcast a speech reiterating Japan's mission of establishing a New Order in East Asia and her determination "to leave no stone unturned to eradicate activities assisting Chiang Kai-shek". He stated that the countries of East Asia and the regions of the South Seas were closely related to each other and were destined to cooperate and administer each other's need for their common welfare and prosperity, and that the uniting of all those regions under a single sphere on the basis of common existence and stability was a natural conclusion. References were made at conferences of representatives of the Army, Navy and Foreign Office authorities to the possibility of fighting against Great

--748--

---

Britain, the occupation of British colonies, and to Japan's intention that the New Order in the Far East included the South Seas, and in particular, the regions extending from Burma and the Eastern part of India to Australia and New Zealand.

The date of this public declaration of Japan's policy to expand in East Asia and the region of the Pacific Ocean, which was 29 June 1940, is significant. of the countries interested in this sphere, Holland had been overrun by the Germans and her government was in exile. France had surrendered to Germany, Britain was about to face a struggle for her existence. America, if she intervened, would almost certainly face a struggle with Japan, Germany and Italy, a struggle for which her state of rearmament was unfitted. Such an opportunity for Japan to expand at the expense of her neighbors would not easily occur again.

### **The Second Konoye Cabinet**

In the middle of July 1940, the Yonai Cabinet was forced by the Army to resign because, upon the resignation of HATA as War Minister, the Army refused to provide a successor. Konoye was again chosen to form a new Cabinet because, as KIDO said, he was to be "depended upon to settle the China Incident". TOJO became War Minister, while HIRANUMA, SUZUKI, and HOSHINO served as Ministers without portfolios. The new Cabinet was formed on 22 July 1940. Continuing the policy of establishing a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the new Foreign minister, Matsuoka, declared on 1 August 1940 that the immediate end of Japan's foreign policy was to establish a Great East Asian chain of common prosperity with the Japan-Manchukuo-China

--749--

---

group as the core. On 28 September 1940, the Japanese Government prepared an "Outline of Japanese Foreign Policy" which provided that an effort must be made to realize general peace between Japan and China, and to promote the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Under that plan, in the regions including French Indo-China, Dutch East Indies, Straits Settlement, British Malaya, Thailand, the Philippine Islands, British Borneo and Burma, with Japan, Manchukuo and China as center, Japan should construct a sphere in which politics, economy and culture of these countries and regions would be combined.

### **Further Military Action by Japan Against China**

Although the Government of Wang Ching-Wei was formally installed on 30 March 1940 in Nanking, the Chinese National government at Chungking was still holding out against Japan. In order to bring about the surrender of the Chinese Government, Japanese military operations continued with increasing vigour. On 12 June 1940, Japanese forces captured Ichang, gateway to the Szechuen Province, within which is Chungking. On 30 June 1940, they again captured Kaifeng, which had been recovered by the Chinese. The Japanese Government also insisted upon sending troops to Indo-China in order to disrupt the supply line of the Chinese and to threaten them from the rear. On 14 September 1940, KIDO advised the Emperor to approve the action taken towards that end. After protracted negotiations, which will be discussed later, an agreement was made between the Japanese and French authorities to allow the Japanese troops to occupy northern French Indo-China from 23 September 1940 for operations against China.

### **Japan Signed a Treaty With Wang Ching-Wei Government**

Upon the inauguration of the new government, it was not a professional diplomat, but a soldier, General Abe, Nobuyuki, who was appointed the Japanese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. This arrangement followed the pattern of Manchukuo, where a soldier, the Commander for the time being of the Kwantung Army, was appointed Japanese Ambassador to the puppet government of Manchukuo. General Abe arrived at Nanking on 23 April 1940, and all preparations were completed for the restoration of Sino-Japanese relations. After protracted negotiations between Wang and Abe, a draft treaty was agreed upon on 28 August 1940 and initialed three days afterwards. After further negotiations and some alterations had been made, a treaty in its final form was settled. Following an Imperial Conference of 13 November 1940, the treaty was submitted to the Privy Council and was approved at its full session on 27 November 1940. It was formally signed on 30 November 1940 at Nanking.

#### **"Treaty Concerning the Basic Relations Between Japan and China"**

The Treaty and associate documents signed 30 November 1940 were *ex facie* directed to the maintenance of mutual respect and cooperation with each other as good neighbors under their common ideal of establishing a new order in East Asia, and, with this as a nucleus contributing toward the peace of the world in general. The Treaty provided that the two government agreed to eliminate causes prejudicial to amity between the two countries, and to engage in joint defense against communism, for which

--751--

purpose Japan should station required forces in specified areas of Menchiang and of North China. The Wang Government agreed to recognize Japan's right to station naval units and vessels in specified areas in China. The Treaty further provided that the two governments should effect close cooperation so as to complement each other and minister to each other's needs in resources in North China and Menchiang, especially materials needed for national defense. To develop resources in other areas, the Wang Government agreed to give positive and full facilities to Japan. The two governments agreed to promote trade and commerce and to extend specially close cooperation for the promotion of trade and commerce in the lower basin of the Yangtze River. Attached to the Treaty were two secret agreements. in the first, it was agreed that diplomacy would be based on concerted action and no measures would be taken with respect to third countries contrary to that principle. The Wang Government also agreed to comply with Japan's demands for military needs in railways, airways, communications and waterways in areas where Japanese troops were stationed. China's administrative and executive rights were to be respected in ordinary times. The second secret agreement allowed Japanese vessels to "freely enter into and anchor at the harbour areas within the territorial jurisdiction of the Republic of China." The Wang Government agreed to cooperate in the planning, development and production of special resources, especially strategic resources, necessary for national defense, in Amoy, Hainan Island and the adjoining islands, and to facilitate the strategic demands of Japan. In a separate letter,

--752--

addressed to Abe, Wang promised that so long as Japan was carrying on military operations in China, the latter would cooperate toward the full attainment of Japan's war purpose. On the same day as the Treaty was formally signed, there was published a "Joint Declaration by the Governments of Japan, Manchukuo and China," which provided that the three countries would mutually respect their sovereignty and territories, and would bring about general cooperation as good neighbors, common defense against communistic activities, and economic cooperation. By this treaty and associated secret agreements, Japan secured the right to a voice in China's diplomatic activities, to maintain military and naval forces in China, to use China for strategic purposes, and to use Chinese natural resources for "national defense". In other words, despite the diplomatic protestations in these documents, China was to become at the best a province or satrapy of Japan, and at the worst a country to be exploited to satisfy Japan's military and economic needs.

### **Intermittent Peace Talks and Continued Military Operations**

The signing of the treaty might well be regarded by the Japanese government with satisfaction, as the realization of the policy stated in the Konoye Declaration of 16 January 1938, in so far as the establishment of a new central government and the obtaining of military and other advantages was concerned. At the same time, the problem of how to deal with the Chinese National Government in Chungking, which was holding out, remained unsettled. The attitude of the Japanese Government during this period appeared to be devious or vacillating. Prior to the signing

--753--

of the treaty, peace moves had been conducted toward the Chinese Government at Chungking, but they led to no tangible results. Foreign Minister Matsuoka, in an attempt to take these negotiations into his own hands, despatched Tajiri, Matsumoto and others to Hong Kong. These efforts again proved fruitless. Following the signing of the treaty with Wang, the attitude of the Japanese Government toward the Chinese Government at Chungking again stiffened. On 11 December 1940, Abe was given instructions as follows:



The Imperial Government has now recognized the National Government (at Nanking) and had entered into formal diplomatic relations with it. However, in view of the situation that not only is the Incident still going on, but also that we are, at least, going to adapt the state for a long term warfare, you should try to rapidly bring up and strengthen the National Government (in Nanking), in accordance with the established policy of the Empire and the provisions of the new China-Japanese Treaty.

Thereafter, armed operations against Chungking were continued. On 1 March 1941, HATA was again appointed Commander-in-Chief of all Japanese Forces in China. SATO became Secretary of the Manchurian Affairs Bureau on 18 March 1941. SUZUKI was made the President of the Cabinet Planning Board, following an agreement reached among Premier Konoye, KIDO, the War and Navy Ministers. On 21 April 1941, Kunming, the capital of Yunnan Province, which occupied a strategically important position in the rear of Chungking, was bombed, and the United States Consulate building there was badly damaged. Chungking, having previously

---

--754--

---

suffered damage from Japanese air raids, was again bombed on 9 and 10 May and on 1 June 1941.

### **Hull-Nomura Talks Relating to China**

In the meantime, Ambassador Nomura was conducting negotiations with the American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, at Washington, over questions affecting world peace, particularly Sino-Japanese relations. These will be discussed more fully later. It is sufficient to mention here that Japan sought (1) to end American assistance to China, (2) the assistance of America to induce Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to negotiate peace direct with Japan -- really to accept Japanese terms, (3) the recognition of Manchukuo, and (4) the right to hold China in military subjection through the stationing of Japanese troops there.

On 2 July 1941, another Imperial Conference was held, attended by TOJO, SUZUKI, HIRANUMA and OKA. A summary of Japan's policy in accordance with the current change of situation was adopted at the Conference. Among other things, it included a decision to exercise further pressure "to hasten the surrender of Chiang's regime."

### **The Third Konoye Cabinet**

Foreign Minister Matsuoka was not in full agreement with Premier Konoye in regard to procedure in the negotiation between Japan and the United States. Matsuoka was also in favor of a Japanese attack on Russia, which had now been invaded by Germany, as well as an advance in East Asia and the Pacific, a policy which most of Japan's leaders thought beyond her powers. The Cabinet resigned on 16 July 1941 as a means of getting rid of Matsuoka.

On 18 July 1941, Konoye formed his third Cabinet.

---

--755--

---

Toyoda replaced Matsuoka as Foreign Minister. The fundamental policy of the Japanese government remained unchanged.

The negotiations between the United States and Japan were continued. On 27 August 1941, Konoye sent a message to President Roosevelt. A Japanese Government [statement](#) bearing the same date was also delivered to President Roosevelt. Among other things, the statement said that Japan's measures in-China were intended to accelerate the settlement of the "China Incident." President Roosevelt, in reply reiterated the principles regarded as the foundation upon which relations between nations should properly rest, viz: respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of each and all nations and support of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Upon receipt of the reply, Konoye called the Cabinet into session on 5 September 1941, which decided to hold an Imperial Conference on 6 September 1941. TOJO, SUZUKI, MUTO and OKA were all present in the Imperial Conference, which, aside from making a decision to break off the negotiations in the middle of October, also set forth the following demands to be made in connection with the "China Incident" in the proposed discussions between Konoye and Roosevelt: (1) the United States and Britain should not interrupt the settlement of the "China Incident" which would be made in accordance with the "Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty" and the Japanese-Manchukuo-China Tri-Partite Joint Declaration; (2) the Burma Road should be closed and the United States and Britain should give Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek neither military nor economic support. On 22 September 1941, Toyoda delivered to Ambassador Grew a

---

--756--

---

[statement](#) of the terms of peace which Japan proposed to offer China. Those terms were: (1) Neighborly friendship; (2) Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; (3) Cooperative defense between Japan and China, for which Japanese troops and naval forces would be stationed in certain areas in China; (4) Withdrawal of Japanese troops upon the settlement of the China Incident, excepting those which came under point 3; (5) Economic cooperation between Japan and China; (6) Fusion of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Government with Wang Ching-Wei's government; (7) No annexation; (8) No indemnities; (9) Recognition of

Manchukuo. These terms, it will be noticed, notwithstanding their well-sounding purposes and having regard to the treaty with Wang's Government, would have given Japan complete dominance of China politically, economically and militarily.

In his discussion of the situation with Premier Konoye on 9 October 1941, KIDO stated that although it would be inadvisable to make war on the United States immediately, Japan should prepare for military action for the completion of the "China Incident" which might last for ten or fifteen years, and to apply the whole of Japan's military force in China to realize Japan's plans against Kunming and Chungking. On 12 October 1941, the Cabinet reached an agreement, upon the insistence of War Minister TOJO, that Japan should not waver in her policy of stationing troops in China or

--757--

other policies connected with China, and that nothing be done which might prejudice the result of the China Incident. This meant, in other words, in no circumstances should Japan yield up any of the many material benefits already gained or in prospect in China. On 14 October 1941, prior to the Cabinet Meeting, Konoye spoke to TOJO and urged further consideration upon the opening of hostilities between Japan and the United States, and the bringing to an end of the China Incident. TOJO, as before, opposed any concession to the United States in the matter of withdrawal of troops from China, and said Konoye was too pessimistic. In the Cabinet meeting held that day, TOJO was insistent upon his view and brought about a complete deadlock. Konoye resigned on 16 October 1941.

### **Tojo Formed a Cabinet**

After the resignation of Konoye, TOJO became Premier upon the recommendation of KIDO. HIROTA also gave his specific approval to the recommendation. In the new Cabinet, TOJO was also War Minister and Home Minister. TOGO became Foreign Minister and concurrently Minister of Overseas Affairs, while KAYA became Finance Minister. SUZUKI was Chief Director of the Asia Development Board and concurrently President of the Planning Board. SHIMADA became Navy Minister, while HOSHINO was designated Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. As before, the Premier served as President of the Asia Development Board, with the Army, Navy, Foreign and Finance Ministers, as Vice Presidents.

### **Continuance of United States-Japan Parleys**

After the new TOJO Cabinet came into office, the Japanese Government continued diplomatic discussions

--758--

with the United States Government, but, while appearing to be urgent for a decision, it showed no willingness to make any real modification of its attitude concerning China. On 4 November 1941, TOGO informed Nomura that Kurusu was being despatched to assist him in the parleys. On the same day, TOGO sent to Nomura another message giving the terms to be presented to the United States Government, including those relating to the stationing of Japanese troops in China. Japan still insisted that it should station troops in China, in the Mongolian border region and on the island of Hainan, even after the establishment of peace between Japan and China, and that these would not be evacuated until the lapse of an indefinite period, which if necessary might be interpreted as 25 years. These terms were subsequently approved by the Imperial Conference held on 5 November 1941, at which TOJO, TOGO, SHIMADA, KAYA, SUZUKI, HOSHINO, MUTO and OKA were present. Nomura was promptly notified of the approval.

### **Continued Military Campaign in China**

The outbreak of the Pacific War did not abate Japan's military operations in China, nor alter the decision to crush the Chinese National Government at Chungking. Even before the outbreak of the Pacific War, casualties and losses suffered by China had assumed tremendous proportions. Up to June 1941, figures of the Japanese showed that the Chinese armed forces had lost 3,800,000 men killed, wounded and captured; that the Japanese had captured from the Chinese an enormous amount of booty; that they had destroyed 1,77 Chinese planes; and that the Japanese had themselves lost 109,250 men killed and 203 planes.

--759--

In May 1942, the Japanese took Lungling and Tengchung in Yunnan Province, in the rear of Chungking. In December 1943, they captured Changthe in Hunnan Province, although it was soon recaptured by the Chinese. By the middle of 1944, military operations were intensified in the interior of Central China. Chengchow fell on 20 April 1944, Loyang on 25 May 1944, Changsha on 18 June 1944 and Hengyang on 8 August 1944. Then in the winter of the same year, the Japanese made a further thrust into the strategic southwestern China. They captured Kweilin on 10 November 1944, and Liuchow on 11 November 1944. At the close of the war, the official records of the Chinese Army showed that the army alone lost from 7 July 1937 to August 1945, 3,207,948 men killed, wounded and missing. We were not given figures of non-combatants killed or maimed in the course of the war, although there must have been very considerable civilian casualties.

--760--



## Section VII

### Japan's Economic Domination of Manchuria and Other Parts of China

The case made against the accused is of waging aggressive war, with the object, *inter alia*, of obtaining economic domination of Manchuria and other parts of China. It becomes necessary, therefore, that we should discuss shortly the evidence presented upon this subject. As already related, the Japanese policy in Manchuria was to consolidate the territory under a government subservient to Japan, and then by means of agreements with that government, and by other means, to obtain much needed basic materials required to carry out the program adopted in Japan, and to obtain control of the communications and a substantial part of industry and commerce, all of which were of great value to later military operations.

In North China, the same plan was followed for the same purposes, and particularly to fill the demand for supplies which at the time were not obtainable in foreign markets and which were badly needed in the campaign against the whole of China, and were necessary to facilitate the over-all plan. The same policy was adopted as the war progressed into Central and Southern China. The political domination has already been dealt with; the following account of the various measures adopted indicates the extent to which the policy of economic domination was carried out.

#### General Economic Matters

The Japanese policy toward China has been dealt with at an earlier point in this judgment in relation to the political policy. Most of the "Plans and

--761--

---

Policies" there referred to also deal with economic matters. Therefore, at this step we mention only a few decisions which are particularly applicable to the question of economic domination.

Typical of the policy was the adoption by the HIROTA Cabinet, on the 11th of August 1936, of "The Second Administrative Policy Toward North China," the main purpose of which was "To Assist the people in North China in procuring perfect independence and to set up an anti-communistic and pro-Japanese and pro-Manchurian area and to secure the necessary materials for our National defense as well as to improve the facilities of the transportation against the possible invasion of Soviet Russia, and by making North China the base for the cooperation of Japan, Manchuria, and China as well as for mutual aid." It was then provided that Japan should guide the local political powers to insure the independence of North China. It was finally provided that "iron, coal and salt existing in the province should be utilized for our national defense and for the promotion of our transportation facilities and electric power."

On the 20th of February 1937, the Hayashi Cabinet adopted the "Third Administrative Policy Toward North China", the principle objects of which were procuring defense materials, improving transportation, preparing the defense against USSR, and establishing cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo and China. On the 10th of June 1937, the War Ministry under the first Konoye Cabinet prepared a "Resume of Policy regarding the execution of summary of five year program of important

--762--

---

industries" which, as we have mentioned previously, was declared to be based upon a "policy for the establishment of a comprehensive plan for Japan, Manchukuo, and China in order to prepare for the epochal development of Japan's destiny in the future." The plan also recites that it "aims at the establishment of self-sufficiency in regard to important resources within the sphere of our influence and thereby avoid depending upon the resources of a third power." On the 24th December 1937, the Cabinet decided the "Outline of Measures of the China Incident" which contained a section entitled "Policy for Economic Development." That section provided that its object was the economic development of North China to coordinate Japanese and Manchurian economy and to establish co-prosperity and coalition between Japan, Manchukuo and China. For that purpose, it was considered necessary to develop and adjust every phase of economics by closely combining Chinese capital with Japanese capital, thereby contributing to the development and increase of production of necessary materials for the national defense of Japan and Manchukuo.

In order to give effect to the plans and policy last mentioned, and to coordinate the Japanese efforts in that regard, provision was made in April 1938 for the creation of two national policy companies. These were the North China Development Company for North China and the Central China Promotion Company for Central China. The objects of the North China Development Company were to further economic development and to consolidate various undertakings in North China. Its operations were carried on as a holding company

--763--

---

financing and controlling leading enterprises in transportation, harbor and port developments, electric power generation and transmission, mining, production and sale of salt and allied undertakings.

It operated under the supervision of the Japanese Government and was subject to the orders of the government; in fact, except in routine matters, it required the approval of the government for all its decisions. For example, the approval of the Japanese Government was required for the raising of loans, making changes in its articles of association, giving effect to mergers and dissolutions and distribution of profits. Its plans for investment and financing for each fiscal year also required the approval of the Government.

UMEZU was appointed a member of the company's organizing committee with OKA as an assistant. KAYA served as president of the company for some time, going out of office on the 10th of October 1941, when he became Finance Minister in the TOJO Cabinet.

The Central China Promotion Company had objects very similar to those of the North China Development Company, and was subject to substantially the same control by the government. The operations in the development of public utilities, transportation, and natural resources, which will shortly be referred to, came under the control of one or the other of these companies.

Before dealing with the particular operations, reference should be made to the "Program for the Economic Development of China" adopted by the Planning Board in January 1939. It was stated in this program

---

--764--

that the development of natural resources in China had far-reaching consequences in realizing the ideas of economic collaboration between Japan, China and Manchukuo as the basic step for establishing a new order in East Asia. It was further stated that these activities were "as vital and urgent as military operations and political activities and that they should be carried out even during hostilities."

Reference should also be made to the "Summary of the Program for Economic Construction Embracing Japan, Manchukuo and China" put out by the Cabinet Information Bureau on the 5th of November 1940, the principal purpose of which was the establishment of a self-supporting and self-sufficient economic structure within ten years to strengthen the position of East Asia in World Economy. Under the program, Japan's function was to promote science and techniques and to develop heavy industry, the chemical industry and mining. Manchukuo was to develop important basic industries, and China her natural resources, particularly mining and the salt industry.

Not only was no provision made in this program for consulting Manchukuo or China with regard to its operation, but reading the document as a whole, it is made clear that decisions as to its being put into effect in all its aspects were to be made by Japan and Japan alone.

Significant of the purposes of the Japanese plans in North China is a statement by KAYA that the plan for mobilization of materials in North China had three main points; the first was to supply Japan with war materials; the second was to expand Japan's armaments; and

---

--765--

the third was to meet the needs of peace-time economy.

### **Particular Industries**

The foregoing gives an outline of the general plans and policies adopted by the Japanese Government. A short outline of how the general plans were applied to particular industries and special phases of economics will be of value at this point.

### **Transportation and Communications**

In 1935, when DOHIHARA was active in connection with the establishment of autonomous rule in North China, he demanded the construction of a railway between Tientsin and Shihchiachuan. Reference has already been made to the railway plan drafted by the North China Garrison Force in November 1935 which indicated Japan's desire or intention to acquire the Shantung Railway and a section of the Lunghai Railway and to construct further new railways in China.

In July 1938, the North China Telephone and Telegraph Company was organized, the North China Development Company owning more than 70% of its capital stock. Its objects were to construct and operate telegraph and telephone service, including



submarine cable in North China and connecting with Japan, Manchukuo, and the rest of the world. Other subsidiary companies of the North China Development Company were the North China Communications Company and the North China Aviation Corporation. The North China Communications Company operated 3,750 miles of railways, 6,250 miles of bus lines, and 625 miles of inland waterway communications in North China.

---

--766--

---

### **Natural Resources**

By "The Outline of Measures for the China Incident" of December 1937, provision was made for a National Policy Company to take over the salt industries and practically the whole mining industry in North China for the purpose of obtaining revenue for Japan.

The Central Iron Mine Company, a subsidiary of the Central China Promotion Company, was set up in April 1938 to develop the estimated one hundred million tons of coal in Central China.

Deposits of iron ore in North China estimated at approximately two hundred million tons, or more than half of China's estimated iron ore deposits, were taken over in July 1939 by the Lungyen Iron Mine Company, a subsidiary of the North China Development Company. Of the mines coming under the control of this company, the one having the largest estimated deposits of all was the Lungyen Mine in Chahar Province. Part of the ore from this mine, and the surplus of pig iron produced therefrom, were exported to Japan. Of a total production of 4,300,000 tons of ore mined by the company, 700,000 tons were used for the production of pig iron, and of the balance, 1,400,000 tons were sent to Manchuria and over a million tons to Japan.

In Central China, iron deposits in the Yangtze Valley were estimated at one hundred million tons. For the purpose of continuing the development of this deposit, the Central China Iron Mine Company was established in April 1938. The company was controlled by the Central China Promotion Company and other Japanese interests; payment for Chinese interests in the property was

---

--767--

---

arranged to be made in the form of equipment and goods.

Coal deposits in North China were enormous, and estimated to be more than 50% of the deposits in the whole of China. In developing these coal resources, the Japanese adopted a policy of

---

--768--

---

controlling the supply to the Chinese in order to insure a further supply for Japan, having particular regard for the need of coking coal. The Tatung Mine, which had the largest annual production, was taken over and operated by the Tatung Coal Mine Company, a subsidiary of the North China Development Company.

By 1938, the greater part of the salt consumed in Japan was imported from various countries in the East and Middle East, including China. In order to increase the supply from China, the North China Salt Company was organized as a subsidiary of the North China Development Company for the production of salt in North China. For the same purpose in Central China, the Hua Chung Salt Company was organized by the Central China Promotion Company in August 1939, and plans were made to develop new salt fields by investment of the funds of the holding company.

### **Public Utilities**

Immediately after the occupation of Shanghai in December 1937, the Japanese took over various public utility companies, among which might be mentioned: (a) Puntung Electric Supply Company, which was then made a subsidiary of the Central China Water and Electricity Company, which in turn was Japanese controlled; 9b) the Chinese Electric Power Company in Shanghai was taken over in June 1938 and became a subsidiary of the same holding company. In these cases, the owners of the companies were compensated at a valuation considerably below the real worth of the companies.

The Chapei Water and Electricity Company was taken over, and after the outbreak of the Pacific War,

---

--769--

---

the American-owned Shanghai Power Company was also taken over. Evidence was made before the Tribunal that after the surrender in 1945, when the various plants were taken back by the former owners, the plant equipment and machinery had deteriorated far beyond ordinary wear and tear.

### **Banking**

From the beginning of the occupation of North China, the Japanese Army circulated in North China bank notes of the Bank of Chosen, and in Central China, bank notes of the Bank of Japan, together with some military or occupation yen notes. However, the use of Japanese currency in occupied territories was disturbing to Japan's monetary system. In order to remedy this situation, the Japanese Government organized the Federal Reserve Bank of China in February 1938, the main policy of which was to stabilize currency and control the money market in foreign exchange. It was authorized to issue paper currency which was linked to the Japanese yen, and so made the basis for Japanese investments in North China. Controlled by the Japanese Government, this bank became very important and carried out Japan's policy in the financial field of its operations.

As a result of the Japanese virtual control of the economics of occupied China, and its control of a substantial part of industry and commerce, many Japanese businessmen and industrialists went to China and entered the economic life, making no effort to hide their control.

### **Protests of the United States**

The adoption of the measures just referred to

--770--

---

inevitably had the result of affecting the trade and commerce of other powers. Consequently, on the 6th of October 1938, United States Ambassador Grew wrote to Prime Minister Konoye that the events in Manchuria were being repeated; that the exchange control in North China was discriminatory, and that with the alteration of customs tariffs, the Japanese control of transportation and communications, and the proposal to create a monopoly in wool and tobacco, was putting Japan and Japanese merchants in a preferred position in China. He consequently asked for discontinuance of (1) exchange control and other measures discriminatory to American trade and enterprise; (2) monopolies or preferences conferred on Japanese interests, superiority of rights in commerce or the economic development in China and (3) interference with American property and rights, particularly censorship of mail and restrictions upon residence and travel by Americans and American trade and interests. To this protest, the Foreign Minister, while admitting the truth of the charges, claimed justification for the economic measures as being for the benefit of China and East Asia.

### **Narcotics in China**

Reference has already been made to the traffic in narcotic drugs in Manchuria.

A policy similar to that adopted in Manchuria was adopted from time to time as military operations succeeded in North, Central, and Southern China. This traffic is related to the military operations and political developments in that, by means of it, substantial funds were obtained for the various local governments

--771--

---

set up by the Japanese, funds which would otherwise have to be furnished by Japan or found by additional local taxes. Incidentally, the effect on the morale of the Chinese population by the tremendous increase of drug addicts can be well imagined.

Prior to the outbreak of the China War, the Chinese Government had been making determined efforts to wipe out opium smoking. that these efforts were meeting with success is demonstrated by a report made by the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations in June 1939 to the effect that the measures taken by the Chinese Government for the suppression of drug addiction under regulations promulgated in June 1936, had produced highly satisfactory results.

Connected with the opium traffic in China from 1937, were the Japanese Army, the Japanese Foreign Office, and the Asia Development Board. The Mitsubishi Trading Company and the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha were making large purchases of Iranian opium for Japan, Manchukuo and China. By arrangement with the Foreign Ministry, the two companies in March 1938 made an agreement in respect to the places from which the opium was to be imported and their respective shares in the business. The distribution of opium for Japan and Manchukuo was to be handled by the Mitsubishi Company, and that for Central and South China by the Mitsui Company; the distribution for North China being shared equally, and the government offices of Japan, Manchukuo, and China were to decide upon and inform the two companies of the amount to be purchased for each year. At the request of the Asia Development Board, the



agreement was revised by providing for the organization of the Iranian Opium Purchasing Association, the opium business of that company to be divided equally between the two trading companies.

The Special Service Organizations established in cities and town under the China Expeditionary Force were entrusted with the sale of the opium. The Economic Division of the Asia Development Board stated the requirements of opium in North, Central and South China and arranged for its distribution. Profits from the sales of opium were transferred to the Asia Development Board. At a later date, a General Opium Suppression Bureau was created, and the opium trade was administered by the Renovation Government, which was to a certain extent supported by the profits from the sale of opium. But even at that time, the *Ko-A-In* and the Japanese Army Headquarters in Central China were still responsible for policy making with regard to the opium trade.

From time to time, measures were adopted ostensibly to control or reduce the traffic. One example was the General Opium Suppression Bureau, which as organized in 1938 and at about the same time the Renovation Government set aside \$2000 a month for opium suppression propaganda. Notwithstanding these and other measures adopted, the traffic continued to increase. The explanation may be found in the cryptic evidence of Harada, Kumakichi, Japanese Military Attaché at Shanghai from 1937 to 1939. He say, "When I was head of the Tokumu Bu I received instructions through military channels to provide opium for the

Chinese people by establishing an opium suppression board."

In June 1937, at a meeting of the Advisory Committee on Traffic Opium of the League of Nations, it was stated openly that the increase in illicit traffic in China coincided with the Japanese advances.

### **Inner Mongolia**

Following the withdrawal of Chinese troops from North Chahar after the Ching-DOHIHARA Agreement of 1935, as already related, Japanese influence was felt in the provinces of Chahar and Suiyuan. thereafter, the farmers were encouraged to raise more opium. As a result, production of opium was substantially increased.

### **North China**

In North China, particularly in Hopeh and Shantung, after the Tangku Truce of 1933, and the establishment of the demilitarized zone, the Chinese were unable to control the drug traffic. There then followed a tremendous increase in the number of drug addicts, the distribution of the drugs being handled by various companies and associations controlled by Japanese.

After the occupation of Tientsin in 1937, there was a notable increase in the use of narcotics. The Japanese concession in Tientsin became known as the center of heroin manufacturing. Not less than two hundred heroin factories were established in the Japanese concession, and it was stated before the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium in

May 1937, that it was common knowledge that almost 90% of all illicit white drugs in the world were of Japanese origin manufactured in Tientsin, Dairen and the other cities of Manchuria and North China.

### **Central China**

Here again, substantially the same story is told. In Nanking, opium consumption had been practically wiped out before 1937. After the occupation by the Japanese troops, the trade in narcotics became public and was even advertised in newspapers. As was established in an earlier part of this chapter, the profits made in the drug traffic monopoly were enormous. By the autumn of 1939, the monthly revenue from the sale of opium in Nanking was estimated at \$3,000,000. It is therefore obvious, having regard to the magnitude of the traffic in Manchuria, North, Central, and South China, how valuable the traffic was to the Japanese Government even if taken only in terms of revenue.

We do not consider it necessary to vie any further details of the traffic in drugs; it is sufficient to say that in Shanghai, in Fukien Province, and Kwantung Province in South China and elsewhere after 1937, upon occupation of each province and large center by the Japanese, the traffic in drugs increased on a scale corresponding to that in other parts of the country which has already been described.

[Table of Contents](#) \*\* [Previous Chapter](#) (4) \* [Next Chapter](#) (6)

*Transcribed and formatted for HTML by Patrick Clancey, HyperWar Foundation*

Source: International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) Judgment

<http://www.ibiblio.net/hyperwar/PTO/IMTFE/IMTFE-5a.html>

## **Japan's Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order, 1931–1945**

### **by Cemil Aydin**

One of the most striking aspects of the international history of the 1930s is the revival and official endorsement of a pan-Asian vision of regional world order in Japan. The pan-Asian discourse of East-West civilizational difference and comparison was influential in various intellectual circles in Asia. But during the 1920s, as a political project of Asian solidarity, it was irrelevant for Japan's foreign policy, and it did not have any international momentum or movement. The period after the Manchurian Incident in 1931, however, witnessed a process by which pan-Asianist ideas and projects became part of Japan's official foreign policy rhetoric. [1] After 1933 Japan's pan-Asian internationalism began to overshadow liberal internationalism, gradually becoming the mainstream vision of an alternative world order. This process culminated in the declaration of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere in 1940, a project that relied heavily on the rhetoric of pan-Asian internationalism. In 1943, seventeen years after the ineffectual 1926 Nagasaki pan-Asiatic conference that was ridiculed by official and liberal circles in Japan, the Japanese government itself hosted a Greater East Asia Conference to which it invited the leaders of the Philippines, Burma, the provincial government of India, the Nanking government of China, Manchukuo, and Thailand.

Given that pan-Asianist activists had regularly expressed strong opposition to Japan's foreign policy up to the 1930s, and aware of the lack of political clout of Asianist circles during the 1920s, Japan's apparent endorsement of pan-Asianism in its official "return to Asia" after 1933 raises a major question. How can we understand the predominance of pan-Asianist discourses in Japanese intellectuals circles in the 1930s? Why would Japan's political elite, with its proven record of cooperation with Western powers based on a realistic assessment of the trends of the time, choose to endorse an anti-Western discourse of Asianism as its official policy during the late 1930s?

### **Explaining Japan's Official "Return to Asia"**

In the literature, the process of transition from a policy of pro-Western capitalist internationalism in the 1920s to a very different policy aiming to create a regional order in East Asia has been attributed to a complex set of interrelated factors, both contingent and structural. For the sake of clarity, I categorize the explanations of the previous historiography into two groups, which are distinct but not necessarily in conflict: those that emphasize domestic political causes of the change and those that stress changes in the international environment.

According to domestic policy-driven explanations, Asianism was the foreign policy ideology espoused by the expansionist, militarist, and conservative segments of Japanese society. Frederick Dickinson has traced back to the period of World War I (WWI) the origins of two distinct agendas for Japan's diplomacy and national mission, one liberal and pro-British and the other characterized by pro-German, anti-liberal, and Asianist tendencies. The Asianist and conservative group, mostly clustered around Yamagata Aritomo, could not implement its policy visions during the 1910s because the liberal group prevailed in domestic politics. By identifying two distinct visions of Japan's national identity and two corresponding international policies in response to the opportunities presented by WWI, Dickinson's study successfully demonstrates that foreign policy decisions should not be regarded as automatic responses to international trends and immediate external challenges but rather be seen as results of the balance of power in domestic politics among groups that have competing visions of their national identity and mission. According to Dickinson, pan-Asianism was one such grand vision, which aimed to establish Japan's leadership in Asia by excluding Western powers from the region in the name of racial solidarity and civilizational harmony.[2]

Other studies on the 1920s have argued that members of the conservative antiliberal political camp, often identified with pan-Asianist inclinations, continued to agitate for an expansionist policy at a time when their voices were overshadowed by the liberalism of the Taishō democracy and the capitalist internationalism of Shidehara diplomacy. According to Richard Storry's early work, which offers a history of Japanese ultranationalism based on the materials of the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, the persistence and violence displayed by right-wing groups was able to weaken and eventually to overturn the prevailing atmosphere of Taishō democracy and liberal diplomacy. For Storry, for example, pan-Asianist thinker Ōkawa Shūmei was one of the Asianist "double patriots" who influenced young military officers and played a great role in the transition to the expansionist 1930s.[3] Christopher Szpilman strengthened this argument in his study of Kokuhonsha, the main conservative organization of interwar Japan, noting that anti-Western and antiliberal trends in Japan had high-ranking supporters and strong organizational solidarity during the 1920s and thus were able to exert disproportionate influence as a result of their popularity among the bureaucratic and military elite.[4] In his research on the House of Peers, Genzo Yamamoto further demonstrated the appeal and predominance of what he described as an "illiberal" agenda among Japan's top political elite from the 1920s to the late 1930s, leading to their final triumph in domestic politics paralleling the adoption of an aggressive China policy.[5]

This focus on the domestic political components of the transition to the pan-Asianist policies of the 1930s has obvious merit. Asianism, however, could not always be uniquely identified as the expansionist ideology of conservative antiliberals, as Japan's liberals also envisioned a special role for Japan in Asia, whether as the disseminator of a higher civilization to backward areas or as the leading force in economic development and political cooperation in the region. Moreover, an aggressive policy in Manchuria was not the monopoly of Japanese Asianists. As demonstrated by Louise Young, there existed within Japanese society an overwhelming consensus concerning policy in Manchuria, which cut across the lines dividing liberals and conservatives.[6] The majority of Japan's political and intellectual elite, including the pro-Western internationalists, supported the new orientation in foreign policy symbolized by the withdrawal from the League of Nations. For example, Nitobe Inazō, reputed for his liberal internationalism, was willing to defend Japan's policy in China that led to the Manchurian Incident, even to the point



of accepting Japan's withdrawal in 1932 from the League of Nations, in which he had served for so many years.[7] Another liberal internationalist, Zumoto Motosada, went on lecture tours in 1931 to Europe and the United States in an attempt to explain Japan's position on the Manchurian Incident. During his speeches, Motosada often referred to the idea of a Japan-led regional order in East Asia separate from the European-based league system. Just five years before the Manchurian Incident, Zumoto had affirmed Japan's pro-League internationalism in his critique of the Nagasaki pan-Asiatic conference of 1926. Japan's liberal internationalists apparently turned to pan-Asianism when they saw a tension between Japanese national interests and the decisions of the League of Nations.[8]



**Nitobe Inazô at the League of Nations**

The Asianist discourse of Japan's transnational identity had many different versions, ranging from a doctrine of regional solidarity to anti-Western visions of civilizational revival, and it was not limited to conservative circles. For example, during the 1930s, many Japanese intellectuals who had no previous connection with conservative radical nationalist groups, such as the members of the Kyoto School of Philosophy or the semiofficial think tank Shōwa Kenkyūkai, also utilized anti-Western rhetoric and advocated the revival of Japan's Asian identity.[9] This indicates an area of overlap in the worldviews of liberals and antiliberals with respect to Japan's Asian identity and its international mission in Asia, as well as their shared diagnosis of the international system during the 1920s. It also shows that the theories of the clash of civilizations and Japan's mission in Asia were part of a common vocabulary, which would then have different political connotations depending on the intellectual climate. For example, those promoting U.S.-Japan friendship would frame their efforts as a dialogue of harmony among the different civilizations of East and West, thus confirming a vision of the world as divided into different race and civilization groups beyond the nations. In that sense, many leading Japanese intellectuals who had no ties to the conservative radical nationalist groups ended up contributing to the legitimacy of the pan-Asianist program in some way, either through their theories on overcoming modernity and Eurocentrism or through their search for an alternative modernity in the Japanese and Asian cultural traditions. [10]

The second major approach to the question of Japan's adoption of Asianist rhetoric in foreign policy emphasizes that the structural transformations in the international system in East Asia complemented changes in the domestic power configurations to create a situation that led to the triumph of antiliberal and Asianist projects. Akira Iriye and James Crowley have argued that Japanese policies during the 1930s were largely a response to changes in the trends of the times as perceived by the Japanese elite. A perceived sense of an international legitimacy crisis and Japan's isolation after the Manchurian Incident was accelerated by the impact of changed world conditions. Regionalism became the trend of the time, making the creation of a regional order in East Asia a more feasible policy, in harmony with the flow of world opinion. As Iriye noted, "by 1931 all indications seem to suggest that the neo-mercantilist world-view of Matsuoka was more realistic than Shidehara's rational, laissez-faire image, which had apparently failed to produce tangible results." [11] The capitalist internationalism of the 1920s was not only denied altogether by Fascist Germany and Socialist Russia but also half-abandoned in the concept of the pan-American trade bloc and economic nationalism of the United States and the idea of the sterling trade bloc in England.[12] In short, Japan's policy shift from liberal internationalism to Asian regionalism could be considered a function just as much of other powers' policies in the changing international system of the late 1930s as of Japan's own domestic politics.

The end of the party cabinet system in 1932 and the increasing power of the military in political decisions created a discontinuity in the history of Japan's domestic political order in terms of democratic participation and popular expression. Japan continued to be a constitutional state, however, with normally functioning domestic politics in accordance with the intricacies of the Meiji Constitution.[13] In his study on the 1930s, Crowley refutes the idea of a conservative or right-wing takeover of the Japanese leadership by focusing on continuity in the "official mind" and the "decision-making process." Crowley shows that all the policy decisions of the Japanese government during the 1930s were made by responsible political and military leaders in the interest of national defense and national policy.[14]

The historiography that focuses on Japan's response to changes in the international environment attributes an important role to ideology and culture in shaping Japanese perceptions of world events, without limiting focus to right-wing or militarist groups. It is in this context that an Asianist worldview about world cultures and international order becomes relevant for determining the perceptions and decisions of Japanese leaders. Iriye has discussed the role of key notions such as isolation and self-sufficiency in the psychology of Japanese decision makers, showing how the perception that Japan stood uneasily between East and West influenced the policy-making mood.

In this view, the notions that the elite held concerning the threats and opportunities presented to Japan by the new global developments should thus be regarded as more significant than the impact of antiliberal right-wing movements associated with pan-Asianism. A similar approach attributes Japan's turn to anti-Westernism not to the influence of pan-Asianist groups in particular but rather to the general characteristics of Japanese nationalism. Hayashi Fusao's controversial assertion that the "Pacific War was one phase of an Asian Hundred Years' War to drive out the Occidental invader" presents a generalized formulation that portrays Asianist ideas as a permanent part of mainstream Japanese nationalism.[15] This emphasis on the anti-Western historical memory of Japanese nationalism depicts Asianism as a widely held conception about Japan's transnational identity rather than an exclusively radical ideology monopolized by ultranationalists or conservatives. Mark Peattie and James Crowley concur with Hayashi's assessment of the importance of anti-Western historical memory embedded in Japanese nationalism as an ideological factor, although they do not share his revisionist agenda.[16]

Since we know, however, that mainstream nationalism in Japan had changing perceptions of the West, it would be inaccurate to characterize anti-Westernism as a single constant position in the history of Japanese nationalism from the Opium War to the Greater East Asia War. Moreover, the Japanese intellectual elite remained closely linked to trends and ideas in Europe and the United States. During the 1930s, there was no new expansion of the West in Asia to which the surge in Japanese nationalism might be attributed; on the contrary, the West was perceived to be in a phase of global decline and retreat.[17] Thus the very assumption that there was a constant association between Japanese nationalism and resistance to Western expansion reflects the influence of the official pan-Asianist discourse of wartime Japan rather than accurately characterizing how images of the West and civilizational identity interacted with Japanese foreign policy.

### **Withdrawal from the League of Nations as a Turning Point**

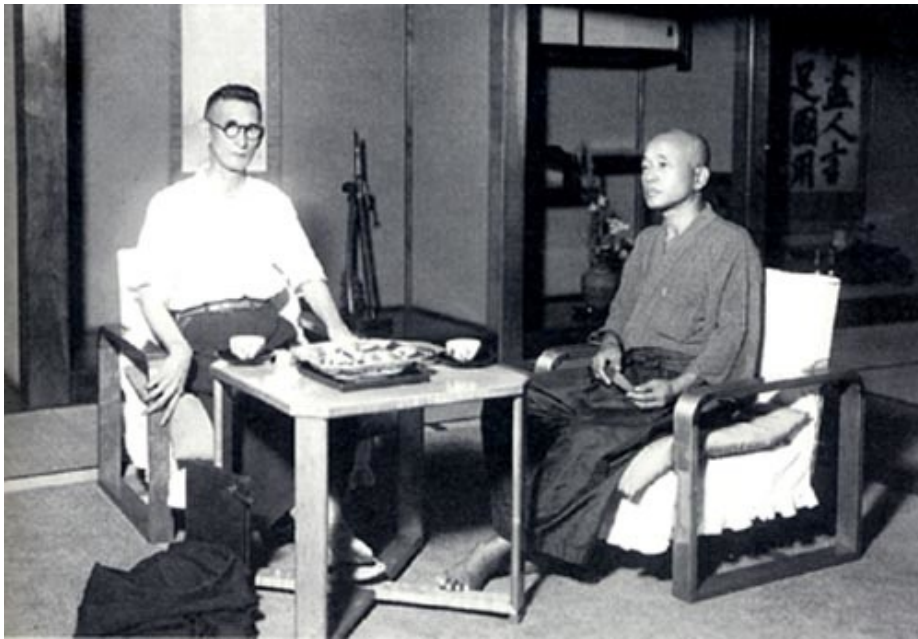
There had been pan-Asianists in Japan since the turn of the twentieth century, and some continued to work for the cause they believed in especially from 1905 to the 1930s, especially under the umbrella of patriotic Asianist organizations such as Kokuryūkai and Genyosha. These patriotic Asianists represented a minority, if not a marginal opinion, in shaping Japanese foreign policy. They often complained about the neglect to which they had been subjected by the Japanese elite. In the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident of 1931 and Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations the following year, however, traditional Asianists found a very receptive audience for their ideas among Japanese bureaucrats and army officers.

The story told by Wakabayashi Han, a Kokuryūkai Asianist who specialized in the Islamic world, is very telling in this regard. Wakabayashi became interested in the Muslim world after a visit to India with the Burmese Buddhist monk and anticolonial nationalist U. Ottama in 1912.[18] His discovery of Indian Muslims led him to undertake further research about Islam in Asia.[19] For twenty years, he worked closely with a small circle of Islam experts within Kokuryūkai led by Tanaka Ippei, arguing that if Japan could develop closer ties with the colonized Muslims of Asia, its efforts to become the leader of an awakening and independent Asia could benefit from Muslim support.[20] According to Wakabayashi, however, his small group neither achieved any result nor received any support from the government, and he became pessimistic about its future success.[21] Then in 1932 Tōyama Mitsuru and Uchida Ryōhei sent Wakabayashi to observe the meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva that addressed the question of recognizing the state of Manchukuo. There, Wakabayashi witnessed the decision of Japanese diplomats to withdraw from the league upon its refusal to recognize Manchukuo. It was only during his trip back to Japan, Wakabayashi notes, that he recognized a change of attitude toward his group's Asianist ideas on the part of Japanese military officers. In the long trip from Europe to Japan, he explained to Isogai Rensuke, a lieutenant colonel in the Japanese army the benefits that attention to the Muslim world could bring to Japan's East Asian policy. Isogai later contacted Wakabayashi and introduced him to Army Minister Araki Sadao.[22] Wakabayashi's story of what followed is a narrative of triumph, as the Japanese army began to implement a pan-Asianist Islam policy in China and supported the activities of the Kokuryūkai. It is clear from his story that Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations was a turning point in the Japanese government's attitude to the pan-Asianist ideas of Japan's cooperation with Muslim nationalities against the Western colonial presence. Autobiographical anecdotes of other pan-Asianist activists exhibit a similar pattern. The most influential pan-Asianist, Ōkawa Shūmei, had the similar experience of finding a surprising shift in Japanese official policy and intellectual life toward positions more to his liking in the mid-1930s, more than two decades after his initial commitment of the cause of Asianism.

Ōkawa Shūmei's biography during the 1930s took an ironic turn, as he was put on trial and imprisoned for his involvement in a failed military coup to change Japan's domestic politics at the very time his Asianist projects were receiving the support of the Japanese government. As head of the East Asia Economic Research Bureau of the Manchurian Railway Company after 1929, Ōkawa naturally was familiar with Japanese interests in Manchuria. Frequently visiting Manchuria and China, he came to know the leading military figures of the Kwantung Army personally. From 1929 onward, Ōkawa argued that a solution to the Manchurian problem was essential for both Asian revival and the reconstruction of Japan. In 1928 Ōkawa met with the Manchurian warlord Chang Hsueh-liang in an effort to convince him to form a stronger political union with Japan based on

“Confucian political values.”[23] Both a respected scholar of colonial studies and a radical nationalist, Ôkawa once gave a lecture on the necessity of creating an independent Manchuria-Mongolia to an audience that included top military officers of the 1930s, most notably, Itagaki Seishirô, Nagata Tetsuzan, and Tôjô Hideki.[24] He went on a lecture tour in Japan before and after the Manchurian Incident, expressing his conviction that Manchuria was not only a legitimate economic and security sphere for Japan but actually represented the lifeline of Japan’s national policy.

Like so many other Japanese intellectuals and leaders, Ôkawa was outspoken about the importance of protecting Japanese interests in Manchuria, and he favored radical action to secure these interests against the claims of Chinese nationalism. For Ôkawa, Japan’s “sacrifice” in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars created the historical legitimacy for its treaty privileges in Manchuria. Criticizing the anti-Japanese movement in China, Ôkawa argued that if Japan did not act to protect its rights in Manchuria, it would endanger its position in Korea and Taiwan as well. He condemned the Japanese leaders of the late 1920s for not being able to show the courage and determination necessary to find a long-term solution to the Manchurian problem because of their submissive commitment to international cooperation with the Western powers. His arguments can clearly be construed as offering encouragement for the radical actions orchestrated by the Kwantung Army.[25] Citing these facts, the prosecution at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal argued that there was a link between Ôkawa’s pan-Asianist ideas and the Manchurian Incident, a key step in constructing the ideological background of the tribunal’s thesis about the long-term Japanese conspiracy to invade Asia.[26]



**Okawa Shumei (left) and Ishihara Kanji**

It is impossible to attribute the Manchurian Incident or post-Manchurian Incident Japanese policies specifically to the ideology of the pan-Asianists. The fact that pan-Asianist Ôkawa Shûmei had lectured on the issue of Manchuria and had known some of the military leaders did not necessarily make him an ideologue of the Manchurian Incident, since there were many others, including those identified as liberals at the time, who advocated a similarly radical policy in Manchuria.[27] It is helpful to compare Ôkawa’s arguments on Manchuria with the writings of Rôyama Masamichi (1895–1980), a liberal intellectual of the time who was well respected internationally and influential in Japanese policy circles. Rôyama, who presented his analysis of Japan’s relations with Manchuria to an international audience affiliated with the Institute of Pacific Relations two years before the Manchurian Incident, held that Japan’s established interests in Manchuria deserved international approval.[28] In a later policy report on Manchuria, Rôyama placed blame for the Manchurian Incident on the existing international peace structures and the refusal to acknowledge the special relations between China and Japan, not on the actions of the Kwantung Army. Ôkawa’s writings about the need to defend Japanese rights in Manchuria against Chinese nationalist demands did not differ substantially from Rôyama’s insistence on the protection of Japan’s vital interests.[29]



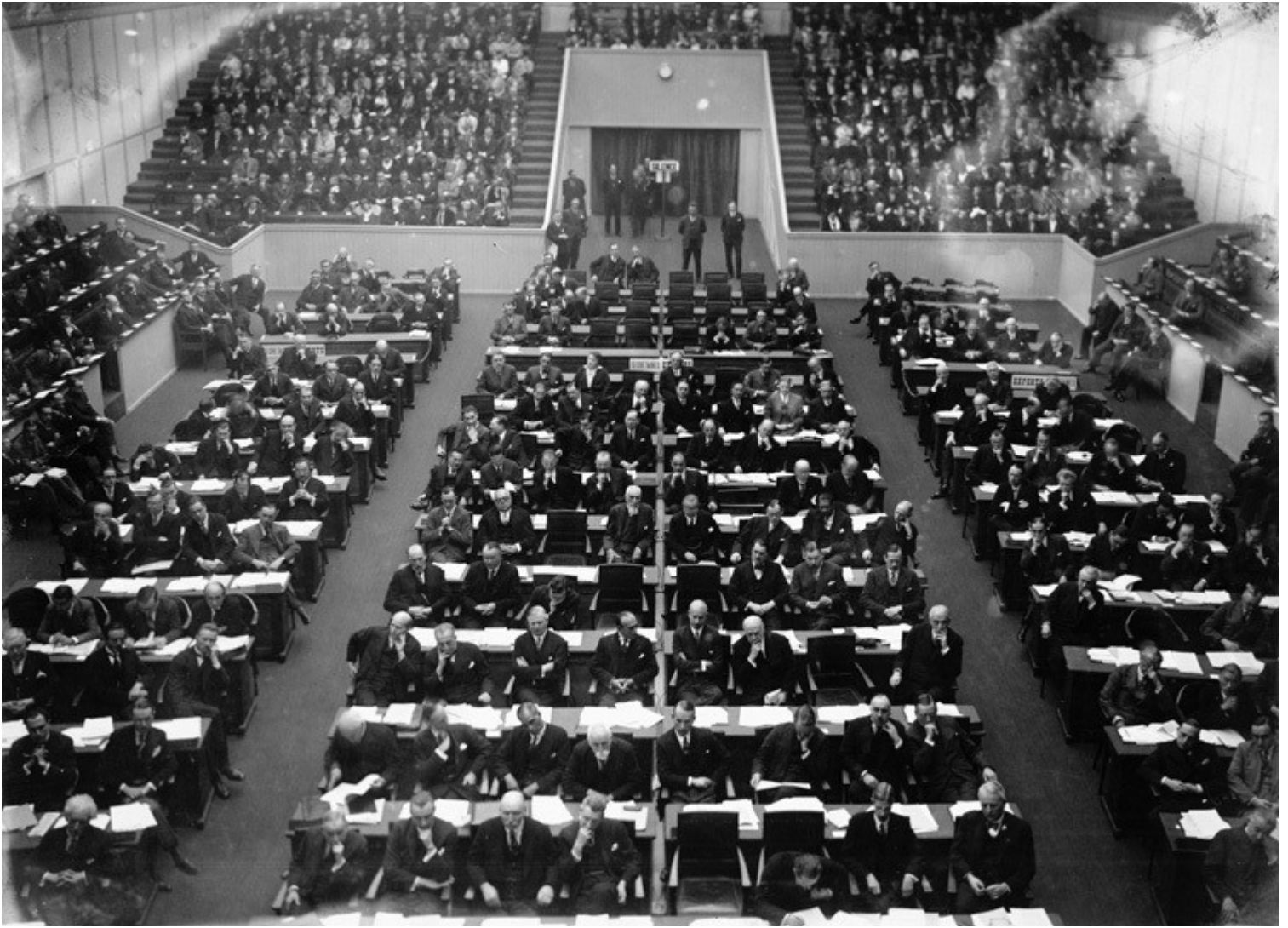


**Royama Masamichi**

The nature of the pan-Asianist approach to the Manchurian Incident became apparent only after the incident, when intellectuals like Ôkawa formulated laudatory characterizations of the establishment of Manchukuo both as a victory against the corruption of business conglomerates (zaibatsu) and political parties at home, and as a brave defense of Japan's continental policy against American, British, and Soviet opposition.[30] Ôkawa retroactively offered a moral justification for the Manchurian Incident within the framework of a pan-Asianist critique of Japan's foreign policy between 1905 and 1931. His interpretation of the incident as a correction of the misguided course of pro-Western diplomacy, especially since the Russo-Japanese War, differed significantly from Rôyama Masamichi's justification of the Manchurian Incident as a practical response to the changing conditions of the region. Ôkawa wrote:

Our victory over Russia inspired hope and courage in the countries exploited under the pressure of the Caucasian colonialists. But, before long, Japan gave in to the Franco-Japanese Agreement and the revised Anglo-Japanese Alliance, actions that shattered the hopes of noble Vietnamese and Indian patriots who sought independence for their countries. . . . However, the mistakes in Japanese policy were later rectified decisively by the foundation of Manchukuo. Japan abandoned cooperation with the Anglo-Americans, the chief instigators suppressing the Asian people. The foundation of Manchukuo was the first step in achieving a great "renascent Asia." [31]

Ôkawa similarly applauded Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations.[32] As shown in the previous chapter, Ôkawa had always regarded the league as an instrument of Western colonial powers and often urged the Japanese government to create a League of Asian Nations as an alternative.[33] After Japan's withdrawal from the league in 1933, Ôkawa's ideas seemed in harmony with the policies of the Japanese government for the first time in the history of his Asianist activism, dating back to 1913.



**League of Nations Assembly, 1932**

As the foreign policy Ôkawa had envisioned began to be implemented, he was put on trial for his involvement in the May 15, 1932, assassination of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi.[34] After his arrest on June 15, 1932, the court found Ôkawa guilty of providing guns and money to conspirators during the planning stage of the assassination. In February 1934, he received a fifteen-year prison sentence, however, between appeals and paroles he spent less than two years in prison, between June 1936 and October 1937.[35] Between 1931 to 1935, the dominant visions of Japanese foreign policy and domestic politics changed so dramatically that, by early 1935, Ôkawa no longer needed to work through secretive radical organizations to achieve his ideological goals. In February 1935, he marked the end of his career as an activist promoting the Shôwa Restoration in domestic politics and pan-Asianism in foreign policy by disbanding the last organization he established, Jinmukai.[36] Japan itself was approaching the state of military mobilization while endorsing an Asianist foreign policy agenda, making radical activism for the same purpose pointless.



Inukai Tsuyoshi

Although his image had been tarnished by his involvement in the May 15 assassination, shortly after his release from prison, Ôkawa was appointed to head the continental campus of Hôsei University. In May 1938, he was reinstated to his position as director of the East Asia Economic Research Bureau in Tokyo. Back in his position of managing one of the largest research institutes in Japan, he actively promoted a pan-Asianist agenda with the journal he edited, entitled *Shin Ajia* (New Asia). His position as editor allowed him to observe, comment on, and influence Japan's Asia policy in the period following the official declaration of the "New Order in East Asia" in November 1938.[37] In his first editorial, published just a month before the German invasion of Poland, Ôkawa predicted that the outbreak of war in Europe would usher in a new era in which nationalist movements in Asia would find their chance to achieve independence. He also urged the Japanese government to support these anticolonial movements with the goal of accelerating their process of national liberation and simultaneously creating future allies for Japan. Pointing out that Japan's mission in Asia was gaining greater urgency, Ôkawa expressed his hope that the Japanese public, which was not knowledgeable even about the recent developments in China, would become better informed about the conditions and peoples of Asia in general.[38]

As the Japanese government began to use the slogan "New Order in East Asia" to describe its foreign policy, Ôkawa became concerned about the Japanese public's lack of preparedness, in terms of their knowledge about Asian societies and cultures, for a serious pan-Asian policy. In order to educate young Japanese about the culture and politics of Asia and prepare them for positions in the service of Japan, Ôkawa received government funds to establish a special school offering instruction in Asian studies. The two-year professional school, the most concrete product of Ôkawa's Asianist vision, was established in May 1938 as a teaching institute affiliated with the East Asian Economic Research Bureau in Tokyo, with funds from the Manchurian Railway Company, the army, and the Foreign Ministry. All expenses of the admitted students were paid by the school, which was widely known as the Ôkawa Juku (Ôkawa School), although it was named the Shôwa Gogaku Kenkyûjo (Shôwa Language Research Institute). In return for receiving tuition and a stipend for two years, the students were obligated to work for the Japanese government in overseas regions such as Southeast Asia for approximately ten years. Each year, the school recruited twenty students around the age of seventeen. In their first year, students had to learn either English or French as their primary foreign language, along with an additional language to be selected from among Hindu, Urdu, Thai, and Malay. After the second year of the school, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish were added to the elective language course offerings.

The Ôkawa Juku represented a practical implementation of Ôkawa Shûmei's long-held pan-Asianist vision of merging a colonial cultural policy with anticolonial ideology. He aimed to educate a body of Japanese bureaucrats who could understand the culture and language of Asian peoples and take a position of leadership among them. According to his students, Ôkawa often noted the



apparent unreadiness of the Japanese Empire for a great pan-Asian cause, underlining the urgency he perceived in his teaching mission. He encouraged students to form personal friendship with Asian peoples and establish bonds of solidarity that would last even if Japan lost the war.[39]

A retrospective assessment of Japan's wartime cultural policies in newly occupied Southeast Asia shows that, with a few exceptions, cultural policies were in fact developed ad hoc by administrators faced with the reality of ruling a large population they knew little about.[40] Ôkawa Juku complemented the other Asianist program that brought students from Southeast Asia to Japan for training. Most of the graduating students of Ôkawa Juku did find employment in the military administration of the Southeast Asian region during the era of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere.[41]

The content of pan-Asianist education at Ôkawa Juku reflected a synthesis between the scholarly-idealistic vision of Asian liberation and pragmatic goals of Japan's wartime military expansion. Ôkawa himself taught classes on colonial history, the "Japanese spirit," Islam, and Oriental history. His lecture notes for the classes entitled "History of Modern European Colonialism" and "Introduction to Islam" later became the basis for books with these titles. Students praised Ôkawa as a dedicated educator, citing his informative and clear lectures, his hard work, and his close relationship with students.[42] From time to time, high-ranking army generals such as Doihara Kenji, Itagaki Seishirô, Matsui Iwane, Tôjô Hideki, and Okamura Seiji would visit the Ôkawa Juku and lecture students on Japan's Asia policy.[43] Indian nationalist Rash Behari Bose and Muslim immigrant from Russia Qurban Ali were among the part-time language and history instructors of the school, giving students a firsthand encounter with the anticolonial nationalist thinking of Asian exiles in Japan. It was during this time that Ôkawa pioneered Japan's rapidly growing field of Islamic studies not only through his own writings but also by supporting young scholars and purchasing library collections on Islamic studies from Europe in his capacity as director of the East Asia Economic Research Institute.[44]



**Qurban Ali (standing, second left) with Inukai Tsuyoshi (seated, second left) and Toyama Mitsuru (seated, second right).**

It would be mistaken to assume that, before Pearl Harbor, Japan's Asianists advocated war with the United States based on their vision of East-West conflict. From the time of the Manchurian Incident in July 1937 to the Pearl Harbor attack in December 1941, for example, Ôkawa Shûmei cautioned against entering into conflict with the United States while advocating a southern advance by Japan that would target the colonies of Britain, France, and the Netherlands in Southeast Asia. With this goal in mind, he urged a quick resolution to the Sino-Japanese conflict. Particularly as pan-Asianists became aware of an approaching war in Europe, with all the implications that such a war carried for the colonized areas in Asia, they found renewed faith in Asia's ultimate rise to independence; destiny seemed to have presented Japan with an ideal opportunity to lead the liberation of Asia from Western colonialism. For pan-Asianists, a southern advance was as much a practical opportunity as it was a moral imperative, since neither the British nor the Dutch were in a position to resist Japanese military pressure, particularly if Japan could act in cooperation with native nationalist movements in Southeast Asia. It is in this spirit that Ôkawa Shûmei proposed the creation of a Southeast [Asian] Common Cooperative Region (Tônan Kyôdôken) to secure the political and economic unity of liberated Southeast Asia with Japan. With this historical opportunity, there could emerge a new world order based on three regional blocs, Euro-Africa, America, and East-Southeast Asia.[45] Meanwhile, realizing the danger that cooperation between Europe and America could present to Japan, Ôkawa Shûmei advocated a policy of keeping the United States neutral.[46] He refrained from making anti-American statements in his editorials and urged the improvement of economic ties, especially with joint projects in Manchuria and China, in a bid to secure U.S. neutrality in the event of a future British-Japanese conflict.

Thus, from 1938 up until the Pearl Harbor attack, Ôkawa Shûmei was involved in a project of developing trade ties between Japan and the United States. There had been an economic diplomacy toward the United States that aimed at cooperation in the industrialization of Manchuria between 1937 and 1940.[47] Endorsing Ishiwara Kanji's vision of the creation of a self-sufficient military industry in Manchukuo, but recognizing the insufficiency of the machine tool industry in the region, military and industrial leaders in Manchuria aimed to attract a higher level of U.S. investment and technology. In fact, Manchuria became more heavily

dependent on American capital and technology than it was on European investments. Beyond the goal of industrializing Manchuria, Ayukawa Yoshisuke, the president of the Manchurian Industrial Development Corporation and the founder of the Nissan conglomerate, also hoped to avoid war between the United States and Japan by fostering mutual economic ties.

Ôkawa Shûmei's personal commitment to the improvement of economic relations with the United States stemmed more from his interest in U.S. neutrality than from considerations of economic rationality. He believed it was possible for Japan to avoid U.S. intervention in its confrontation with the Chinese Nationalist government and the European colonial powers. It was Ôkawa's expectation that the strong trade relationships and joint investments they shared with Japan in Manchuria would lead the Americans to withdraw their support from the Nationalist government of China. In making these policy suggestions, Ôkawa relied on his assumptions about the American national character as being concerned primarily with business interests rather than principled foreign policies. He also considered that the United States had less to lose by giving up its support for the government of Chiang Kai-shek than Britain did.[48] With these assessments and goals, Ôkawa became personally involved in an effort by the Pan-Pacific Trading and Navigation Company to barter mineral ores from China for gasoline from the United States. His project failed as a result of difficulties with the intricacies of U.S. trade regulations. Nevertheless, Ôkawa's desire to insulate the U.S. from Japan's war in China, in addition to his willingness to make use of U.S. trade in the development of Manchuria, should be noted as an indication that he was not, at least where practical policy matters were concerned, a consistent advocate of an inevitable war between the United States and Japan.[49]

Once the fighting between the United States and Japan began, however, Ôkawa Shûmei immediately took on the task of offering a historical justification for the war as Japan's response to a century of Anglo-American aggression in East Asia. He preferred the term "Anglo-American aggression" to "Western aggression," a contemporary expression that allowed pan-Asianist thinkers to exclude Germany from their anti-Western rhetoric. Even so, when Ôkawa discussed the historical and philosophical basis of the Greater East Asia War, he again spoke about the confrontation of East and West as if China did not belong to the East or Germany to the West. It was during his radio lectures on this topic delivered between December 14 and December 25 of 1941, that Ôkawa credited himself for the prophecy he had made back in 1924 in his book "Asia, Europe and Japan" of an inevitable war between Eastern and Western civilizations, represented by Japan and the United States. He described the books purposes as follows:

first, to let the pacifists reconsider their wrong attitude by clarifying the historical significance of war; second, to show that world history, in its true sense of the word, is nothing but a chronicle of antagonism, struggle and unification between the Orient and the Occident; third, to reveal the cultural characteristics of the East and the West which had been blended into the history of the world; fourth, to give a logical foundation to Pan-Asianism; last, but not least, to point out that a war is inevitable between the East and the Anglo-American powers for the establishment of a new world. Moreover, I tried to clarify the sublime mission of Japan in the coming world war. I concluded the book as follows: "Now, East and West have respectively attained their ultimate goals. . . . As history fully proves, in creating a new world, a life-and-death struggle between the champion of the East and that of the West is inevitable. This logic proved true when America challenged Japan." My prediction proved correct after the passage of 16 years.[50]

Such self-promoting references to his prediction of Japan's war with the United States led to Ôkawa's indictment at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal.[51] During the trial, he pointed out that his writings in 1924 did not necessarily constitute a plan for a Japanese attack, as he was merely commenting on the inevitability of war between civilizations based on the ideas of the Russian philosopher Soloviev.[52] In fact, he offered a more historical reinterpretation of his 1924 clash of civilization thesis while under U.S. interrogation. Albeit for opportunistic reasons, pan-Asianists opposed war with the United States before 1941. Moreover, in the aftermath of the Immigration Act of 1924, theories of a clash between the USA and Japan was a popular topic beyond Asianist circles. Yet the easy transition by the pan-Asianists to clash of civilization theories to justify the war with the United States in the immediate aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attack also signifies the flexible utilization of the ideas of Eastern and Western civilization, and the historical memory of Western colonialism, for the ends of Japan's own imperial expansion.

Asianist Journals and Organizations

From the Manchurian Incident in 1931 to the end of WWII, Ôkawa Shûmei was only one of the many intellectual voices trying to clarify the content and goals of the ambivalent notion of Asian solidarity and Japan's Asian mission. Especially after Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, activities related to the ideals and discourse of pan-Asianism gained momentum as support from the government, the military, and business circles increased. There was a significant gap, however, between the discourse of civilization reducing all global conflicts to a question of clashes between distinct races or major civilizations and the reality of the state of international affairs. Around the time of the Russo-Japanese War, a vision of racial solidarity and civilizational alliance seemed to be an appealing international strategy for the political projects of the rising nationalist movements, which perceived a united policy in the West of imperialism toward their Asian colonies. During the late 1930s, however, the Western world no longer seemed such a unified front as a result of sharp political and ideological divisions in Europe. And Japan's challenge to the international order was not based on racial divisions, either. Within East Asia, the major conflict was not between East and West but between Japanese imperialism, on the one hand, and Chinese and Korean nationalism, on the other.

From 1933 onward, there was a dramatic increase in the number of Asianist organizations, publications, and events. They aimed

not only at demonstrating the sincerity of Japan's "return to Asia" but also at guarding against a perceived state of international isolation for Japan after its withdrawal from the League of Nations. Asianist publications and events also aimed at convincing both the Japanese public and Asian nationalists that civilizational and racial distinctions were in fact to be regarded as the primary consideration in international relations. But the empty repetition of slogans about the conflict between civilizations and races did not succeed in creating any substantial ideology able to account for the complex global politics of the 1930s. Instead, Asianism became less and less credible in the face of Japan's full-scale war against Chinese nationalism. Realizing this, Asianists pursued ideological credibility by attempting to revive and reinvent the legacy of the early Asian internationalism dating back to the period from 1905 to 1914. At the same time, liberal and socialist converts to Asianism during the late 1930s infused new content and vigor into the nearly exhausted concept of Asian community and solidarity.

The reinvention of pan-Asianist ideology following the Manchurian Incident can best be seen in the sudden increase in the number of Asianist journals and organizations supported by military, political, and business authorities. In 1933, the same year Japan left the League of Nations, Rash Behari Bose and Qurban Ali, two Asianist exiles who had lived in Japan during the 1920s, began to receive funding for the purpose of publishing journals addressed to India and the Muslim World. Rash Behari Bose published *The New Asia-Shin Ajia*, a monthly periodical in a dual English- and Japanese-language format.[53] The government of India banned the entry and sale of *The New Asia* within the territories it controlled.[54] The journal seemed to have supporters in Southeast Asia, as evidenced by the contact between Indonesian nationalist leader Muhammed Hatta and Rash Behari Bose.[55]

Almost half the journal was devoted to coverage of news about the Indian independence movement, taking a tone sympathetic to the radical wing led by Subhas Chandra Bose.[56] Neither Japanese pan-Asianism nor *The New Asia*, however, received support from such prominent leaders of the Indian national movement as Gandhi, Nehru, Tagore, and Subhas Chandra Bose, all of whom were very critical of Japanese aggression in China. Despite the absence of interest in a Japan-centered pan-Asianist vision among Indian nationalists, the journal referred to the pro-Japanese statement by Tagore back in 1916, even though Tagore had radically changed his views of Japan by the 1930s.[57] Even Taraknath Das, the one Indian nationalist who bestowed great hopes on Japan's leadership of Asian nationalism during WWI, wrote to *The New Asia* that Japan had done nothing to improve Indo-Japanese relations for about two decades, expressing skepticism over the motivations behind Japan's attempt to "return to Asia" after such a long period of indifference to nationalist movements.[58]

*The New Asia* included international news from the perspective of the East-West conflict and domestic news on the activities of various Asianist associations in Japan, such as the visits to Tokyo of Asian or African American figures of repute, or the awarding of scholarships to students from Asia.[59] The journal refrained from publishing any news or articles critical of the creation of Manchukuo and maintained silence on the subject of Chinese nationalism. After discussing the Sino-Japanese conflict in a tone of regret, Rash Behari Bose suggested that India should mediate between the two nations to reach a peaceful settlement.[60] With regard to the clash of civilizations and races, articles in *The New Asia* emphasized that what Asians wanted was national liberation, with the possibility of a racial conflict thus depending entirely on the attitude that the Western powers chose to assume toward the independence movements.[61]

The non-white peoples are now conscious of the distressing fact that they have hitherto been mercilessly exploited and inhumanly humiliated. The intensity of this consciousness is the measure of their challenge to the white man. One thing is certain, and that is that the East and the West cannot coalesce, unless the West fully realizes its immeasurable folly of race-superiority consciousness, completely abandons its mischievous policy of exploitation, and immediately makes ample amends for the untold wrongs it has inflicted on the non-white peoples of the earth.[62]

In *The New Asia*'s editorials on Japanese foreign policy, Rash Behari Bose urged the Japanese government to cooperate with the United States, China, and the Soviet Union in a move to eliminate British colonial control in Asia. For him, Britain was the root of all problems in the region, including Japan's isolation in the international community. As early as 1934, Behari Bose warned that Japan needed to maintain good relations with the United States, as only Britain would benefit from a conflict between that country and Japan: "Britain is not able to fight Japan singly and therefore waiting for her opportunity, when Japan may be involved in a war with America. . . . An American-Japanese War will weaken these two great powers who are serious rivals of Great Britain. Those Americans and Japanese who are real patriots should do their best to promote American-Japanese friendship." [63]

While Rash Behari Bose edited a journal addressing primarily India, Qurban Ali was publishing *Yani Yapon Muhbiri* (New Japan journal), which aimed its message at the Muslim world.[64] Although the journal was in Turkish, the cover page of the magazine included a Japanese subtitle, describing it as "the only journal that introduces Japan to the Muslim world." Several Japanese companies provided support to the small Muslim community in Tokyo for their efforts in the publication of *Yani Yapon Muhbiri*, which was seen as an effective means for the creation of an information network linking Japan and the Muslim world. In spite of the journal's limited circulation, the very fact that Tokyo was hosting a magazine published by Muslims was expected to have propaganda value in cultivating pro-Japanese sentiments within a Muslim audience.

Around the same time that *Yani Yapon Muhbiri* began publication in 1933, several other attempts at networking with the Muslim world were promoted with the support of the Japanese army in Manchuria. These new attempts benefited from the contacts Kokuryûkai had established in the Muslim world and the Turkish Tatar diaspora network in East Asia. In a daring experiment in 1933, a prince from the abolished Ottoman dynasty, Abdül Kerim Efendi (1904–1935) was invited to Japan, presumably to



consider his potential contribution to Japan's policy toward the Muslims of Central Asia in case of a conflict with the Soviet Union. Although the plan was soon abandoned, it exemplified the reckless and unrealistic projects that Asianists were willing to consider at the expense of jeopardizing Japan's diplomatic relations with the Turkish Republic.[65] In the same year, Abdurreid Ābrahīm, the famous pan-Islamist whose travel memoirs more than two decades earlier had popularized a pro-Japanese image in the Muslim world, currently leading an isolated and uneventful life in Turkey, received an invitation to visit Tokyo. Ābrahīm collaborated with the Asianist projects reaching out to the Muslim world until his death in 1944 in Tokyo.[66]

It was also in 1933 that several high-level military and civilian leaders established the Greater Asia Association (Dai Ajia Kyōkai). [67] The Greater Asia Association not only promoted regional unity in East Asia but also advocated solidarity among West and Southeast Asian societies. Konoe Fumimaro, General Matsui Iwane, and General Ishiwara Kanji were among its prominent members.[68] The Greater Asia Association published a monthly journal titled Dai Ajia Shugi (Greater Asianism), which became the most important pan-Asianist journal during that period, offering a wide range of news and opinion articles covering all of Asia, including Muslim West Asia, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia. Ōkawa Shūmei, Nakatani Takeyo,[69] Rash Behari Bose and many Asianist figures in the military frequently wrote for this journal. The content and discourse of Dai Ajia Shugi became an influential source in shaping the official language of pan-Asianism during the late 1930s, influencing the "New Order in East Asia" proclamation of the Konoe Fumimaro cabinet in 1938.[70]



**Toyama Mitsuru honors Rash Behari Bose**

The discourse of Asian identity represented in Dai Ajia Shugi was perfectly in harmony with the broader Asia view of Ōkawa Shūmei's ideology, as it seemed to regard India and the Muslim world as just as important as East and Southeast Asia. Taking this continental Asia perspective, Dai Ajia Kyōkai made an important contribution to Asianist thought with its introduction of news and information about the political, economic, and social trends of the entire Asian world, from China and India to Iran and Turkey.[71] In foreign policy, Dai Ajia Shugi was highly anti-British and, strikingly, not anti-American. Discussions of the conflict and clash of interests between England and Japan started as early as 1933,[72] and gradually the journal's call for a new world order turned to a more radical rejection of European hegemony in Asia. The journal, however, did not carry any vision of conflict with the United States that could have indicated the path to war. Beginning in 1938, it actively promoted the concept of "New Asia," offering enthusiastic intellectual support for the government's declaration of the "New Order in East Asia." [73]

Despite the journal's endorsement of cooperation among Asian nations, there was no genuine dialogue with Asian intellectuals and nationalist movements in the pages of Dai Ajia Shugi. When it claimed to present an Asian perspective, the journal always consulted the same small group of exiled nationalists in Japan.[74] This artificial perspective tended to give the journal a self-congratulatory tone, which became typical of Japanese pan-Asianism during the late 1930s; Japanese readers received the impression that Asian nationalists eagerly looked to Japan for leadership. In reality, expectation of Japanese leadership against Western colonialism was much weaker among the nationalist movements of the 1930s compared to the period in the aftermath of 1905. Still, the journal tried to convince the Japanese public that pan-Asianism could be a plausible and positive alternative to the declining Eurocentric world order in Asia.[75]

In addition to the boom of journals and organizations, an increasing degree of networking with different Asian countries took place, primarily involving students and intellectuals. When one of Indonesia's most prominent nationalist leaders, Muhammad Hatta, visited Japan in 1933, he was showered with media attention and received an enthusiastic welcome from the Greater Asia Association as the "Gandhi of the Netherlands East Indies." Hatta had previously expressed criticism of Japanese imperialism in China following the Manchurian Incident; however, after his trip, he moderated his position on the Japanese "return to Asia" and

advocated Indonesian cooperation with the liberal, progressive, and idealistic segments of Japanese society, suggesting that Indonesian nationalists should challenge the Japanese to be sincere in their pan-Asianist rhetoric. During his visit to Japan in the fall of 1935, Ahmad Subardjo, another Indonesian nationalist leader, expressed his belief that Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations and the revival of the pan-Asianist discourse represented a very positive turning point in Asian history. It is important to note that, despite their cautious approach to Japan's official Asianism, neither Hatta nor Subardjo had anything positive to say about the League of Nations.[76] Meanwhile, various Asianist organizations tried to increase the number of Indonesian students attending Japanese universities, with most of these students becoming members of pan-Asianist organizations during their stays in Japan.

In 1934 the Japanese government established a semiofficial agency, Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (Society for International Cultural Relations), with the purpose of introducing Japanese culture to other parts of the world and improving cultural ties with European, American, and Asian societies.[77] Although the initial focus of the organization emphasized Europe and the United States, Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai gradually expanded the funding it devoted to cultural interactions with Asian societies.[78]

As the number of cultural and political associations, journals, and books focusing on Asia grew dramatically after 1933, the Japanese public's interpretation of international events began to be shaped more by their consciousness of racial difference and Asian identity. The best example of the power that an internationalist race identity held over the Japanese imagination was the popular reaction to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, when strong pro-Ethiopian sentiments caused problems for Japan's diplomatic relations with Italy. The mainstream Japanese media was full of anti-Italian and pro-Ethiopian commentaries, with references to the conflict as another instance of the struggle between the white race and colored races.[79] Such overwhelming sympathy for the Ethiopian resistance caused diplomatic tension between Japan and Italy, despite the Japanese Foreign Ministry's policy of keeping good relations with Italy.[80] Meanwhile, the highly pro-Ethiopian public response to the Ethiopian crisis attracted the attention of African American intellectuals, prompting a visit to Japan by W. E. B. Du Bois. The warm reception Du Bois met during his 1936 visit to Manchuria and Japan, combined with his perception of a genuine Japanese public interest in the struggle of Africans and African Americans, convinced him of the sincerity behind Japan's claim for leadership of the colored races. Du Bois continued to write about the legitimacy of Japan's actions in Asia in the framework of the importance of race in international affairs, even in the face of Japanese atrocities in China. Predictably, pro-Japanese comments by Du Bois received great coverage in Japanese papers in a self-righteous affirmation of Japanese policies.[81]



7090 24/164

### Du Bois in Japan

Overall, the small group of Japan's Asian collaborators, together with the Asian and African American intellectuals who expressed support for Japan's Asianist projects, were very important in allowing Japanese intellectuals to convince themselves that their ideas of the New Order in East Asia and the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere were different from Western imperialism. As Naoki Sakai has pointed out, the ideologues of Japan's official pan-Asianism manifested a kind of "narcissism" that impelled them repeatedly to quote those individuals who praised the Japanese or who hoped to receive support from Japan against Western colonial rule.[82] Through magnification of these manifestations of pro-Japanese expressions, many of which dated back to the decade after the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese leaders depicted the Japanese Empire as a Coprosperity Sphere that purported to represent the will of all its colonial subjects.

When Japan first began the process of colonizing Taiwan and Korea and received rights in Manchuria, its policies could be justified in international law through references to the ideals of progress and development favored by other colonial powers. In

the starkly different international climate of the 1930s, the vocabulary of benevolent colonialism had to be replaced by the discourse of pan-Asian solidarity to justify Japanese imperialism. By 1940 there were many Japanese, especially in the young generation, who believed in their Asian identity and the discourses of Asian liberation propagated by multiple sources within Japan.[83]

### **Asianist Ideology of the 1930s**

Pan-Asianism did not have a defined ideology or a systematic doctrine. Formulating an ideology that was both realistic and intellectually appealing proved to be the greatest challenge faced by official Asianism in the 1930s. Early pan-Asianism derived its appeal from its opposition to the intellectual foundations of the Eurocentric international order while claiming to be in harmony with Japan's national interest through the idea of regional leadership in the project of an Asian Monroe Doctrine. In the 1930s, when pan-Asianist ideology took on a more assertive challenge to the Eurocentric world order, a new generation of intellectuals struggled to inject a degree of international legitimacy and realism into the idea of Asianism by modifying the content of the racial conflict thesis with reference to regionalism and geopolitics. Moreover, a strong tide of intellectual critiques of Western modernity during the 1930s ended up strengthening the anti-Western discourse of pan-Asianism.

The charter of Dai Ajia Kyôkai, promulgated in 1933 after Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, was a far cry from the cautious language of the early Asian Monroe Doctrine developed during the 1910s:

In culture, politics, economics, geography, and race, Asia is a body of common destiny. The true peace, prosperity, and development of Asian peoples are feasible only on the basis of their consciousness of Asia as one entity and an organic union thereof. . . . The heavy responsibility for reconstruction and ordering of Asia rests upon the shoulders of Imperial Japan. . . . now is the time for Japan to concentrate all its cultural, political, economic, and organizational power to take one step toward the reconstruction and union in Asia. . . . The formulation of the Greater Asia Federation is the historical mission facing the Japanese people today.[84]

In the early stages after Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, scholars of international relations such as Kamikawa Hikomatsu and Rôyama Masamichi criticized the idea of Great Asianism advocated by Dai Ajia Kyôkai, calling it both unrealistic and anachronistic. They suggested that instead of pursuing an anti-Western vision of Asian solidarity, Japan should create a Far Eastern League using the League of Nations as its model. This plan was based on a liberal internationalist agenda without any emphasis on the primacy of race and civilization.[85] At that stage, scholars like Rôyama Masamichi were maintaining their resistance to an increasingly pervasive Asianist tendency to analyze and reorder Japan's relations with the rest of the world in terms of racial and civilizational blocs and conflicts among them. Rôyama noted that he deliberately decided "not to give a leading position to the question of race and culture" in his writings and policy suggestions.[86] In the end, however, Rôyama capitulated to this convention, offering realpolitik substance to the slogans of official pan-Asianism. He incorporated the idea of a distinct East Asian culture in his elaborate support of the New Order in East Asia, although it is true that the core of his arguments relied more on the concepts of regionalism.[87] Japan's liberal intellectuals could redefine the idea of East Asian community (kyôdôtai) as a form of regionalism that would bring about a rationalization of economic and social interaction in the region.[88]

Because of harsh critiques from leading Asian nationalists, such as Gandhi and Nehru, of Japanese policies in China during the 1930s, official Asianism was based on highly repetitive references to the events and ideas of the Asian internationalism of the 1905–1914 period, when there was an interest in Japanese leadership in different parts of Asia. One of the best examples of this attempt to overcome the emptiness of an imposed notion of Asian unity through references to early Asianism can be seen in the response Ôkawa Shûmei offered to the condemnation of Japanese Asianism by leaders of the Indian National Congress. Even at the time when Japan was sponsoring the Indian National Army's fight against British rule, both Gandhi and Nehru denounced Japanese colonialism. In an open letter to them, Ôkawa recounted his experiences during WWI in joining Indian nationalists to campaign for the liberation of India, regardless of Japan's pro-Western policy at the time of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. For Ôkawa, this historical background of Indian-Japanese collaboration showed that the ideals of official pan-Asianism during the Greater East Asia War had altruistic historical roots, reflecting a genuine interest in aiding the decolonization of Asia.[89] It was during such a search for the historical roots of Asianism that Okakura Tenshin was made an icon of pan-Asian thought. All of Okakura's works, including a previously unpublished manuscript from his 1901 trip to India called *Awakening of the East*, were published in both English and Japanese editions between 1938 and 1945.[90] In the same quest to reinvent early Asian internationalism, books by Ôkawa Shûmei, Paul Richard, and Taraknath Das from the period of WWI were reprinted after more than twenty years.[91]





**Okakura Tenshin**

It was the presence of new converts from the socialist and liberal intellectual traditions, however, that injected new energy and vitality to Asianism. In the writings of Miki Kiyoshi, a leading member of the Shōwa Kenkyūkai, we can see the Asianist discourse of civilization in its most sophisticated formulation, polished with the German tradition of the philosophy of history.[92] According to Miki, the over-Westernization of world cultures and the Eurocentric character of the social sciences posed a global political problem. Borrowing the self-critique of European thought during the interwar period, Miki expressed the conviction that Western civilization was in the process of self-destruction and could no longer dominate the fate of Asia. From this observation, he proceeded to the conclusion that Japan should uphold its civilizational mission to facilitate Asian unity and cooperation and eliminate Western colonialism. For Miki, Asian cooperation under Japanese leadership would serve the interests of peace and harmony, as well as liberation and racial equality.[93]



**Miki Kiyoshi (second left) at a meeting of the Shōwa Kenkyūkai**

Miki's arguments drew on reflections on modernity and Eurocentrism in the writings of the interwar era in both Europe and Japan. Ultimately, however, they resembled the ideas of Okakura Tenshin and Ōkawa Shūmei in their basic tenet, namely, belief in the collapse of the Eurocentric world order and the corresponding necessity to offer an alternative order based on Asian values and political solidarity. Other converts to Asianism, such as the famous socialists Sano Manabu, Nabeyama Sadachika, and Akamatsu Katsumaro, offered their own interpretations of the content of pan-Asianist thought.[94] These former socialists described their perception of the world in terms of a division into a proletarian East and a bourgeois West. It was their belief that the fusion between the West, "reorganized by the proletariat," and the East, "awakened through the influence of Pan-Asianism," would create a new world order that would finally establish world peace and unity.[95] Their retreat from Comintern socialism was accompanied by a shift in allegiance to Asian internationalism.

What united the ideology of such diverse groups and figures as the Greater Asia Association, Ōkawa Shūmei, and the new

converts to Asianism such as Miki Kiyoshi, was the discourse of civilization central to all their arguments. Victor Koschmann have accounted for the differences among these pan-Asianist visions by making a distinction between esoteric and exoteric versions of Asianism. According to Koschmann, popular organizations such as the Greater Asia Association presented the exoteric Asianism that had the power to appeal to Japanese public opinion, while Shōwa Research Institute intellectuals such as Miki Kiyoshi produced an esoteric version of Asianism that was more relevant to rational policy making and legitimization in the eyes of the presumed world public opinion. East-West civilization discourse, however, united both the more sophisticated scholarly elaborations of Asianism and those that appealed to the broader domestic public opinion. This explains the striking similarities between the pan-Asianist ideas of Ōkawa Shūmei and Miki Kiyoshi, despite their dramatically different intellectual and political backgrounds. Very much like Ōkawa Shūmei, Miki Kiyoshi based his argument on the conviction that Eurocentrism or Western civilization had to be overcome, while the civilizational legacy of Asia could become the basis for an alternative. Gradually, these ideas turned into well-known slogans, frequently repeated if not always clearly defined. The following ambiguous formulation by the Greater Asia Association summed up the slogans that were common to all versions of Asianism: "It goes without saying that the cultures of Europe are incapable of rescuing themselves any more, much less the world at large. The new potential power lies with the third civilization. It makes both Eastern and Western civilizations come alive through 'musubi' or harmonious combination. This is what can produce a new order in China, and Japan may rightfully serve as a catalyst for this combination." [96]

The central tension in world politics, according to this Asianist discourse of civilization, was between East and West, and thus Asianism helped serve to reduce all world conflicts to this reductionist framework. Once the war between Japan and the United States started, such rhetoric served a very useful political purpose by placing the focus on the conflict with the Western powers and covering up the sense of guilt some Japanese may otherwise have felt about their country's aggression in China. Thus a great number of Japanese intellectuals may have felt relieved after the outbreak of war with the USA. They could mobilize their ideas for the glorification and justification of the Pacific War in the name of overcoming modernity and East-West confrontation. For example, the participants in the famous wartime conference "Overcoming Modernity" utilized a wide array of philosophies and theories to link Japan's military conflict with the intellectual attempts to overcome the problems of Eurocentric modernity. [97] It was thus the intellectual legacy of early Asianism in the form of a discourse of Asian civilization that created similarities between the ideology of old-time Asianists such as Ōkawa Shūmei and that of the new converts to Asianism during the 1930s, whose disparate beliefs converged in their obsessive and constant blaming of the imagined West for the problems of the international order.

### **Wartime Asian Internationalism and Its Postwar Legacy**

Throughout the Pacific War, pan-Asianists like Ōkawa Shūmei devoted all their energies to the service of the Japanese state and the project of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere. In addition to publishing books and journals advocating the ideals of Asianism, Ōkawa continued to head the administration of the East Asian Economic Research Institute and to run his professional school. [98] Among these efforts, he saw it as particularly important to clarify Japan's war aims and explain the origins and goals of the Greater East Asia War. The main Asianist project Ōkawa closely followed during the war was the establishment of the Indian National Army, an event that gave a sense of final achievement to Ōkawa after three decades of advocating Japanese support for Indian independence.

The creation of the Indian National Army (INA) in 1942, with its ranks composed of Indian soldiers from the surrendered British troops in Singapore, became the most memorable project to embody pan-Asianist slogans. The INA was intended to fight alongside the Japanese army against the British forces at the Burmese-Indian border. It is now clear that the initial success of the Japanese plans for the creation of an Indian army can be attributed more to the contributions of idealistic Japanese figures on the ground than to any planning in Tokyo. [99] Major Fujiwara Iwaichi (1908–1986) gained the trust of Indian officers mainly through his own sincere commitment to the project of Indian independence. In fact, upon Fujiwara's departure, INA commander Mohan Singh soon clashed with the new liaison officer and attempted to disband the 40,000-man army he had created. [100] The objection of Mohan Singh and other Indian officers to the appointment of Rash Behari Bose to the top position in the newly created army marked another point of crisis, one that shows the agency of Indian collaborators in the whole project. [101]

Subhas Chandra Bose's willingness to cooperate with Japan, followed by his secret submarine trip from Germany to Japan in 1942, saved the Indian National Army project, when it faced a crisis provoked by disagreement between the Japanese and Indian sides. Chandra Bose was a well-respected leader of the Indian nationalist movement who could both gain the loyalty of the Indian officers and assert authority over the Japanese liaison officers. For a long time, he had advocated cooperation with anti-British powers in order to win independence for India, in contrast to the policy of passive resistance advocated by Gandhi. He saw a great opportunity in German and Japanese support for the liberation of India and willingly collaborated with both powers. Soon after his arrival in Singapore, Chandra Bose took over the leadership of the INA and formed the Provisional Government of Free India. Although the actual engagement between the Indian National Army and their British enemies at Imphal resulted in defeat for the Indian side, the mere existence of a provisional government and an army had a positive psychological impact on the Indian nationalist movement as a whole. [102]

From his arrival at Singapore until his death in a plane crash at the end of the Pacific War, Subhas Chandra Bose visited Tokyo several times during the war. The speech he made as the leader of the Provisional Government of Free India at the Greater East Asia Conference in 1943 to the heads of state of six nations of the Coprosperity Sphere (Japan, China, Manchuria, the Philippines, Burma, and Thailand, all recognized as independent by Japan) demonstrated the links between the failure of the League of Nations system and the New Order in East Asia that Japan had declared its intention to establish in the context of its

war aims. Bose began his speech by recalling his frustration with the League of Nations: "My thoughts also went back to the Assembly of the League of Nations, that League of Nations along whose corridors and lobbies I spent many a day, knocking at one door after another, in the vain attempt to obtain a hearing for the cause of Indian freedom." [103] According to Bose, the Greater East Asia Conference organized by the Japanese government as an alternative to the League of Nations was receptive to nationalist voices in Asia in a way none of the European-centered international organizations had ever been. Meanwhile, he gave several radio speeches and lectured to the Japanese public, helping to enhance the popular Japanese confidence in the liberation mission of the Pacific War.



**Subhas Chandra Bose in a Tokyo speech in 1945**

What pan-Asianists like Ôkawa Shûmei never realized was that, for nationalist leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose, pan-Asianism was merely one of the means to reach national independence, not a goal in itself.[104] In one of his conversations with Ôkawa Shûmei about the future of the Indian national movement, Subhas Chandra Bose talked about the possibility of receiving Soviet support against the British Empire if Germany was defeated on the European front. Ôkawa was surprised that Bose could think of cooperating with the Soviets and asked him why he would collaborate with the Soviet Union if he was against Communism. In response, Bose pointed out that he was prepared "to shake hands even with Satan himself to drive out the British from India." [105] It did not occur to Ôkawa that Japan might well be one Satan with whom Chandra Bose had to cooperate. In fact, Chandra Bose saw Japan as a different ally from Russia or Germany because of the Asian identity common to both India and Japan. In the end, however, Bose's nationalist agenda was the main motive for collaboration, rather than a vision of Asian regionalism under Japanese leadership. In a sense, the legitimacy of wartime pan-Asianism intimately depended on the idea of national self-determination.

For Ôkawa Shûmei, on the other hand, Asian decolonization was unthinkable in the absence of Japan's unique mission to lead the free Asia. He refrained, however, from stating specifically what kind Asian federation would replace the old order. Unsurprisingly, Ôkawa's vision of the future Asia was ambiguous, and his wartime writings focused more on the history and ideology of Asianism. The Japanese government, on the other hand, had to clarify its war aims and postwar visions much more clearly than Ôkawa did, especially in response to the appeal of the Atlantic Charter. Initially, Japanese leaders defined the first stage of the new world order they envisioned for Asia—namely, the expulsion of Western hegemony and the elimination of Western interests—without specifying clearly what would happen after the Western powers were gone. They assumed that, once Western exploitation was over and trade between Asian nations was established, Asia would develop very fast. They also hoped that the new Asia would cooperate with a German-dominated Europe to create a world order based on regional economic blocs.[106] As Japanese leaders sought the further cooperation of local nationalist movements during the later stages of the war, they eventually clarified their own war aims as an alternative to the Atlantic Charter.[107]

As the declarations of the 1926 Nagasaki pan-Asiatic conference had looked similar to the principles of the League of Nations, so the Greater East Asia Conference declaration also looked like a modification of the Atlantic Charter, with slight alterations affording sensitivity to the cultural traditions of non-Western societies. For example, the principles declared on November 7, 1943, in Tokyo affirmed the national self-determination of Asian societies, with the only major difference from the Atlantic Charter being a call for the "abolition of racial discrimination" and the cultivation of Asian cultural heritages.[108] During the Greater East Asia War, the fierce competition between the Allied Powers and Japan in propaganda battles and psychological warfare had accelerated the pace of decolonization. Not only did Japan feel the need to respond to the Atlantic Charter, but the Allied Powers also had to respond to the pan-Asianist challenge to the interwar colonial order. For instance, U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) reports on psychological warfare in Southeast Asia held that Japan's Asianist propaganda was generally very successful. In response, the OSS suggested that the vision of a United Nations organization and a new world order should be emphasized,



taking care not to make any reference to the continuation of the British, French, and Dutch empires.[109] More important, there was a growing awareness among U.S. wartime leaders, including President Roosevelt, that they had to counter the widespread pan-Asian notions of solidarity spread by Japan by offering a new vision of a postwar order that at least recognized the national demands of India and China. There was also a second concern beyond the competition with Japan: how to assure the support of China and later India in the postwar international order. These concerns led to recognition that the pre-WWII colonial discourses of racial inferiority and the reality of the colonial subjugation of India and China should not continue, even if Japan were punished by a national-racial isolation.[110] It is against the background of this concern with pan-Asianism that Roosevelt recommended that Churchill give India more self-government in order to improve the war efforts against Japan.[111]

As a matter of fact, after the end of the Greater East Asia War, the prewar imperial order would not be reestablished. When Ôkawa Shûmei listened to the emperor's radio announcement of Japan's surrender, on August 15, 1945, he thought that four decades of his work "toward the revival of Asia [had] disappeared like a soap bubble." [112] Yet, although it was true that Japanese pan-Asianism as a political movement would disappear, the decolonization of Asia would be completed by the 1950s. More important, the Asianist discourse of an East-West civilizational conflict would likewise survive the post-WWII period.

The period immediately after WWII witnessed nationalist revolutions from Indonesia to Vietnam fighting against the returning Dutch and French colonialism. Even in India, despite Chandra Bose's death in a plane crash and the dissolution of his army at the end of WWII, the Indian national movement rushed to the moral and legal defense of the officers of the Japanese-sponsored Indian National Army, who were indicted for treason against the British Empire. As Tilak Raj Sareen wrote, the trial of the INA officers revitalized the nationalist movement in India, actually creating a new turning point in the Indian national movement, demoralized after WWII.[113] Meanwhile, at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, the legacy of the prewar Asian discourse of civilization would be played out in full in the conflict of opinion between the Indian Radhabinod Pal and the other judges.

Ôkawa Shûmei was indicted as a Class A war criminal by the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal based on his role as an ideologue of right-wing pan-Asianism. Both the prosecution and the final verdict used Ôkawa's writings extensively in the construction of their case charging the accused Japanese leaders with conspiracy to commit aggression, even though charges against Ôkawa himself were dropped when he was diagnosed with brain syphilis in the early stages of the tribunal. While the majority of judges found the accused Japanese leaders guilty of the charges, Judge Radhabinod Pal wrote a long dissenting opinion asserting that Japanese decision making leading up to the Pacific War did not constitute a crime in international law. It is a testimony to Radhabinod Pal's expertise in international law and his sharp political and legal acumen that his long dissenting opinion is now as well remembered as the Tokyo Tribunal itself. The substance of Pal's dissenting judgment derived from his ideas of international law and his commitment to a just trial untainted by the politics of "victor's justice." It is also evident that Pal's background in colonial Bengal and his sympathies for the Indian National Army under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose had an impact on the content of his dissenting judgment. This background may have also influenced his failure to speak out against the use of his dissenting judgment by Japanese right-wing revisionists.



**Monument to Radhabinod Pal in Japan**

Richard Minear and John Dower have agreed with many of Pal's legal arguments in their discussion of the neocolonial context of the Tokyo Tribunal and their critique of the negative impact of the Tokyo trial on both international justice and Japan's acceptance of responsibility for the Pacific War.[114] As Timothy Brook has demonstrated, however, Justice Pal's anticolonial sensibilities led him to refrain from making any meaningful judgment on Japan's responsibility for the Nanking Massacre.[115] Pal's anticolonial stance led him to withhold comment on Japan's war crimes against Chinese civilians in Nanking and elsewhere. The majority of the judges, on the other hand, condemned Japanese imperialism in the name of international justice at the same time that Western powers were trying to reestablish their colonial hegemony.[116] Thus, in a sense, the color lines that pan-Asianism emphasized were acted out on the benches of the Tokyo Tribunal, indicating one of the many ways the legacies of the pan-Asianist discourse of civilization and race survived in the postwar period, shaping the perception of both the cold war and decolonization in contemporary history.

## Conclusion

Japanese pan-Asianism gained unprecedented official support among the elites of the Japanese Empire in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident and Japan's decision to withdraw from the League of Nations. The Japanese government declared its "return to Asia" by appropriating an already existing pan-Asianist alternative to the Eurocentric world order only when its empire was challenged internally by nationalist movements and externally by the other great powers. The very fact that Japan's elites saw something practical and useful in the pan-Asian slogans and networks to help justify the multiethnic Asian empire of Japan indicates both the continuing intellectual vitality of Asianist critiques of the interwar-era world order and the potential appeal of the Asianist slogans of East-West relations and racial identity to broader Japanese public opinion. Pan-Asianism allowed the Japanese Empire to implement more rigorous and inclusive assimilation policies and exhibit a high level of international confidence and self-righteousness in an era when imperialism was globally delegitimized. Yet it was partly a nostalgic and narcissistic ideology, making frequent references to the post-1905 Asian nationalist admiration of Japan without recognizing the

fact that both the nature of nationalism and the image of Japan had changed dramatically from 1905 to the late 1930s.

Japanese pan-Asianists saw a great opportunity in the unexpected patronage of their ideas by the Japanese government and military authorities after 1933. Throughout the 1930s, the radical anti-Western tradition within Asianism was focused on the end of European empires in Asia, especially on the weakness of British Empire, without advocating or recommending any Japanese challenge to the United States. Pearl Harbor was thus an undesirable development for pan-Asianists in Japan, even though they rushed to glorify and justify it via a discourse of East-West civilizational or yellow-white racial conflicts. Meanwhile, new converts to Asianism from different segments of Japanese intellectual life added practical and policy-oriented content to the ambivalent slogans of Asian solidarity via social science theories of regional cooperation and multiethnic communities. Despite its internal paradoxes and its tensions with the logic of Japanese imperialism, pan-Asianism nevertheless allowed Japan to conduct a relatively successful propaganda campaign against Western imperialism in Southeast Asia while motivating numerous idealist Japanese activists and their collaborators. Pan-Asianist propaganda, accompanied by Japan's own imperial expansion during WWII, did contribute to the end of Western empires, partly by forcing the Allied powers to formulate and promise a more inclusive and nonimperialistic world order at the end of WWII, and partly by stimulating anti-colonial thought and confidence in the possibility of defeating European colonizers among colonized Asian nations.

**This article is developed from Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press 2007) pp: 161-189. For more information about the book, please [see](#). Posted at Japan Focus on March 12, 2008.**

**Cemil Aydin is assistant professor of history, University of North Carolina, Charlotte and a post-doctoral Fellow at Princeton University, Near Eastern Studies Department in 2007-08. Recent publications include "Beyond Eurocentrism? Japan's Islamic Studies during the Era of the Greater East Asia War (1937-1945)," in Renee Woringer, ed., *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Volume XIV: *The Islamic Middle East and Japan: Perceptions, Aspirations, and the Birth of Intra-Asian Modernity*, January 2007.**

## Notes

- [1]. The Manchurian Incident of 1931 initiated a process that led to the establishment of a Japanese-controlled puppet government in Manchuria and Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations. Japan's Kwantung army guarding the South Manchurian Railways bombed parts of the railway in Mukden to create a pretext to occupy Manchuria with the ostensible purpose of providing security against Chinese nationalists in September 1931. Instead of withdrawing from the occupied territories, the Japanese government created the puppet state Manchukuo in February 1932. Nonrecognition of this state by the League of Nations became the reason for Japanese withdrawal from the league in 1933.
- [2]. Frederick Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
- [3]. Richard Storry, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).
- [4]. Christopher Szpilman, "Conservatism and Its Enemies in Prewar Japan: The Case of Hiranuma Kiichirō and the Kokuhonsha," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* 30, no. 2 (December 1998): 101–133.
- [5]. Genzo Yamamoto, "Defending Japan's Civilization and Civilizing Mission in Asia: The Resilience and Triumph of Illiberalism in the House of Peers, 1919–1934" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1999). See also Arima Tatsuo, *The Failure of Freedom: A Portrait of Modern Japanese Intellectuals* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969). For a previous work on this topic that focuses more on the failure of the liberals to fight the antiliberals, see Toru Takemoto, *The Failure of Liberalism in Japan: Shidehara Kijuro's Encounter with Anti-Liberals* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1978).
- [6]. Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- [7] For Nitobe Inazō's arguments justifying Japan's Manchuria policy, see Thomas W. Burkman, "The Geneva Spirit," in John F. Howes, ed., *Nitobe Inazō: Japan's Bridge Across the Pacific* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1995), 204–209. See also George Oshiro, "The End: 1929–1933," in Howes, *Nitobe Inazō*, 255–258.
- [8]. For Zumoto's defense of the Manchurian Incident before international audiences in the United States and Europe, see Zumoto Motosada, *The Origin and History of the Anti-Japanese Movement in China* (Tokyo: Herald, 1932); and idem, *Japan in Manchuria and Mongolia* (Tokyo: Herald, 1931). For Nitobe Inazō's opinion on the Manchurian Incident, see Nitobe Inazō, "Japan and the League of Nations," in *The Works of Nitobe Inazō* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972), 4:234–239; and idem, "The Manchurian Question and Sino-American Relations," in *The Works of Nitobe Inazō*, 4:221–233.
- [9]. For a discussion of Shōwa Kenkyūkai, see J. Victor Koschmann, "Asianism's Ambivalent Legacy," in Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraiishi, eds., *Network Power: Japan and Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 90–94. Shōwa Kenkyūkai (1933–1940) was labeled in the popular press as Konoe Fumimaro's brain trust. Especially during Konoe's tenure as prime minister (1937–1939, 1940–1941), Shōwa Kenkyūkai was preoccupied with formulating the East Asian Cooperative Body and the New Order Movement. The membership of the association included scholars and journalists from different ideological backgrounds. For the anti-Western ideas of the Kyoto School philosophers, see John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986), 227.
- [10]. Harry Harootyan, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Kevin Doak, *Dreams of Difference: The Japan Romantic School and the Crisis of Modernity* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994). There is an ongoing debate about the relationship of the pro-war nature of the Kyoto School philosophy and its vision of overcoming modernity. See Ueda Shizuteru, "Nishida, Nationalism, and the War in Question," in James Heisig and John Moraldo, eds., *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 77–106; Yusa Michiko, "Nishida and Totalitarianism: A Philosopher's Resistance," in Heisig and Moraldo, *Rude Awakenings*, 107–131; and Andrew Feenberg, "The Problem of Modernity in the Philosophy of Nishida," in Heisig and Moraldo, *Rude Awakenings*, 151–173.
- [11]. Akira Iriye, "The Failure of Economic Expansionism: 1918–1931," in Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootyan, eds., *Japan in Crises: Essays on Taishō Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 265.



- [12]. James B. Crowley, "A New Asian Order: Some Notes on Prewar Japanese Nationalism," in Silberman and Harootunian, *Japan in Crises*, 273.
- [13]. This continuity in change was theorized by Andrew Gordon as the transition from imperial democracy to imperial fascism. See Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
- [14]. "Confronted by a formidable cluster of diplomatic, economic, and military problems, the Imperial government [of Japan] resorted to a series of potential solutions: Manchukuo, a Japanese Monroe Doctrine, Hirota's three principles, an advance to the South Seas, a national defense state, and the rejuvenation of China" (James B. Crowley, "Intellectuals as Visionaries of the New Asian Order," in James W. Morley, ed., *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 395). Similarly, Ben-Ami Shillony has demonstrated that, even at the peak of the Pacific War, Japan did not deviate from the normal functioning of the Meiji Constitution. See Ben-Ami Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
- [15]. Hayashi Fusao, *Daitōa Sensō Kōteiron*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Banchō Shobō, 1964–1965), cited in Crowley, "A New Asian Order," 297–298.
- [16]. For example, Mark Peattie has argued that Ishiwara Kanji's views "were part of this surging anti-Western nationalism during the interwar period, and his concept of a Final War must be seen as a reinvigoration of a persistent, if long-muted, theme of challenge to the West throughout Japan's modern history to 1945" (Mark R. Peattie, Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975], 368).
- [17]. For a good example of the perception of Western retreat from Asia, see No-Yong Park, *Retreat of the West: The White Man's Adventure in Eastern Asia* (Boston: Hale, Cushman, and Flint, 1937).
- [18]. U. Ottama (1879–1939) was an influential figure in Burmese nationalism. Influenced by both the Indian National Congress and the Japanese model, Ottama denounced British colonial rule. He was imprisoned by the British authorities for a very long time, ultimately dying in prison. For Ōkawa's praise of Ottama, see Ōkawa Shūmei, "Ottama Hōshi o Omou," in Ōkawa Shūmei Zenshū, 7 vols., ed. Ōkawa Shūmei Zenshū Kankōkai (Tokyo: Ōkawa Shūmei Zenshū Kankōkai, 1961–1974), 2:913–915.
- [19]. Selçuk Esenbel, "Japanese Interest in the Ottoman Empire," in Bert Edstrom, ed., *The Japanese and Europe: Images and Perceptions* (Richmond, Surrey, U.K.: Curzon, 2000), 112–120; El-Mostafa Rezrazi, "Pan-Asianism and the Japanese Islam: Hatano Uhō. From Espionage to Pan-Islamist Activity," *Annals of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, no. 12 (1997): 89–112.
- [20]. Tanaka Ippei was a scholar of China and Buddhism. He converted to Islam and performed pilgrimages to Mecca in 1925 and 1933. Wakabayashi describes Tanaka Ippei as a fighter for "Sonnō Yūkoku," meaning "Revere the Emperor, and be a Patriot," despite the fact that Tanaka became a Muslim and adopted the name Haji Nur Muhammad in 1918.
- [21]. His brother, Wakabayashi Kyūman, worked for the same cause, operating undercover as a merchant among Chinese Muslims until he died in Changsha in 1924. For Wakabayashi's reflections on the history of the Kokuryūkai circle of Islam policy advocates, see Wakabayashi Han, *Kaikyō Sekai to Nihon* (Tokyo: Wakabayashi Han, 1937), 1–3.
- [22]. Wakabayashi, *Kaikyō Sekai to Nihon*, 3–7. Araki Sadao (1877–1966) was a leader in the Imperial Way faction of the army.
- [23]. Ōkawa Shūmei, "Cho Gakuryō Shi o Tazuneru no Ki" (November 1928), in Ōkawa Shūmei Zenshū, 4:591.
- [24]. Christopher Szpilman, "The Dream of One Asia: Ōkawa Shūmei and Japanese Pan-Asianism," in H. Fuess, ed., *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy* (Munich: German Institute of Japanese Studies, 1998), 51.
- [25]. Ōkawa Shūmei, "Manmō Mondai no Kōsatsu," *Gekkan Nihon*, no. 75 (June 1931), reprinted in Ōkawa Shūmei Zenshū, 2:649–683.
- [26]. See Awaya Kentaro and Yoshida Yutada, eds., *International Prosecution Section (IPS)* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1980), 23:396–398. During the interrogation, Ōkawa conceded that he knew something would happen but noted that many others at that time had the same knowledge and it was not a secret.
- [27]. For instance, as the biography of Ishiwara Kanji, the military brain of the Manchurian Incident, confirms, ideas about a final war and East-West confrontation, which were very important in Ōkawa Shūmei's pan-Asianism, were commonly shared by other European, American, and Japanese thinkers, and Ōkawa was not the main inspiration for Ishiwara's plans. See Peattie, Ishiwara Kanji, 27–86.
- [28]. William Miles Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 29–30. For the detailed arguments of Rōyama on the issue of Manchuria policy, see also Rōyama Masamichi, *Japan's Position in Manchuria* (Tokyo: Institute of Pacific Relations–Japan Council, 1929).
- [29]. Even in June 1931, shortly before the Manchurian Incident, when Ōkawa warned that a war could break out between China and Japan at a slight provocation and suggested the necessity of a radical change in policy in Manchuria, his ideas still were not exceptional enough to single him out as an instigator of Kwantung Army officers. See Ōkawa, "Manmō Mondai no Kōsatsu," 679–682.
- [30]. Ōkawa Shūmei, "Nijyū no Nankyoku ni tai suru Kakugo," *Gekkan Nihon*, May 1932, reprinted in Ōkawa Shūmei Zenshū, 4:629–631; and idem, "Manshu Shin Kokka no Kensetsu," *Gekkan Nihon*, July 1932, in Ōkawa Shūmei Kankei Monjo, ed. Ōkawa Shūmei Kankei Monjo Kankōkai (Tokyo: Fuyō Shohō Shuppan, 1998), 244–248.
- [31]. Ōkawa Shūmei, "Daitō Kyōeiken no Rekishiteki Konkyo," in Dai Nippon Genron Hōkokukai, ed., *Kokka to Bunka* (Tokyo: Dōmei Tsūshinsha, 1943), 29–43.
- [32]. For Ōkawa Shūmei's main article on the withdrawal from the League of Nations, see "Kokusai Renmei to Nihon," *Tōyō*, May 1932, reprinted in Ōkawa Shūmei Kankei Monjo, 232.
- [33]. For Ōkawa's advocacy of the withdrawal from the league before the Manchurian Incident, see Ōkawa Shūmei, "Nihon no Kokusai Chii O Kokoromiru," *Daitō Bunka*, May 1929, reprinted in Ōkawa Shūmei Kankei Monjo, 234–243.
- [34]. Inukai was assassinated by a group of radical nationalist army cadets and naval officers. Ōkawa Shūmei was indicted, and found guilty, of providing material assistance to this group. It is ironic that he ended up contributing to Inukai Tsuyoshi's assassination, as pan-Asianists usually viewed Inukai positively, and the 1926 Nagasaki pan-Asiatic conference honored him as one of the Asian politicians who aided the cause of Asian people's awakening.
- [35]. The fifteen-year prison sentence Ōkawa received on February 3, 1934, was reduced to five years on October 24, 1935. Because of health problems, he was allowed to postpone his prison term until June 16, 1936. He was finally paroled on October 13, 1937. See Ōtsuka Takehiro, *Ōkawa Shūmei to Kindai Nihon* (Tokyo: Mokutakusha, 1990), 220.
- [36]. In the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident, Ōkawa established Jinmukai (Society of Jinmu) as a new nationalist organization in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident, with hopes of reaching a larger audience and creating a broader popular base for his radical nationalist and Asianist movement. Ōkawa Shūmei's trial and imprisonment must have played a role in his decision to disband the group. Moreover, after the coup of February 26, 1936, an event that led to the execution of Kita Ikki as the civilian ideologue of the military conspirators, the authorities began to show less tolerance for radical nationalist organizations.
- [37]. The journal was published by Mantetsu Tōa Keizai Chōsakyoku in Tokyo from August 1939 to February 1944.
- [38]. Ōkawa Shūmei, editorial, *Shin Ajia* 1, no. 1 (August 1939): 2–3.
- [39]. Tazawa Takuya, *Musurimu Nippon* (Tokyo: Shō Gakkan, 1998), 145–146.
- [40]. See Grant K. Goodman, ed., *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia During World War 2* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), 2–5.

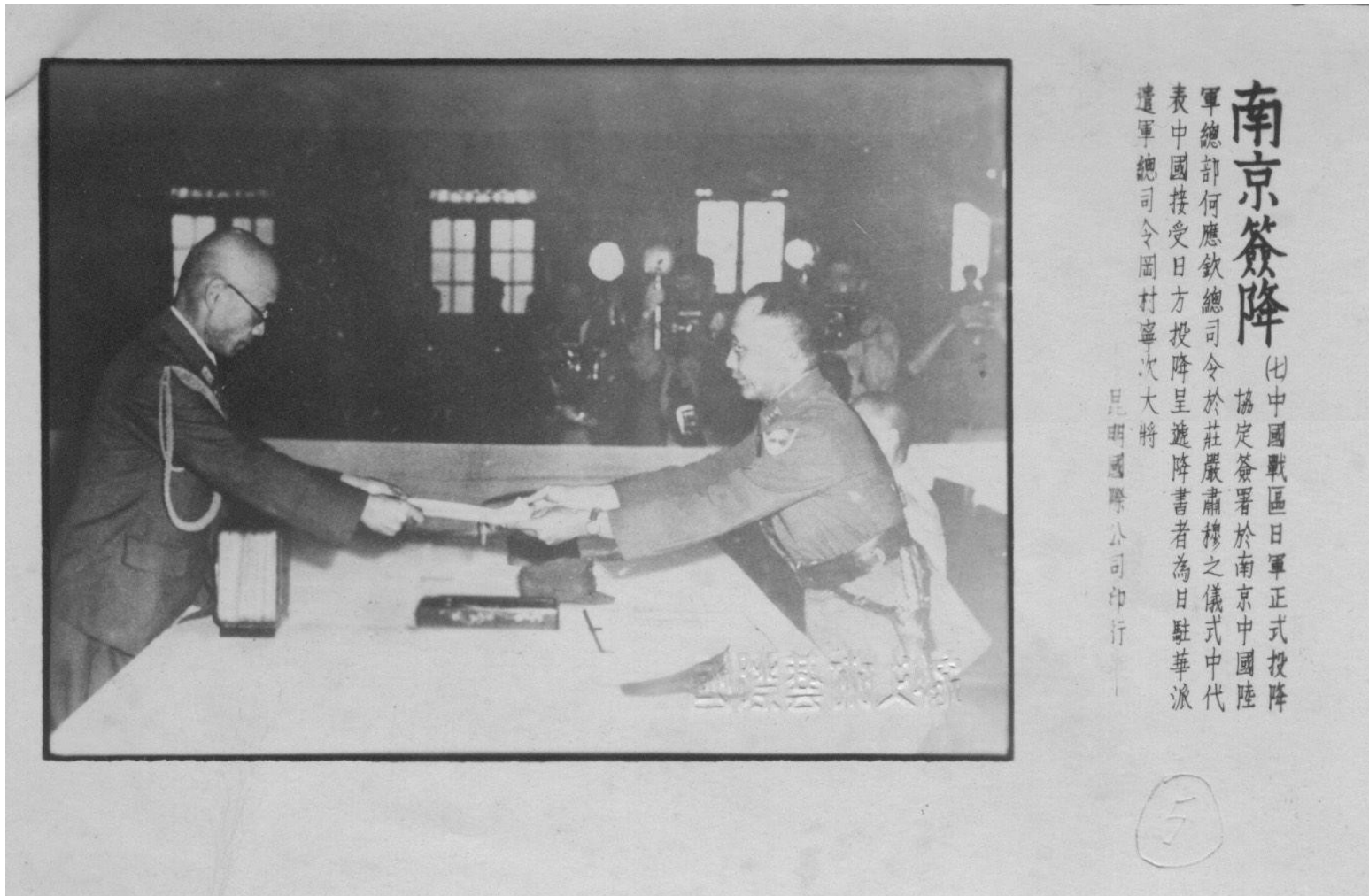
- [41]. Gotô Ken'ichi, " 'Bright Legacy' or 'Abortive Flower': Indonesian Students in Japan During World War 2," in Goodman, *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia During World War 2*, 7–35. See also Grant K. Goodman, *An Experiment in Wartime Inter-Cultural Relations: Philippine Students in Japan, 1943–1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1962).
- [42]. Students of Ôkawa were the leading figures in Ôkawa Shûmei Kenshokai and organized the publication of his collected works and other related materials. See Harada Kôkichi, *Ôkawa Shûmei Hakushi no shôgai* (Yamagata-ken Sakata-shi: Ôkawa Shûmei Kenshokai, 1982).
- [43]. For a personal account of the Ôkawa Juku from the memoirs of students, see Tazawa, *Musurimu Nippon*, 129–142.
- [44]. For the evaluation of Ôkawa's Islamic studies, see Takeuchi Yoshimi, "Ôkawa Shûmei no Ajia Kenkyû," in Hashikawa Bunsô, ed., *Ôkawa Shûmei Shû*; (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1975), 391–394.
- [45]. See Ôkawa Shûmei, "Taisen no Zento to Ajia no Shorai o Kataru Zadankai," *Shin Ajia* 2, no. 3 (August 1940): 126. See also Ôkawa Shûmei, "Nanhô Mondai," in Yoshioka Nagayoshi, ed., *Sekai no Dôkô to Tôa Mondai* (Tokyo: Zenrin Kyôkai, 1941), 384–385.
- [46]. Ôkawa, editorial, *Shin Ajia* 1, no. 1 (August 1939): 3.
- [47]. Haruo Iguchi, *Unfinished Business: Ayukawa Yoshisuke and U.S.-Japan Relations, 1937–1953* (Cambridge: Harvard East Asia Monographs, 2001).
- [48]. See Ôtsuka Takehiro, *Ôkawa Shûmei: Aru Fukkô Kakushin Shugisha no Shisô* (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1995), 160–170; Kusunoki Seiichirô, "Ôkawa Shûmei no tai-Bei Seisaku," *Nihon Rekishi*, no. 474 (November 1987): 54–70.
- [49]. See Ôtsuka Takehiro, "Shôwa Jyunendai no Ôkawa Shûmei," in *Ôkawa Shûmei to Kindai Nihon*, 227–252.
- [50]. Ôkawa Shûmei, *A History of Anglo-American Aggression in East Asia*, trans. Yoshio Ogawa and P. B. Clarke (Tokyo: Daitôa Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1944), 1–3.
- [51] For the way the prosecution used this reference, see Awaya and Yoshida, *International Prosecution Section (IPS)*, 23:319.
- [52]. *Ibid.*, 23:303–306.
- [53]. *The New Asia*, edited by Rash Behari Bose in Tokyo from 1933 to 1937).
- [54]. The content of *The New Asia* included many of the arguments expounded by Ôkawa Shûmei, unsurprisingly, given the close ties that had existed between Ôkawa and Bose since 1915. For example, the content in *The New Asia*, nos. 5–6 (September–October 1933): 1, is very similar to the writings of Ôkawa in *Fukkô Ajia no Shomondai* and *Ajia, Yoroppa, Nihon*.
- [55]. For news about Muhammad Hatta, see *The New Asia*, nos. 13–14 (May–June 1934): 4.
- [56]. *The New Asia*, nos. 17–18 (September–October 1934), contains extensive coverage of Chandra Bose's ideas.
- [57]. *The New Asia*, nos. 5–6 (September–October 1933): 3. For Tagore's critique of Japan during the late 1930s, see Zeljko Cipris, "[Seduced by Nationalism: Yone Noguchi's 'Terrible Mistake'. Debating the China-Japan War With Tagore](#)" *Japan Focus*.
- [58]. *The New Asia*, nos. 7–8 (November–December 1933): 3.
- [59]. News about the visit to Japan of the African American poet Langston Hughes was accompanied by information about the issue of white discrimination against blacks in the United States; see *Shin Ajia*, no. 4 (August 1933): 2. In another instance, the Pan-Asiatic Cultural Association declared its goal to invite students from Turkey, Afghanistan, Persia, India, and East Asian and Southeast Asian regions to Japan. See *Shin Ajia*, nos. 7–8 (November–December 1933): 4.
- [60]. *Shin Ajia*, nos. 5–6 (September–October 1933): 2.
- [61]. For a lengthy commentary on the rise of the colored and decline of the white races, see *Shin Ajia*, no. 17–18 (September–October 1934): 1.
- [62]. *The New Asia*, nos. 7–8 (November–December 1933): 2. Indicating his color-blind loyalty to universal principles, Bose wrote about his admiration for Abraham Lincoln, describing him as the leader who taught the world the meaning of liberation. See *The New Asia*, nos. 23–24 (March–April 1935): 2.
- [63]. *The New Asia*, nos. 13–14 (May–June 1934): 3. See also nos. 17–18 (September–October 1934): 4.
- [64]. *Yani Yapon Muhbiri* was edited by Qurban Ali in Tokyo from 1933 to 1938. The journal often contained didactic articles about the history, economy, and culture of Japan, as well as carrying news about the Tatar Turkish diaspora living within the boundaries of the Japanese Empire. Since there was a large Tatar Muslim community in Manchuria, the journal included news about Manchukuo, the Manchu dynasty, and developments in China as well.
- [65]. For the background of Abdül Kerim Efendi incident and other Muslim activists who visited Japan after 1933, see Selçuk Esenbel, "Japan's Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900–1945," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 4 (October 2004): 1159–1162.
- [66]. Abdurrahmân Âbrahîm looked to Japanese expansion in the north against the Soviet Union with the hope that this would allow the Muslim regions of Central Asia to achieve independence. Initially, this idea had many supporters within the Japanese army as well. However, clashes between Japanese and Soviet forces in Nomonhan, Mongolia, during the summer of 1939 convinced the military authorities of Japan that Soviet military power could not be easily challenged, strengthening the southern advance theory. For the relationship between Kokuryûkai and Abdurrahmân Âbrahîm, see Selçuk Esenbel, "Japanese Interest in the Ottoman Empire," in Edstrom, *The Japanese and Europe*, 95–124; see also Selçuk Esenbel, Nadir Ozbek, Âsmail Türkoğlu, François Georgeon, and Ahmet Ucar, "Ozel Dosya: Abdurresid Ibrahim (2)," *Toplumsal Tarih* 4, no. 20 (August 1995): 6–23.
- [67]. See Storoy, *The Double Patriots*, 149.
- [68]. In fact, General Ishiura Kanji's Tôa Renmei Kyôkai (East Asia League Association), founded in 1939, was based on ideas also advocated by Dai Ajia Kyôkai. See Peattie, *Ishiura Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West*, 281–282.
- [69]. Nakatani Takeyô became a prolific writer in Asianist publications of the 1930s. Nakatani was influenced by Ôkawa Shûmei during his student years at Tokyo University and later became a member of several organizations led by Ôkawa. He took a leading position in both Dai Ajia Kyôkai and its journals. For his memoirs, see Nakatani Takeyô, *Shôwa Dôranki no Kaisô—Nakatani Takeyô Kaikoroku*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Tairyûsha, 1989).
- [70]. Koschmann, "Asianism's Ambivalent Legacy," 89–90.
- [71]. For example see, Okubô Kôji, "Shinkô Toruko No Kokumin Shugi Hyôshiki," *Dai Ajia Shugi* 5, no. 5 (May 1937): 5–10. By late 1934, the news section was divided into five parts, devoted to Manchuria, China, India, Southeast Asia, and West Asia.
- [72]. See "Nichi Ei Shôtotsu no Hitsuyôsei," *Dai Ajia Shugi* 1, no. 12 (December 1933): 33–38.
- [73]. See "Shin Ajia Kensetsu No Shin ShinNen," *Dai Ajia Shugi* 6, no. 1 (January 1938): 2–19. Both Ôkawa and Rash Behari Bose used the same "New Asia" as titles of their journals.
- [74]. In a roundtable discussion on nationalist movements in Asia, four Indians (including Behari Bose), two Annamese, two Indonesians, and one Manchurian nationalist offered contributions. Naitô Chishû, Mitsukawa Kametarô, and Nakatani Takeyô, all three close to Ôkawa Shûmei, were among the ten participants representing the Japanese side of the organization. See "Ajia Minzoku Undo: Zadankai," *Dai Ajia Shugi* 3, no. 3 (March 1935): 51–62.
- [75]. It was only during the Pacific War that the same circle of Japanese Asianists began to publish an English-language magazine in

- Shanghai, Asiatic Asia, in order to reach a larger non-Japanese readership with more participation from non-Japanese Asian intellectuals. Publication began in January 1941 and continued for at least five monthly issues.
- [76]. Gotô Ken'ichi, "The Indonesian Perspective," in Akira Iriye, ed., *Pearl Harbor and the Coming of the Pacific War* (Boston: Bedford and St. Martin's, 1999), 207–219.
- [77]. Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 119–122; Robert S. Schwantes, "Japan's Cultural Foreign Policies," in James Morley, ed., *Japan's Foreign Policy, 1868–1941: A Research Guide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 179–180.
- [78]. Shibasaki Atsushi, *Kindai Nihon no Kokusai Bunka Kôryû: Kokusai Bunka Shinkôkai no Sôsetsu to Tenkai, 1934–1945* (Tokyo: Yûshindô Kôbunsha, 1999). For example, it was through the support of Kokusai Bunka Shinkôkai that two Muslim intellectuals, Amir Lahiri and Mian Abdul Aziz, were able to visit Japan to prepare books advocating Asian solidarity: Mian Abdul Aziz (former president of the All-India Moslem League), *The Crescent in the Land of the Rising Sun* (London: Blades, 1941); and Amar Lahiri, *Japanese Modernism* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1939); idem, *Mikado's Mission* (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1940).
- [79]. For example, the journal *Dai Ajia Shugi* printed articles on the Italian-Ethiopian conflict with a pro-Ethiopian character, including those sent by Japanese correspondents from Addis Ababa, in each of the twelve months of 1935. There was also regular news on Ethiopia in the section devoted to West Asia. For example, see the five articles on Ethiopia in *Dai Ajia Shugi* 3, no. 8 (August 1935): 32–53.
- [80]. J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Japan and Italy Squabble Over Ethiopia: The Sugimura Affair of July 1935," in *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 6 (December 1999): 9–20.
- [81]. Takemoto Yuko, "W. E. B. Dubois to Nihon," *Shien* 54, no. 2 (March 1994): 79–96. Also see Marc Gallicchio, *Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895–1945: The African American Encounter with Japan and China* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 74–75.
- [82]. Naoki Sakai, "Tôyô no Jiritsu to daitô-A kyôeiken," *Jokyo*, no. 48 (December 1994): 13.
- [83]. For a good example of a Japanese who combined the liberation vision of pan-Asian identity, sometimes with highly critical views on the policies of the Japanese state, see Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Pan-Asianism in the Diary of Morisaku Minato (1924–1945) and the Suicide of Mishima Yukio (1925–1970)," in Mariko Asano Tamanoi, ed., *Crossed Histories: Manchuria in the Age of Empire* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 184–206.
- [84]. Quoted in Thomas W. Burkman, "Nitobe Inazô: From World Order to Regional Order," in J. Thomas Rimer, ed., *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals During the Interwar Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 211.
- [85]. *Ibid.*, 212–213. Burkman discusses an article by Kamikawa Hikomatsu, "Asia Rengô ka Kyokutô Renmei ka?" *Kokka Gakkai Zasshi* 47, no. 7 (July 1933): 90–100.
- [86]. Rôyama Masamichi, *Tô-A to Sekai* (Tokyo: Kaizôsha, 1941), 141–142, quoted in Miwa Kimitada, "Japanese Policies and Concepts for a Regional Order in Asia, 1938–1940," in J. White, M. Umegaki, and T. Havens, eds., *The Ambivalence of Nationalism: Modern Japan Between East and West* (New York: University Press of America, 1990), 149.
- [87]. Rôyama Masamichi, *Foreign Policy of Japan, 1914–1939* (Tokyo: Institute of Pacific Relations–Japanese Council, 1941).
- [88]. For an argument that shows the proto-Asianist views of Japanese liberals during the 1920s, see Han Jung-Sun, "Rationalizing the Orient: The 'East Asia Cooperative Community' in Prewar Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 4 (Winter 2005), 481–514.
- [89]. Ôkawa Shûmei, "Gandhi wo Tô Shite Indojin ni Atau" and "Nehru o Tô Shite Indojin ni Atau" (1942), in *Shin Ajia Shôron* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1944), reprinted in Ôkawa Shûmei *Zenshû*, 2:925–938.
- [90]. For some examples of the flood of publications on Okakura, see Kiyomi Rokurô, *Okakura Tenshin den*, (Tokyo: Keizôsha, 1938); Okakura Kakuzô, *Okakura Tenshin Zenshû* (Tokyo: Rikugeisha, 1939); and Kiyomi Rokurô, *Senkakusha Okakura Tenshin* (Tokyo: Atoriesha, 1942). See also Okakura Kakuzô, *Japan's Innate Virility: Selections from Okakura and Nitobe* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1943).
- [91]. For examples of the publication and republication of the books of Das, Paul Richard, and Ôkawa after the post-1937 Japan-China war, see Taraknath Das, *Indo Dokuritsu Ron* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1944); and [Paul] Risharu, *Tsugu Nihon Koku*, trans. Ôkawa Shûmei (Tokyo: Seinen Shobô, 1941).
- [92]. For a recent assessment of Miki Kiyoshi's Asianist ideas, see Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 394–399. See also Koschmann, "Asianism's Ambivalent Legacy," 90–94.
- [93]. Crowley, "A New Asian Order," 278–279.
- [94]. Germaine Hoston's study of the writings of post-tenko Sano Manabu shows the importance of her interest in Eastern spirituality and intellectual tradition, as well as her belief in Japanese exceptionalism, in leading her to search for a Japanese context for adopting certain core ideals of Marxism. See Germaine A. Hoston, "Ikkoku Shakai-Shugi: Sano Manabu and the Limits of Marxism as Cultural Criticism," in Rimer, *Culture and Identity*, 168–190.
- [95]. George Beckmann, "The Radical Left and the Failure of Communism," in Morley, *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, 170.
- [96]. From Miwa, "Japanese Policies and Concepts for a Regional Order in Asia," 142.
- [97]. Minamoto Ryôen, "Symposium on 'Overcoming Modernity,'" in Heisig and Moraldo, *Rude Awakenings*, 197–229.
- [98]. All the books Ôkawa published during the wartime years attempted to define the ideology of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere and Japan's war aims. See Ôkawa Shûmei, *Dai Tôa Chitsujyo Kensetsu* (Tokyo: Dai Ichi Shobô, 1943); idem, *Shin Ajia Shôron*; and idem, *Shin Tôyô Seishin* (Tokyo: Shinkyô Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1945).
- [99]. For a description of the ideas of Asian solidarity as they functioned in Japanese collaboration with Indian and Burmese nationalists, see Louis M. Allen, "Fujiwara and Suzuki: Patterns of Asian Liberation," in William H. Newell, ed., *Japan in Asia* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981), 83–103.
- [100]. A similar idealist Asianism can be seen in the Japanese cooperation with the nationalist leadership of Burma. As Louis Allen has shown, a conflict emerged among Japanese officers involved in the Burmese government when Officer Suzuki Keiji from Minami Kikan took the side of Burmese nationalism and asked for immediate independence, while General Ishii objected to this on the grounds of military interest. See Allen, "Fujiwara and Suzuki."
- [101]. Objection to the leadership of Rash Behari Bose is another indication of the ineffectiveness of Japanese pan-Asianists' political networks. Although Japan's Asianist circles had always presented Behari Bose as the representative voice of Indian nationalism, it became apparent that he did not have a reputation sufficient to play a role in the project of the Indian National Army. See Tilak Raj Sareen, *Japan and the Indian National Army* (New Delhi: Mouton, 1996), 35–82. See also Fujiwara Iwaichi, *Japanese Army Intelligence Operations in South East Asia During World War II* (Singapore: Select, 1983).
- [102]. Sareen, *Japan and the Indian National Army*, 228–236.
- [103]. Quoted in Joyce Lebra, "Bose's Influence on the Formulation of Japanese Policy toward India and the INA," in *International Netaji Seminar* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1975), 361.
- [104]. Ôkawa Shûmei, "Bosusshi no Raichô," *Shin Ajia* 5, no. 7 (1943): 1.
- [105]. Quoted in Lebra, "Bose's Influence on the Formulation of Japanese Policy," 368.



- [106]. Akira Iriye, "Wartime Japanese Planning for Postwar Asia," in Ian Nish, ed., *Anglo-Japanese Alienation, 1919–1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982): 77–91.
- [107]. The best description of Japanese war aims remains Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese American War, 1941–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).
- [108]. The Greater East Asia conference did not allow for any representation from not-yet-independent regions under Japanese occupation, such as Indonesia and Vietnam. Similar contradictions existed in the Atlantic Charter Alliance, which likewise had not been prepared to envision a fully decolonized Asia. In fact, immediately after the end of the war, the French, British, and Dutch governments rushed to reclaim their colonial possessions in Asia.
- [109]. One report made the following suggestion as a means to win support for the Allied cause: "Play up American and United Nations war aims; play down our association with Great Britain in the East. . . . Do not refer to British Malaya since many inhabitants of Malaya will not wish to see Malaya revert to its old status under British control" (Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, "Japanese Attempts at Indoctrination of Youth in Occupied Areas," March 23, 1943, microfilm, 10).
- [110]. Christopher Thorne, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain and the War Against Japan, 1941–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 157–159.
- [111]. *Ibid.*, 242–243.
- [112]. Ôkawa Shûmei, entry for August 15, 1945, Ôkawa Shûmei Nikki (Tokyo: Iwasaki Gakujitsu Shuppansha, 1986), 391.
- [113]. Sareen, *Japan and the Indian National Army*, 234–236.
- [114]. Richard Minear, *Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); John Dower, *Embracing Defeat* (New York: Norton, 1999), 443–484.
- [115]. Timothy Brook, "The Tokyo Judgment and the Rape of Nanking," *Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August 2001): 693.
- [116]. Radhabinod Pal became the hero of the revisionist right in Japan in the postwar period. He himself revealed his long-lasting sympathies to Japan during his celebrated visit to Japan in 1966 upon the invitation of Japanese right-wing revisionist groups. Justice Pal declared how he had admired Japan since his youth because Japan had "consistently stood up against the West" with "the spirit of independence that can say 'no.'" Then, he urged the Japanese people once again to resist the "flood of Westernization" with inspiration from Eastern civilization. For Pal's speeches during his 1966 visit to Japan, see Radhabinod Pal, *Ai Rabu Japan: Paru Hakase Genkôroku*, ed. Paru Hakase Kangei Jimukyoku (Tokyo: Tôkyô Saiban Kankôkai, 1966)

Source: <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Cemil-Aydin/2695>



Commander-in-chief of the China Expeditionary Army Yasuji Okamura (left) presents the Japanese Instrument of Surrender to General He Yingqin at Nanking, China on September 9, 1945.

## The Manchurian Incident, the League of Nations and the Origins of the Pacific War. What the Geneva archives reveal

### Yoshizawa Tatsuhiko

At 9:18 p.m. on Sept. 18 of this year, I was standing in front of the Sept. 18 History Museum in Shenyang, China. It was raining. A siren went off. It sounded like the wailing of a fire engine.

On this day each year, Shenyang holds a ceremony to mark the anniversary of a military crackdown against the city's unsuspecting citizens by the Imperial Japanese Army. This year was the 76th anniversary of that event.



Japanese forces swiftly overran a vast area of northeastern China. The annual ceremony seeks to keep this memory alive. It also serves as a prayer for peace.

The wailing of the siren, reminiscent of an air-raid alert, lasted three minutes. High school students, soldiers and armed police officers all turned out for the ceremony and stood rigidly at attention in the rain.

Two days later, I was in the nearby city of Fushun to attend a symposium on the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). There, I had the unexpected pleasure of meeting Zhang Lushi, a 45-year grandson of Zhang Zuolin, who was known in the English-speaking world as the Warlord of Manchuria until his assassination by Japanese agents three years before the Manchurian Incident.



**Zhang Zuolin**

Zhang told me the organizers of the symposium had asked him to attend. His uncle, Zhang Xueliang, was Zhang Zuolin's son. He became the effective ruler of Manchuria and much of northeastern China after his father's assassination, but remained exiled from his domain after the Manchurian Incident.

In 1949, he was transferred to Taiwan, where all other members of the Zhang clan also relocated.

Zhang Lushi, too, did not return to his ancestral city of Shenyang until May this year. According to Lushi, his uncle was reluctant to talk about the past. However, he often mentioned to family members that he "could never figure out what the Japanese thought about the Chinese people."

The year after the Kwantung Army (see Fact File) staged the Manchurian Incident, the League of Nations sought to investigate the cause from an objective standpoint and try to resolve the Sino-Japanese conflict. The international body dispatched a commission to China, headed by Victor Bulwer-Lytton, the second Earl of Lytton.

The commission put together what is known as the Lytton Report, which portrayed Japan in a very different light from what most Japanese citizens believed at the time. As a result, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations, and became increasingly xenophobic and hostile toward the West.

What sort of people did Lytton meet in China? What were the stories he heard, and what did he see? To find answers, I decided to retrace his footsteps in China.

### **Communist Party the greater enemy**

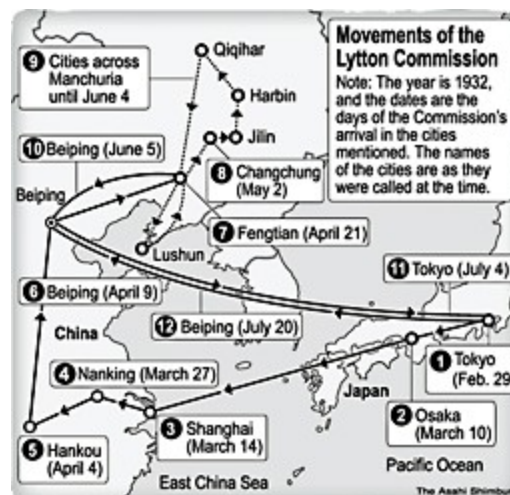
Why did the League of Nations send the Lytton Commission to China in the first place? At the time of the Manchurian Incident, the top priority of Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government, whose capital was Nanking (now called Nanjing), was to eliminate the Communist Party as the "arch enemy" at home, rather than stand up to the invading Japanese army. Chiang immediately appealed to the League of Nations to deal with the Japanese invasion, thereby putting the problem in the international arena.



**March 1932, Lytton Commission at Yasukuni Shrine. Lytton is second left**

For the League of Nations that was born after World War I, the Manchurian Incident represented the first major international conflict. Japan was a permanent member of the Council, which effectively controlled the world body. China had only become a nonpermanent member four days before the Manchurian Incident. In other words, the positions of Japan and China were in reverse of what they are today in the United Nations Security Council, where China is a permanent member and Japan is not.

According to the Lytton Report, the team arrived in Japan in February 1932. Usui Katsumi, professor emeritus at the University of Tsukuba, notes in his book that the Lytton Commission met with Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi and other top government officials in Tokyo and heard them out.





Army Minister Araki Sadao is quoted as stating candidly: "Japan cannot accommodate its growing population in its small territory. Japan has to seek the resources it needs from the Asian continent ... . I doubt that China has a legitimate government. My personal belief is that China cannot be regarded as a unified, civilized nation."

In China, the team met with Chiang and other top Nanking officials, and then moved on to Beiping (present-day Beijing), where they were met by Zhang Xueliang and others. Zhang, who had been driven out of Manchuria, hosted a welcoming reception and gave an impassioned speech.



**Zhang Xueliang**

"Ethnically, politically and economically, the Three Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria) are an integral part of China," Zhang asserted. "The true cause of the conflict is that Japan has become jealous of China for moving toward unification. Japan is trying to seize the Three Northeastern Provinces."

Was China capable of national unification? On this point, the Chinese and the Japanese disagreed completely.

### **Denied contact**

Lytton was most interested in, but also had the hardest time, talking to ordinary citizens of Manchuria to hear their stories. This was because the Japanese government and its puppet, Manchukuo, prevented the Lytton Commission from coming in contact with the citizenry on the pretext of ensuring the safety of the team members. The Lytton Report notes to the effect that meetings with citizens "were always conducted amid extreme difficulties and in secret."

How did the citizens approach Lytton and his team and what did they tell them? Wang Jianxue, a curator at the Sept. 18 History Museum, gave me a name: Gong Tianmin, a banker who was in Fengtian (present-day Shenyang) at the time.

According to Wang, more than 100,000 citizens of Fengtian fled to Beiping and other cities. But Gong stayed put, and began organizing a resistance movement against the invading Japanese. He organized Christian youths into a volunteer army, and urged them to write letters to the Lytton Commission.

The Lytton Report actually mentions that many letters were received from students and young people who refused to recognize Manchukuo.

In July 2005, the Shenyang Evening News, a local daily, ran a story about Gong's activities, based on an interview with his son, Gong Quoxian. The article says that when Gong and his eight partners learned of the imminent arrival of the Lytton Commission, he determined to tell the members that the Manchurian Incident had been planned and executed by the Japanese, and that the new Manchurian regime was a puppet of the Japanese government. To substantiate his accusations, Gong secretly collected material evidence and compiled the information into a booklet. Titled "Truth," the booklet was entrusted to the safekeeping of an English clergyman residing in Shenyang. The clergyman, in turn, invited Lytton to dinner at his home and handed him the booklet. The article also notes that the clergyman and Lytton happened to be related.

Is this story accurate? When I asked Wang, he replied, "It's a familiar story, but its historic authenticity has not been verified. And we haven't confirmed what happened to the booklet, either."

I asked a third party to arrange an interview with Gong Quoxian, but the request was turned down for reasons that were never quite clear to me. Feeling at a loss, I pinned my last hope on the library at the United Nations Office in Geneva, where archival materials concerning the League of Nations are kept.

"Did Lytton really receive 'Truth'?" I inquired at the library. Two days later, the library responded to the effect that the booklet had been located among League-related materials.



**League of Nations Headquarters, Geneva**

Bound in the style of a photo album with its front cover lined with blue fabric, the booklet was encased in a bag made of matching fabric. On the bag, the word "Truth" was embroidered in pink.

The booklet contains 75 information items, and some of the more prominent among them are titled as follows:

- (1) List of names of innocent citizens who were shot by Japanese soldiers after Sept. 18, 1931;
- (2) List of rewritten and deleted passages in school textbooks; and
- (3) Letters censored by the Japanese military police.

Attached to the booklet was a 27-page typewritten letter in English explaining each item. Some of these pieces of evidence were obtained at great personal risk, the letter notes, and goes on to describe the premeditated nature of the Liutiaohu Incident and the subsequent Japanese violation of Chinese sovereignty, as well as the Japanese military's role in the establishment of Manchukuo.

The dynamiting of a section of the Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway was used as a pretext for Japan's armed invasion, the letter states. The founding of Manchukuo was directed and manipulated by the Japanese, it adds.

The letter concludes with this desperate plea: Please remember that more than 95 percent of the Manchurian population is Chinese. The Chinese people desire to remain Chinese, and will do so forever.

All nine people who participated in the compilation of this booklet signed their names and identified their professions. However, the booklet I saw was missing all parts pertaining to anything that might suggest their identities. Perhaps they were removed by the League of Nations to protect their safety.



## **Chinese national sentiment rises**

The Lytton Commission received 1,550 letters while it was in Manchuria. According to the Lytton Report, "all but two letters" were vehemently hostile toward the Japanese and the "new Manchurian government."

The report concluded to the effect: Having carefully examined the evidence, presented at official and private meetings as well as through letters and statements, we have concluded that the 'new Manchurian government' is perceived by the Chinese people as a puppet of the Japanese government, and that it does not have the support of the Chinese public. As for the operations of the Japanese Army, the report refuted the Japanese claim of self-defense.

Sensing that the Lytton Report was not going to be in its favor, Japan proclaimed Manchukuo as an independent state in September 1932 just days before the report was released. The following year, Japan was the sole voice of dissent when the League of Nations adopted a resolution against recognition of Manchukuo's statehood. Its permanent Council membership notwithstanding, Japan withdrew from the League.

With the number of Chinese people who lived through the Manchurian Incident diminishing every year, I asked a local historian in Shenyang to find a survivor, and was introduced to Zhao Lizhi. At 95, he was living in a home for the elderly.

Born and raised in the northernmost province of Heilongjiang, Chao was an impoverished tenant farmer at the time of the Manchurian Incident. "We all felt the Guomindang had abandoned us northeasterners," he recalled. The year after the incident, he said, Japanese soldiers came to his village. Zhao joined a local resistance movement against the Japanese, and eventually became a guerrilla fighter.

Participating in anti-Japanese activities awakened a sense of national identity in the Chinese people. Bu Ping, director of the Institute of Modern History at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, noted: "The Chinese awareness of their own national identity, which began to bud around the time of the Opium War, surged with the September 18 Incident and remained strong throughout the Second Sino-Japanese War. The Manchurian Incident served as the cue for the Chinese to unite."

## **Zhang Xueliang (1901-2001)**

The eldest son of Zhang Zuolin (1875-1928), Zhang Xueliang, inherited his father's "Warlord of Manchuria" mantle upon the latter's assassination at the hands of the Japanese military in 1928, and declared his support for the Guomindang nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek.

In 1936, Zhang put Chiang under house arrest in an attempt to get him to discontinue his policy of nonresistance against the Japanese and fighting the communists. Chiang's physical confinement resulted in the Guomindang and the Communist Party forming a united front against the Japanese military. Zhang, however, would be put under house arrest and eventually transferred to Taiwan in 1949.

## **Lytton Commission**

The Lytton Commission was dispatched by the League of Nations to investigate the Manchurian Incident. Headed by Victor Bulwer-Lytton, a former British governor of Bengal and son of a former Viceroy of India,



the commission consisted of five members representing Britain, the United States, France, Germany and Italy. The Lytton Commission toured Japan and China from February 1932, and compiled the Lytton Report in autumn of that year. The commission refuted the Japanese claim that Manchukuo was a result of a spontaneous independence movement. But it also took Japan's interests into consideration and proposed the creation of an autonomous government under the auspices of the League of Nations, with Japan playing a central role.

## **The world in the 1920s**

International society in the 1920s gave rise to a cooperative order known as the Washington System. The League of Nations was established in hopes of bringing international disputes to negotiated settlements.

The early years of the decade saw the signing of several treaties at the Washington Naval Conference. Among them were the Five-Power Treaty that limited the naval capabilities of its five signatories, and the Nine-Power Treaty that affirmed China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In 1928, the war-renouncing Pact of Paris, also known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, was signed in the French capital.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union and communism--the outcome of the 1917 Russian Revolution--were perceived as threats by the Imperial Japanese Army.

Then came the Great Depression of 1929. Yamamuro Shinichi, a Kyoto University professor, notes in his book that in 1931, it was a common practice among Japanese farmers to sell their daughters. Also that year, the ranks of undernourished children swelled, while labor disputes spiked to a pre-World War II record level amid rampant joblessness in cities.

The following year, family suicides occurred with unprecedented frequency, and the nation's suicide rate registered a record high, based on statistics on causes of death that were first compiled in 1900. These desperate economic and social circumstances formed a backdrop to the creation of Manchukuo in 1932.

## **Fact File: Manchurian Incident**

The Manchurian Incident was the starting point of Japan's invasion of northeastern China (Manchuria) and Inner Mongolia. By a narrow definition, the duration of the "incident" spans from the dynamiting of the South Manchurian Railway near Liutiaohu on Sept. 18, 1931, to the conclusion of the Tangku cease-fire treaty on May 31, 1933. By a broader definition, it went on until the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937, that triggered the all-out, so-called Eight-Year War. In China, the Manchurian Incident is referred to as the September 18 Incident.

To avoid being accused of violations of international law and war-renouncing treaties, the Japanese government of the time obtained Cabinet approval to refer to the military operations in Manchuria as jihen (incident), not war proper.

As spoils of its victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Japan had come into possession of Lushun and Dalian as leased territories, as well as control over the South Manchuria Railway. These holdings were referred to as "special rights and interests," and Japan valued them greatly. When a move to regain them surged in China, Japan's Kwantung Army, which was permanently stationed in Manchuria, blew up a section of the South Manchurian Railway near Liutiaohu in suburban Fengtian (present-day Shenyang), and passed it off as a sabotage by the Chinese military to justify the invasion of Manchuria. This was the Liutiaohu Incident.

The Kwantung Army sought to seize control of Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia. But as the top brass of the Imperial Japanese Army did not approve, the government created the puppet regime of Manchukuo, installing Pu Yi, the last Qing emperor, as its nominal ruler.



**Pu Yi**

### **Fact File: Kwantung Army**

The Kwantung Army was a unit of the Imperial Japanese Army stationed permanently in the Kwantung Leased Territory on the Liaodong Peninsula, where Lushun and Dalian are situated. Kwantung means "east of Shanhaiguan," an area at the eastern end of the Great Wall of China.

The unit was originally established to defend the Kwantung Leased Territory and the Japanese-controlled South Manchurian Railway. It was reorganized in 1919 and came to be called the Kwantung Army.

Until the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the army was a little over 10,000-strong. The Kwantung Army was responsible for planning the assassination of Zhang Zuolin as well as orchestrating the Liutiaohu Incident. After the Manchurian Incident, the troop strength was reinforced to suppress anti-Japanese resistance and engage in campaigns to invade northern China and Inner Mongolia. The notorious 731 Unit, which conducted human experiments to develop chemical weapons, was a unit of the Kwantung Army.



**Kwantung Army soldiers in the field**

Tokyo's Shin-Okubo district in Shinjuku Ward is a melting pot of Asian cultures. The streets echo to the sounds of Korean, Chinese, Mongolian, Vietnamese, Thai and Malaysian with smells of traditional foods emanating from ethnic restaurants that line the streets. One is run by a native of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in northeastern China, where the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo was established decades ago.

Ho Soodong, 43, a visiting researcher at Hitotsubashi University, took me to the restaurant, saying it offers a taste of his hometown. Ho's father moved to Yanbian from southern Korea with his family in 1938, when he was 8 years old.

In Korea, a Japanese colony at the time, many farmers were deprived of their land, causing them financial distress. They had no choice but to cross the border to seek new horizons in northeastern China. The move was accelerated by Japan's immigration policy, which aimed to bolster its presence in Manchuria.

Two things crossed my mind while I was talking with Ho, whose specialty is studying Korean settlers in Manchuria. I began to ponder the historical ties between Manchukuo and former Japanese colonies such as Korea and Taiwan. I also wondered about the link between Manchukuo and modern-day Japan, as symbolized by the Shin-Okubo district's cultural mix.

Japan has a rising population of foreign residents--as if to make up for the nation's shrinking population and declining birthrates. Japan had 2.085 million foreign residents from 188 countries as of the end of 2006, up nearly 50 percent from a decade earlier. The figure accounts for 1.6 percent of the overall population. With people from so many cultural backgrounds co-existing, I thought there were lessons to be learned from Manchukuo's failed policy of Gozoku Kyowa.

The slogan advocated by Imperial Japan literally translates as five races living in harmony. In Manchukuo's case, they were Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Korean and Japanese. When I asked Ho for his view, he said people should regard this period of history based on the recognition that Gozoku Kyowa was an outright "lie."

I flew to Changchun, which went by the Japanese-designated name of Hsinking when it was the capital of Manchukuo. The city resembles a virtual theme park of living history. It is dotted with buildings that Japan erected based on grand city planning during the Manchukuo era. Many of the imposing structures are still used as universities, hospitals and other facilities.

The building that housed the former State Council, the supreme organ of the Manchukuo government, is a mix of traditional Western and Chinese architectural styles. It looks like the Diet building in Tokyo.

I was particularly surprised when I saw the magnificent building in the city center that had served as the command of the Kwantung Army. One look was enough to make me realize that Japan had ruled over Manchukuo. That is because the building resembles a Japanese castle. Today, it is occupied by the Chinese Communist Party's Jilin province committee, the supreme authority of this region. It clearly shows how power changed hands.



I then met Zhang Zhiqiang, 55, an official at the provincial archives, whose job is to organize and store documents on the military police and other organs during the Manchukuo era. When I asked why the committee is using the building of an aggressor instead of razing it, Zhang cited two reasons.



First, the building was still relatively new when Manchukuo collapsed following Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945. The structure was built by Chinese even though it was designed by Japanese. "It was natural (for the Chinese people) to use what they had built with their own blood and sweat," Zhang said.

The second reason is that the building has been preserved for the purpose of providing "patriotic education" to young Chinese. "Things that date back to the time when China was invaded--if left as they used to be--can serve as a living testimony to history," Zhang said.

## **14 years of occupation**

Visitors to the building are indeed reminded of the fact that they are standing on land that used to be Manchukuo. A metal plaque on the facade notes that it is a historic site of Wei Manzhouguo (false Manchukuo). I wondered about the use of the word "false" since the structure is a solid relic of Manchukuo.

In China, the period from the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident in 1931 to the collapse of Manchukuo in 1945 is called the 14 years of Dongbei Lunxian, or occupation of northeastern China. The term connotes the period of Chinese people's humiliation at having their land and dignity trampled on by Japanese aggressors.

Twenty years ago, a project got under way to document the history of Japanese occupation of northeastern China. I visited the Jilin Provincial Academy of Social Sciences to meet with Sun Jiwu, 81, who serves as the project's editor in chief. "False Manchukuo means not recognizing Manchukuo," he said. "It is a country established by Japan, the country which took our land."

Under the Manchukuo regime, Chinese children were required to study the Japanese language from elementary school. Sun remembers that his teacher called him an "idiot" and hit him when he could not distinguish the pronunciations of the Japanese words tabako (tobacco) and tamago (egg). Teachers did not reprimand Japanese pupils even when they beat Chinese children. The children were also segregated during morning assembly.

Sun said he thought Gozoku Kyowa was a joke and his antipathy toward Japan kept growing.

From the late 1980s to the late 1990s, Sun and his colleagues interviewed more than 100 farmers who lived in communities where Japanese settlers arrived during the Manchukuo era. The interviews uncovered the agony of Chinese farmers who were deprived of their land by the Imperial Japanese Army. The farmers had no choice but to flee to the mountains and reclaim barren wasteland or to work as tenant farmers under Japanese settlers, many of whom were also poor.

Sun said they, too, were victims of Japanese aggression and that some of them had friendly relations with Chinese farmers. But he added: "Generally speaking, the Japanese had a sense of superiority. They believed they were a superior race and thought the Chinese were inferior."

Such a mentality was symbolized by the way students were required to bow in the direction of the Imperial Palace each day. First, they had to bow in the direction of Tokyo, where Emperor Hirohito, posthumously known as Emperor Showa, lived, and then in the direction of the palace where the Manchukuo emperor resided. Even schoolchildren understood that Manchukuo was a Japanese puppet state because of the order in which they observed the ritual.

Ho, the Hitotsubashi University researcher, was born in China's Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture near the border with North Korea. It was chilly at the airport in the prefectural capital of Yanji, and the city's cold must have been hard on people who came from southern Korea during the Manchukuo period. Still, the Korean population in the region rose after Korea became a Japanese colony and, in particular, after the establishment of Manchukuo.

Sun Chunri, 49, director of the Institute of Nationalities at Yanbian University, said there were two groups of Korean immigrants. They were either people who fled their native land because they detested Japanese

colonial rule or had been stripped of their land because they failed to present ownership certificates in a land survey launched by Japanese authorities, or for some other reasons. In either case, Japan's colonial policy played a key role in accelerating the movement.

While Korean immigration to northeastern China can be traced back to the 17th century, it gained momentum after Japan established supremacy in the region. According to Sun, the number of Koreans topped 1 million by the Manchurian Incident and peaked at 2.3 million during the Manchukuo era. He said many Koreans hoped to try their luck after Japan established Manchukuo and launched a campaign to promote the notion of Odo Rakudo (paradise of benevolent government) in Korea.

"Despite strong anti-Japanese sentiment, many Koreans had developed a sense of resignation that they were no match for Japan," Sun said. "Some Koreans, meanwhile, came to develop a sense of superiority as they were treated like Japanese."

In 1936, Japan started a planned immigration policy. The plan called for moving 1 million Japanese farming households over a 20-year period to raise the number of Japanese immigrants to 10 percent of Manchuria's overall population. The government failed to recruit enough Japanese to achieve the target and tried to encourage 10,000 Korean households to settle each year.

### **Anti-Japanese movements**

At the same time, the Japanese military had a hard time controlling movements among Koreans against Manchukuo and Japan. The military kept Korean farmers in secluded hamlets to prevent them from developing contact with anti-Japanese elements.

Monuments dedicated to anti-Japanese fighters can be found across the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. They are a testament to the intensity of Japanese oppression and the large number of people who fell victim to it.

Jin Zhezhu, 58, a prefectural museum researcher, said the region has a 38-year history of anti-Japanese movements because they started in 1907, when Japan opened a branch of its resident general of Korea.

### **Taiwanese in Manchuria**

Just as Korea was linked to Manchuria because it was a Japanese colony, Taiwan also developed ties with northeastern China.

Hsu Hsueh-chi (Xu Xueji), 54, who heads Academia Sinica's Institute of Taiwan History in Taipei, has since the 1990s conducted research on Taiwanese who lived in Manchuria. When she studied the February 28, 1947, massacre of residents by the Guomintang government and the oppression that followed, Hsu noticed that many victims had returned from Manchuria.

Researchers on Japanese colonial rule had focused on Taiwanese who joined the Guomintang in Chongqing in southwestern China but not on those who went to Manchuria, she said. When she gathered information on some 700 people who lived in Manchuria, Hsu was impressed with the large number of doctors involved. Graduates of the Manchuria medical college alone topped 100, followed by government employees.

Hsu said many Taiwanese went to Manchuria where they were treated equally as Japanese and could play active roles in society. "Taiwan at the time had few institutes of higher education," she said. "Landing jobs was not easy, and there was a wide gap in wages between Taiwanese and Japanese workers." In addition, many young people went to Manchuria because they admired Xie Jieshi, a Taiwan native who became Manchukuo's first foreign minister, according to Hsu.

Hsu interviewed some 50 people who had returned from Manchuria, but they were reluctant to talk. The returnees feared for their safety because Xie Jieshi was labeled a "traitor to China" after World War II. One of those Hsu interviewed was Li Shuiqing, who was among the first graduates of Kenkoku University (national foundation university), Manchukuo's highest institution of learning.

Li, 89, said he was passionate about the ideal of Gozoku Kyowa when he entered the school. It had Korean, Russian and Mongolian students in addition to Japanese and Chinese. Li spent six years living with them in a dormitory. "I still retain close ties with old students who are like my brothers," he said in fluent Japanese.

Li was poor, and the tuition-free Kenkoku University was like a dream come true. The school not only paid for meals and other living expenses but also provided students with an allowance. While it was common in Manchukuo for Japanese to eat rice and for Chinese to sup on gaoliang grain, students at the dormitory ate the same meals in protest against such discrimination. Looking back on his experience, Li said that Kenkoku University entered a period of turmoil around 1940 in its third year and eventually collapsed.

The Kwantung Army cracked down on dissidents at the end of 1941, when Japan entered into war against the United States and Britain. Some Kenkoku University students were arrested and died in prison.

During the Guomindang government's crackdown on Taiwanese residents in 1947, Li's junior in school was killed. While Li himself spent 2 1/2 years in prison, he believes he was fortunate to have attended Kenkoku University. "I was able to learn to see things from different viewpoints because I went to school with people of different nationalities," he said.

But that was inside the school walls. Outside, Manchukuo was full of inconsistencies.

### **Manchukuo and the Myth of Gozoku Kyowa**

A Chinese official was installed as the top administrator in name only. Real power was in the hands of the Japanese. To begin with, Manchukuo had no nationality law. Legally, Manchukuo citizens did not exist.

Li said there was no need for a nationality law because Japan had planned to annex Manchukuo. If Li's reasoning is correct, it should not be surprising that Manchukuo developed ties with Taiwan and Korea, which were already Japanese colonies.

In interviews for this story, many people used the term, a "sense of superiority," in reference to Japanese people they came across during the Manchukuo era. With such a "sense" on the Japanese side, it is little wonder that the slogan of Gozoku Kyowa ended in a lie.

How should we build a modern society to live in harmony with people of different races? In searching for an answer, I realized that I need to reflect on whether deep down I, too, look down on foreign people and cultures.

### **Fact File: Pu Yi**

Pu Yi (1906-1967), or Emperor Xuantong, was the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty. His family name was Aisin-Gioro. He ascended to the throne in 1908, when he was 2 years old, and abdicated in 1912, following the Xinhai Revolution.

Pu Yi was held by Japanese military forces during the Manchurian Incident and installed as leader of Manchukuo when it was established in 1932. He was crowned emperor of Manchukuo two years later, taking the name Emperor Kangde.

Pu Yi was captured by the Soviet Union after Japan's defeat in World War II. He was convicted of being a war criminal in China in 1950 but was granted special pardon in 1959. In his autobiography, Pu Yi wrote: "The Kwantung Army was like a high-voltage power source, and I was like a motor that reacted with precision and alacrity."

### **Fact File: Manchukuo**

Manchukuo was established in northeastern China in 1932 on land Japan occupied as a result of the Manchurian Incident the year before. It is generally accepted that Manchukuo was a Japanese puppet



state, with Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, as the token ruler. The Qing Dynasty was founded by the Manchus.

The Kwantung Army, or the Imperial Japanese Army based in Manchuria, thought it could avoid international criticism against Manchukuo if it installed Pu Yi, a Manchu, as head of state. But the League of Nations refused to recognize Manchukuo as such.

Manchukuo was recognized by only about 20 countries, including Germany and Italy, Japan's allies in World War II, and Thailand, Burma and other countries that were under Japanese control during the Pacific War.

Manchukuo covered an area of 1.3 million square kilometers, about 3.4 times the size of present-day Japan. The state extended over what is now the three northeastern Chinese provinces of Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang as well as parts of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and Hebei province.

Its population increased to 42 million by 1940, up from 30 million at the time it was established. Chinese accounted for about 90 percent of the total population, followed by Koreans and Mongolians. Japanese formed a minority of only about 2 percent. Some 230,000 Japanese civilians lived there when Manchukuo was established. The number had risen to 1.55 million by the time Japan was defeated in World War II. Of them, more than 200,000 died during repatriation.

More than 600,000 Japanese soldiers and civilian settlers, who were mobilized by the army immediately before Japan's defeat, were detained by the Soviet Union and were sent to Siberia. More than 60,000 of them died in internment.

### **Fact File: Gozoku Kyowa and Odo Rakudo**

Imperial Japan used these two slogans both at home and abroad as ideals of Manchukuo, with the propaganda particularly aimed at inspiring Japanese.

Gozoku Kyowa, which called for the five races of Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Korean and Japanese to live in harmony, was initially advocated by members of the Federation of Youth in Manchuria, which was organized by civilian Japanese residents in Manchuria. Its leaders included Ozawa Kaisaku, the father of conductor Ozawa Seiji.

Japanese residents represented less than 1 percent of the total population when Manchukuo was established. Anti-Japanese sentiment grew among the Han, who accounted for an overwhelming majority of residents. Under such circumstances, the Japanese had no other choice but to advocate "harmony."

Odo Rakudo calls for building a paradise in which all people can live happily under "benevolent government," instead of oppressive rule enforced by military power. Still, Japan advocating this ideal was a paradox from the start because it established Manchukuo by force.

**This is a slightly abbreviated version of a two-part article that appeared in the International Herald Tribune/Asahi Shinbun on November 30, 2007. Posted at Japan Focus on December 1, 2007.**

<http://www.japanfocus.org/-Yoshizawa-Tatsuhiko/2593>

## List of Japanese Central Bankers and Government Officials

### Governors of the Bank of Japan:

Mr. Shigetoshi Yoshihara (October 6, 1882-December 19, 1887)  
 Mr. Tetsunosuke Tomita (February 21, 1888-September 3, 1889)  
 Mr. Koichiro Kawada (September 3, 1889-November 7, 1896)  
 Baron Yanosuke Iwasaki (November 11, 1896 -October 20, 1898)  
 Mr. Tatsuo Yamamoto (October 20, 1898-October 19, 1903)  
 Baron Shigeyoshi Matsuo (October 20, 1903-June 1, 1911)  
 Mr. Korekiyo Takahashi (June 1, 1911-February 20, 1913)  
 Viscount Yataro Mishima (February 28, 1913-March 7, 1919)  
 Mr. Junnosuke Inoue (March 13, 1919-September 2, 1923; May 10, 1927-June 12, 1928)  
 Mr. Otohiko Ichiki (September 5, 1923-May 10, 1927)  
 Mr. Hisaakira Hijikata (June 12, 1928-June 4, 1935)  
 Mr. Eigo Fukai (June 4, 1935-February 9, 1937)  
 Mr. Seihin Ikeda (February 9, 1937-July 27, 1937)  
 Mr. Toyotaro Yuki (July 27, 1937-March 18, 1944)  
 Viscount Keizo Shibusawa (March 18, 1944-October 9, 1945)

### Emperors of Japan under the Meiji Constitution:

Emperor Mutsuhito (Meiji Emperor, 明治天皇): Reign, February 3, 1867-July 30, 1912  
 Emperor Yoshihito (Taisho Emperor, 大正天皇): Reign, July 30, 1912-December 25, 1926  
 Emperor Hirohito (Showa Emperor, 昭和天皇): Reign, December 25, 1926-January 7, 1989

### Prime Ministers of Imperial Japan:

Name	Assumed Office	Left Office	Political Party
Itō Hirobumi 伊藤 博文	22 December 1885	30 April 1888	None
Kuroda Kiyotaka 黒田 清隆	30 April 1888	25 October 1889	None
Sanjō Sanetomi 三條 實美	25 October 1889	24 December 1889	None
Yamagata Aritomo 山縣 有朋	24 December 1889	6 May 1891	None
Matsukata Masayoshi 松方 正義	6 May 1891	8 August 1892	None
Itō Hirobumi 伊藤 博文	8 August 1892	31 August 1896	None
Note: During this interval, Privy Council Chairman Kuroda Kiyotaka was the Acting Prime Minister.			
Matsukata Masayoshi 松方 正義	18 September 1896	12 January 1898	None
Itō Hirobumi 伊藤 博文	12 January 1898	30 June 1898	None
Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈 重信	30 June 1898	8 November 1898	Kenseitō (Constitutional Party)
Yamagata Aritomo 山縣 有朋	8 November 1898	19 October 1900	None
Itō Hirobumi 伊藤 博文	19 October 1900	10 May 1901	Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government)
Note: During this interval, Privy Council Chairman Saionji Kinmochi was the Acting Prime Minister.			
Katsura Tarō 桂 太郎	2 June 1901	7 January 1906	None (Retired General)
Saionji Kinmochi 西園寺 公望	7 January 1906	14 July 1908	Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government)
Katsura Tarō 桂 太郎	14 July 1908	30 August 1911	None (Retired General)

Saionji Kinmochi 西園寺 公望	30 August 1911	21 December 1912	Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government)
Katsura Tarō 桂 太郎	21 December 1912	20 February 1913	None (Retired General)
Yamamoto Gonbee 山本 權兵衛	20 February 1913	16 April 1914	Military (Navy)
Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈 重信	16 April 1914	9 October 1916	Rikken Dōshikai (Constitutional Association of Friends)
Terauchi Masatake 寺内 正毅	9 October 1916	29 September 1918	Military (Army)
Hara Takashi 原 敬	29 September 1918	4 November 1921	Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government)
Takahashi Korekiyo 高橋 是清	13 November 1921	12 June 1922	Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government)
Katō Tomosaburō 加藤 友三郎	12 June 1922	24 August 1923	Military (Navy)
Yamamoto Gonbee 山本 權兵衛	2 September 1923	7 January 1924	Military (Navy)
Kiyoura Keigo 清浦 奎吾	7 January 1924	11 June 1924	None
Katō Takaaki 加藤 高明	11 June 1924	28 January 1926	Kenseikai (Constitutional Party)
Wakatsuki Reijirō 若槻 禮次郎	30 January 1926	20 April 1927	Kenseikai (Constitutional Party)
Tanaka Giichi 田中 義一	20 April 1927	2 July 1929	Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government)
Hamaguchi Osachi 濱口 雄幸	2 July 1929	14 April 1931	Rikken Minseit (Constitutional Democratic Party)
Wakatsuki Reijirō 若槻 禮次郎	14 April 1931	13 December 1931	Rikken Minseitō (Constitutional Democratic Party)
Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養 毅	13 December 1931	15 May 1932	Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government)
Saitō Makoto 齋藤 實	26 May 1932	8 July 1934	Military (Navy)
Okada Keisuke 岡田 啓介	8 July 1934	9 March 1936	Military (Navy)
Hirota Kōki 廣田 弘毅	9 March 1936	2 February 1937	None
Hayashi Senjūrō 林 銑十郎	2 February 1937	4 June 1937	Military (Army)
Konoe Fumimaro 近衛 文麿	4 June 1937	5 January 1939	None
Hiranuma Kiichirō 平沼 騏一郎	5 January 1939	30 August 1939	None
Abe Nobuyuki 阿部 信行	30 August 1939	16 January 1940	Military (Army)
Yonai Mitsumasa 米内 光政	16 January 1940	22 July 1940	Military (Navy)
Konoe Fumimaro 近衛 文麿	22 July 1940	18 October 1941	Taisei Yokusankai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association)
Tōjō Hideki 東條 英機	18 October 1941	22 July 1944	Taisei Yokusankai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association)
Koiso Kuniaki 小磯 國昭	22 July 1944	7 April 1945	Military (Army)



Suzuki Kantarō 鈴木 貫太郎	7 April 1945	17 August 1945	Taisei Yokusankai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association)
--------------------------	--------------	----------------	---

Note: All names of Prime Minister on this list begin with last name. (i.e. Tojo Hideki (English: Hideki Tojo))

<b>Minister of the Army of Imperial Japan:</b> Ōyama Iwao (22 December 1885-17 May 1891) Takashima Tomonosuke (17 May 1891-8 August 1892) Ōyama Iwao (8 August 1892-31 August 1896) Saigō Tsugumichi (31 August 1896-18 September 1896) Ōyama Iwao (18 September 1896-20 September 1896) Takashima Tomonosuke (20 September 1896-12 January 1898) Katsura Tarō (12 January 1898-23 December 1900) Kodama Gentarō (23 December 1900-27 March 1902) Terauchi Masatake (27 March 1902-30 August 1911) Ishimoto Shinroku (30 August 1911-2 April 1912) Uehara Yūsaku (5 April 1912-21 December 1912) Kigoshi Yasutsuna (21 December 1912-24 June 1913) Kusunose Yukihiko (24 June 1913-16 April 1914) Oka Ichinosuke (16 April 1914-30 March 1916) Ōshima Ken'ichi (30 March 1916-29 September 1918) Tanaka Giichi (29 September 1918-9 June 1921) Yamanashi Hanzō (9 June 1921-24 August 1923) Tanaka Giichi (24 August 1923-2 September 1923) Ugaki Kazushige (2 September 1923-20 April 1927) Shirakawa Yoshinori (20 April 1927-2 July 1929) Ugaki Kazushige (2 July 1929-14 April 1931) Minami Jirō (14 April 1931-13 December 1931) Araki Sadao (13 December 1931-23 January 1934) Hayashi Senjūrō (23 January 1934-5 September 1935) Kawashima Yoshiyuki (5 September 1935-9 March 1936) Terauchi Hisaichi (9 March 1936-2 February 1937) Nakamura Kōtarō (2 February 1937-9 February 1937) Sugiyama Hajime (9 February 1937-3 June 1938) Itagaki Seishirō (3 June 1938-30 August 1939) Hata Shunroku (30 August 1939-22 July 1940) Tōjō Hideki (22 July 1940-22 July 1944) Sugiyama Hajime (22 July 1944-7 April 1945) Anami Korechika (7 April 1945-14 August 1945) Higashikuni Naruhiko (17 August 1945-23 August 1945) Shimomura Sadamu (23 August 1945-1 December 1945)	<b>Minister of the Navy of Imperial Japan:</b> Saigō Tsugumichi (22 December 1885-17 May 1890) Kabayama Sukenori (17 May 1890-8 August 1892) Nire Kagenori (8 August 1892-11 March 1893) Saigō Tsugumichi (11 March 1893--8 November 1898) Yamamoto Gonnohyōe (8 November 1898-7 January 1906) Saitō Makoto (7 January 1906- -16 April 1914) Yashiro Rokurō (16 April 1914-8 October 1915) Katō Tomosaburō (8 October 1915-15 May 1923) Takarabe Takeshi (15 May 1923-7 January 1924) Murakami Kakuichi (7 January 1924-11 June 1924) Takarabe Takeshi (11 June 1924-20 April 1927) Okada Keisuke (20 April 1927-2 July 1929) Takarabe Takeshi (2 July 1929-3 October 1930) Abo Kiyokazu (3 October 1930-13 December 1931) Ōsumi Mineo (13 December 1931-26 May 1932) Okada Keisuke (26 May 1932-9 January 1933) Ōsumi Mineo (9 January 1933-9 March 1936) Nagano Osami (9 March 1936-2 February 1937) Mitsumasa Yonai (2 February 1937-30 August 1939) Yoshida Zengo (30 August 1939-5 September 1940) Oikawa Koshirō (5 September 1940-18 October 1941) Shimada Shigetarō (18 October 1941-17 July 1944) Nomura Naokuni (17 July 1944-22 July 1944) Mitsumasa Yonai (22 July 1944-1 December 1945)
<b>Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan:</b> Admiral [Viscount] Sukenori Kabayama (May 1895-June 1896) Lt. Gen. [Viscount] Tarō Katsura (June 1896-October 1896) Lt. Gen. [Baron] Maresuke Nogi (October 1896-January 1898) Lt. Gen. [Baron] Gentarō Kodama (February 1898-April 1906) General [Viscount] Samata Sakuma (April 1906-May 1915) General [Baron] Teibi Andō (May 1915-June 1918) Lt. Gen. Motojiro Akashi (June 1918-November 1919) Baron Kenjiro Den (November 1919-September 1923) Kakichi Uchida (September 1923-September 1924) Takio Izawa (September 1924-July 1926) Mitsunoshin Kamiyama (July 1926-June 1928) Takeji Kawamura (June 1928-July 1929) Eizō Ishizuka (July 1929-January 1931) Masahiro Ōta (January 1931-March 1932) Hiroshi Minami (March 1932-May 1932) Kenzō Nakagawa (May 1932-September 1936) Admiral Seizō Kobayashi (September 1936-November 1940)	<b>Japanese Resident-General of Korea:</b> Hirobumi Itō (December 21, 1905-June 14, 1909) Baron Arasuke Sone (June 14, 1909-May 30, 1910) Field Marshal Masatake Terauchi (May 30, 1910-Oct. 1, 1910)  <b>Japanese Governor-General of Korea:</b> Field Marshal Masatake Terauchi (Oct. 1, 1910-Oct. 9, 1916) Field Marshal Yoshimichi Hasegawa (1916-1919) Viscount (Admiral) Makoto Saitō (1st term) (August 12, 1919-April 14, 1927) Gen. Kazushige Ugaki (1st term) (1927) Gen. Hanzō Yamanashi (1927-1929) Viscount (Admiral) Makoto Saitō (2nd term) (August 17, 1929-June 17, 1931) Gen. Kazushige Ugaki (2nd term) (1931-1936) Gen. Jirō Minami (1936-1942) Gen. Kuniaki Koiso (June 15, 1942-July 22, 1944) Gen. Nobuyuki Abe (July 22, 1944 -September 12, 1945)

Admiral Kiyoshi Hasegawa (Dec. 16, 1940-Dec. 30, 1944)	
General Rikichi Andō (December 30, 1944-October 25, 1945)	

Note: All names of Army and Navy ministers on this list begin with last name. (i.e. Tojo Hideki (English: Hideki Tojo))

# English-Japanese Translations

English	Japanese	Pronunciation
Bank of Japan	日本銀行	<i>Nippon Ginkō</i>
Bank for International Settlements	国際決済銀行	<i>Kokusai Kessai Ginkō</i>
League of Nations	国際連盟	<i>Kokusai Renmei</i>
World War II	第二次世界大戦	<i>Dai-niji Sekai Taisen</i>
Sino-Japanese War	日中戦争	<i>Nicchusensō</i>
Russo-Japanese War	日露戦争	<i>Nichi-Ro Sensō</i>
Treaty of Shimonoseki	下関条約	<i>Shimonoseki Jōyaku</i>
Taft-Katsura Agreement (1905)	桂・タフト協定	<i>Katsura-Tafto Kyōtei</i>
Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907	日米紳士協約	<i>Nichibei Shinshi Kyōyaku</i>
Japan–Korea Treaty of 1910 (Japan–Korea Annexation Treaty)	日韓併合条約	<i>Nikkan Heigō Jōyaku</i>
The Twenty-One Demands (China - 1915)	対華二十一カ条要求	<i>Taika Nijūichikajō Yōkyū</i>
February 26 Incident (February 26, 1936)	二・二六事件	<i>Ni-niroku jiken</i>
Nanking Massacre (1937)	南京事件	<i>Nankin Jiken</i>
Mukden Incident (September 18, 1931)	満州事変	<i>Manshū Jihen</i>
South Manchurian Railroad Company	南満州鉄道株式会社	<i>Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabukishi Kaisha</i>
Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere	大東亜共栄圏	<i>Dai-tō-a Kyōeiken</i>
Tripartite Pact	日独伊三国軍事同盟	<i>Nichi-doku-i Sangoku Gunji Domei</i>
Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact	日ソ中立条約	<i>Nisso Chūritsu Jōyaku</i>
Emperor of Japan [His Imperial Majesty]	天皇陛下	<i>Tenno Heika</i>
Prime Minister of Japan	内閣総理大臣	<i>Naikaku sōri daijin</i>
Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs	外務大臣	<i>Gaimu Daijin</i>
Japanese Ministry for Foreign Affairs	外務省	<i>Gaimushō</i>
Japanese Ambassador to America	在米国日本国大使	<i>Zai-Beikoku-Nihon-koku-taishi</i>
Japanese Embassy in America	在米国日本国大使館	<i>Zai-Beikoku-Nihon-koku-taishikan</i>
Consulate General of Japan at Honolulu	在ホノルル日本国総領事館	<i>Zai-Honoruru-Nihon-koku-Sō-Ryōjikan</i>
Consul General of Japan at Honolulu	在ホノルル日本国総領事	<i>Zai-Honoruru-Nihon-koku-Sō-Ryōji</i>
Imperial Japanese Navy	大日本帝國海軍	<i>Dai-Nippon-Teikoku-Kaigun</i>
Imperial Japanese Army	大日本帝國陸軍	<i>Dai-Nippon-Teikoku-Rikugun</i>
Imperial General Headquarters	大本營	<i>Daihon'ei</i>
Navy Ministry of Japan	海軍省	<i>Kaigunshō</i>
Army Ministry of Japan	陸軍省	<i>Rikugunshō</i>
Minister of the Navy	海軍大臣	<i>Kaigun-daijin</i>
Minister of War [Army]	陸軍大臣	<i>Rikugun-daijin</i>
Chief of Imperial Japanese Navy General Staff	軍令部総長	<i>Gunreibu-sōchō</i>
Chief of Imperial Japanese Army General Staff	参謀総長	<i>Sanbo-sōchō</i>
Governor-General of Korea	朝鮮総督	<i>Chōsen Sōtoku</i>
Governor-General of Taiwan	台湾総督	<i>Taiwan Sōtoku</i>
Kwantung Army	関東軍	<i>Kantōgun</i>
Kenpeitai (Imperial Japanese secret police)	憲兵隊	<i>Kenpeitai</i>
Mitsubishi (manufacturing company)	三菱	<i>Mitsubishi</i>
Kawasaki (manufacturing company)	川崎	<i>Kawasaki</i>

Sumitomo (manufacturing company)	住友	<i>Sumitomo</i>
Asahi Shinbun (daily newspaper)	朝日新聞	<i>Asahi Shinbun</i>
Mainichi Shinbun (daily newspaper)	毎日新聞	<i>Mainichi Shinbun</i>
Corporation (joint-stock company)	株式会社	<i>Kabushiki-kaisha</i>
Zaibatsu (cartel)	財閥	<i>Zaibatsu</i>
military-industrial complex	軍産複合体	<i>Gun-san fukugō-tai</i>
Black Dragon Society (secret society)	黒龍会	<i>Kokuryūkai</i>
Meiji Shrine	明治神宮	<i>Meiji Jingu</i>
Yasukuni Shrine	靖国神社	<i>Yasukuni Jinja</i>



## English-Japanese Translations of Major Cities

Japanese Empire	大日本帝國	<i>Dai-Nippon-Teikoku</i>
Japan	日本	<i>Nippon</i>
Okinawa	沖縄	<i>Okinawa</i>
Taiwan	台湾	<i>Taiwan</i>
Korea	韓国(朝鮮)	<i>Kankoku (Chōsen)</i>
Manchuria [Manchukuo]	満州国	<i>Manshūkoku</i>
Kwantung Leased Territory	関東州	<i>Kantōshū</i>
Republic of China	中華民國	<i>Chūkaminkoku</i>
Kingdom of Thailand	タイ王国	<i>Tai Ōoku</i>
Dutch East Indies	オランダ領東インド	<i>Oranda Ryōhigashi Indo</i>
Philippines	フィリピン	<i>Fuipin</i>
United States of America	アメリカ合衆国	<i>Amerika Gasshūkoku</i>
Tokyo	東京	<i>Tōkyō</i>
Yokohama	横浜	<i>Yokohama</i>
Osaka	大阪	<i>Ōsaka</i>
Nagoya	名古屋	<i>Nagoya</i>
Kyoto	京都	<i>Kyōtō</i>
Kobe	神戸	<i>Kōbe</i>
Hiroshima	広島	<i>Hiroshima</i>
Nagasaki	長崎	<i>Nagasaki</i>
Kagoshima	鹿児島	<i>Kagoshima</i>
Sapporo	札幌	<i>Sapporo</i>
Niigata	新潟	<i>Niigata</i>
Seoul	ソウル(京城)	<i>Souru (Keijō)</i>
Taipei	台北	<i>Taipei, Taihoku</i>
Vladivostok	ウラジオストク	<i>Urajiosutoku</i>
Harbin	哈尔滨	<i>Harubin</i>
Mukden (Shenyang)	奉天市	<i>Hōten-shi</i>
Port Arthur (Lushun)	旅順	<i>Ryojun</i>
Hsinking (Changchun)	新京	<i>Shinkyō</i>
Beijing [Peking]	北京	<i>Pekin</i>
Nanjing [Nanking]	南京	<i>Nankin</i>
Shanghai	上海	<i>Shanghai</i>
Hong Kong	香港	<i>Hon Kon</i>
Singapore	シンガポール (新加坡)	<i>Shingapōru</i>
Batavia (Jakarta)	バタヴィア (ジャカルタ)	<i>Batabia (Jakaruta)</i>
Saigon	サイゴン	<i>Saigon</i>
Bangkok	バンコク	<i>Bankoku</i>
Manila	マニラ	<i>Manira</i>
Berlin	ベルリン	<i>Berurin</i>
Rome	ローマ	<i>Rōma</i>
Moscow	モスクワ	<i>Mosukuwa</i>
London	ロンドン	<i>Rondon</i>
Hawaii	ハワイ	<i>Hawai</i>
Honolulu	ホノルル	<i>Honoruru</i>
Washington, D.C.	ワシントン	<i>Washinton</i>
New York City	ニューヨーク市	<i>Nyūyoku-shi</i>

San Francisco	サンフランシスコ	<i>Sanfuranshisuko</i>
Los Angeles	ロサンゼルス	<i>Rosanzerusu</i>